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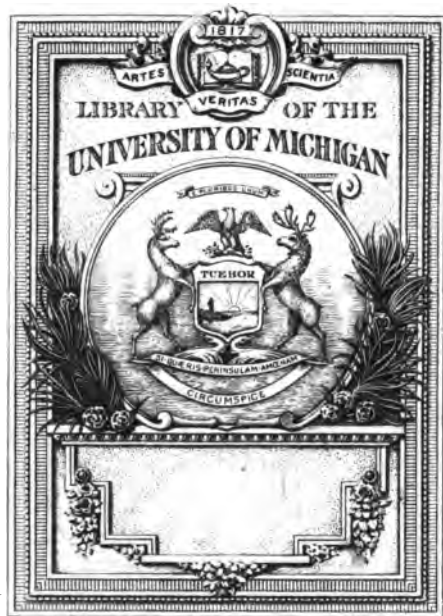
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THE



# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES,

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. I. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

1867.

BRADSTRE

## PREFATORY NOTE.

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The close of the first semi-annual volume of the Second Series of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE affords an opportunity for me to return my grateful acknowledgments to my friends for their continued favors and support, and to solicit a continuance thereof.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

*Morrisania, June, 1867.*





THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. SECOND SERIES.]

JANUARY, 1867.

[No. 1

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

With this number, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE commences a new volume, a new series, and a new year; and it seems proper to tender our congratulations, on such an occasion, to its long-tried friends, contributors as well as subscribers.

The greatly increased list of subscribers with which we commence the eleventh year of the Magazine's existence, demands our most grateful acknowledgment of the kindness with which it has been regarded since it passed into our hands, six months ago, and stimulates us, as we continue our daily labor, to still greater effort to merit the good-will of every one who respects the Truth of History, for its own sake.

We shall, therefore, earnestly endeavor to make our work indispensable to every one, in all parts of the Union, who shall be interested in any department of the History of our country; and we can confidently refer to the present number, as an earnest of what it will be, and what it will aim to be, while it shall remain under our control.

We have no new promises to make, no old ones to amend; what we promised when we assumed the control of the Magazine, we have steadily and satisfactorily fulfilled and now reiterate; and what we then said of those who possessed no sympathy with the Truth, after six months' experience of their pointless abuse, we now simply repeat—this work can neither commend itself nor prove useful to them; and their sympathy and support are neither expected nor solicited.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

HIST. MAG., VOL. I.

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II.—THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR EDMUND ANDROS OVER NEW ENGLAND IN 1688 AND 1689.

READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ON TUESDAY EVENING, 4TH DECEMBER, 1866:

BY JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

My theme to-night is *The Administration of Sir Edmund Andros*, whom James the Second had made his *Governor of New England*, in 1688.

The name "*New England in America*," originally suggested by Captain John Smith, in 1614, was royally given by James the First, in his Patent of 1620. That Patent called "*New England*" all the North American territory lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific; over the whole of which the British King assumed Sovereignty. French Canada and Dutch New Netherland were included within James's Patent. The latter Province—now New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—had been first discovered by the Dutch in 1609; and it was held and nurtured by them until 1664, when they were dispossessed by the English—an event of which the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY commemorated the Second Centennial Anniversary, two years ago.

For a long time, however, this royal "*New England*" of James the First, existed only nominally or historically, and not really as an entire British dependency. It was sub-divided into various Colonies, each of which had a distinct name:—consisting of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maine. These several Colonies had separate Governments, all of which derived their authority directly or indirectly from the Sovereign Crown of England. Plymouth had a Patent, but no Royal Charter. Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were chartered Royal Corporations. New Hampshire had no charter but a Governor and Counsellors appointed by the King, and an Assembly elected by her inhabitants. Maine was governed partly as a Ducal

dependency of New York, and partly by the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay.

Under her charter, granted by King Charles "the Martyr," the Royal corporation of Massachusetts Bay was perverted into a Sectarian Oligarchy, composed of Puritan church members, and wholly controlled by them.

That Puritan oligarchy never allowed its subjects a *really Popular Assembly*. It was too anxious to keep all local authority in its own hands; and it did so, until its Sovereign's charter, granted in 1629, was legally cancelled in 1684. According to the English law of that time, the Royal power, which had been delegated to the annihilated corporation, passed back at once to the English Crown. This supreme, original fountain of English Colonial authority, might either create a new corporation, to govern Massachusetts under another Royal Charter, as Charles the First had done, or else commission a Royal Governor and Counsellors to administer the affairs of that colony, either with a popular Assembly, as in New Hampshire and Virginia, or, without such an Assembly, if the Sovereign should think it most expedient.

While Duke of York, James the Second had granted a popular Assembly to New York, of which he was then the Proprietor. But when he became King, James abolished that Assembly; and in June, 1686, he commissioned Colonel Thomas Dongan to be the Governor of his Royal Province, whom he authorized, with certain counsellors, also named by himself, to make all local laws. This was a very imperious exercise of the Sovereign's prerogative. Such a commission has been charged to be "arbitrary" and "illegal." Yet it was no more arbitrary in fact, than if the English King had sealed a charter under which New York should be governed by a corporate oligarchy, as Massachusetts had long been ruled. There was no more idea of a *popular assembly* in the abrogated Massachusetts Royal charter of 1629, than in the New York Royal commission of 1686. Both instruments were legally perfect; for they had both passed the talismanic great seal of England, which was essential to the validity of any English Patent. The only question about either of them was whether a King of England could govern an English American Colony, *without an Assembly which represented all the inhabitants of that Colony*. It was certain that for more than half a century, Massachusetts had been so governed, under a Royal charter from Charles the First. It was reasonable that New York might be so governed under a Royal commission from James the Second.

The same month—June, 1686—that James thus commissioned Dongan to be the Governor of his Royal Province of New York, he commissioned,

in like manner, and with similar powers, Sir Edmund Andros—who, for several years, had been his Ducal Deputy in that Province—to be the Governor of his Royal "Dominion of New England." This "Dominion" was meant to include all the British-American territory North-east of New York. Andros accordingly came to Boston in December, 1686, and assumed the government of Massachusetts. In a little while, he extended his authority over Maine, New Hampshire, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, which, with Massachusetts, then formed "New England." By the end of the year 1687, Andros in New England, Dongan in New York, the Proprietors of New Jersey, and William Penn, were the only immediate representatives of the authority of the British crown, North of the fortieth degree of latitude, in America.

During the summer of 1687, Denonville, the French Governor of Canada, at the head of a large force, invaded the Seneca country of New York. Dongan quickly reported this to King James, who at once declared his sovereignty over the five Iroquois nations, and directed his Governor to protect them as his subjects. While doing this, the King also authorized New York to call on the neighboring English Colonies for assistance. At the same time, James agreed with Louis the Fourteenth that no English or French subordinate commander in America should invade the territories of either King, or commit any hostility against the subjects of either of them there, until the first of January, 1689. Before that day, it was hoped that a satisfactory boundary line, defining their respective Colonial possessions, would be arranged by a treaty between the two European monarchs.

Of all the sovereigns of England, James the Second had the most accurate knowledge of her trans-Atlantic Colonies. For nearly a quarter of a century after the Restoration, he had been the proprietor of a large American Province, under his brother's Royal Patent. In the details of its administration, he had always taken a lively personal interest; and with his own hand, he had written many letters to his deputies in New York, which, at any rate, had the unusual merit of directness and precision. James's terse autographs were not constrained by any official "red tape;" and far more clearly than his Secretary's verbose phraseology, they uttered his own imperious will.

With this long apprenticeship in Colonial affairs, James became King of England and her dependencies early in 1685. The domestic affairs of his realm for some time occupied his attention almost entirely. The rebellions, under Monmouth in England and Argyle in Scotland, having been forcibly put down, the triumphant British sovereign saw his legitimate authority confirmed, and

he soon assumed powers which did not belong to his Royal office.

In the spring of 1688, James—too active to drift, always wishing to row and to steer—was practically governing Great Britain almost as absolutely as Louis was ruling France. The great object of James was to substitute his own Roman Catholic faith in place of the Protestant lawful religion of England and Scotland. To this end, he dispensed with Statutes, forfeited the charters of corporations, and delayed summoning a British Parliament. The far-off English Colonies he insisted on governing, by his royal prerogative alone, as dependencies of the British crown, and not as constituencies of the British Empire. So had his predecessors determined; so had English Courts awarded; so were most Englishmen willing that those Colonies should be governed. All Colonial charters had been granted by the English crown alone; and none had questioned its authority. The colonial system of James the Second was merely an arbitrary exercise of his acknowledged prerogative. He allowed a popular Assembly to Virginia, and he denied it to New England and to New York. Yet, this system of James was in many respects tolerant and equitable. It carefully provided for the happiness and prosperity of all classes of inhabitants in New York and New England, who, while they were not allowed popular representation in local Assemblies, were guaranteed equal political rights as English Colonial subjects, and as large religious liberty as Englishmen in England.

Bigoted Roman Catholic, and tyrannical as he was, James had nevertheless one characteristic which shone out in vivid contrast to his others. He was a much more patriotic Englishman than his witty brother Charles had ever been. Anxious for the friendship of Louis, the duller James scorned to betray England, or any of her dependencies, to France. Hardly had he directed Dongan to prevent all hostilities against French-American subjects, when he was convinced that Louis had obtained the advantage. Canada was under one Governor-General, whose sole mind executed all his master's orders. The English Colonies, on the other hand, had different local governments, which did not always act in harmony. James, therefore, determined to consolidate his North American territories, as far as convenient, under one vice-regal administration. By this means he hoped to secure them against their restless Canadian neighbor, and at the same time strengthen his own arbitrary rule. Dongan had pleaded that Connecticut and the Jerseys should be annexed to New York. But Connecticut was now a part of New England, under the government of Andros. The Proprietors of New Jersey had just surrendered their

authority to the King. Instead of annexing Connecticut and the Jerseys to New York, as Dongan had urged, James resolved to add New York and the Jerseys to his "Dominion of New England." Pennsylvania was not included in this arrangement, because her Quaker Proprietor was too useful an instrument for the King to offend. But all the rest of the titular New England of James the First, excepting French Canada, was now united, for the first time, as a political whole, under one Colonial Governor appointed by James the Second.

This determination must displace either Andros or Dongan. Both had been twice commissioned by James; first when Duke of York, and again when King of England. Of the two, Andros had the longest experience in government, and perhaps the best administrative talent. He had already governed New York for several years; and his vigorous rule in New England was now giving much satisfaction to his arbitrary Sovereign. Although "fond of prelacy," Sir Edmund was not a Roman Catholic. But he had proved himself to be an uncompromising executor of all the Royal commands. An accomplished soldier, Andros naturally made prompt and implicit obedience his standard of duty.

On the other hand, Dongan—likewise a soldier, yet more a patrician—was an Irish Roman Catholic, a nephew of Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, and the presumptive heir of his own elder brother, the intensely loyal Irish Earl of Limerick. But Dongan had more independence of character than Andros. He had foiled and embittered Penn, and had angered Perth and Melfort of New Jersey, in the interest of New York. All these were powerful courtiers at Whitehall. The impulsive Governor of New York had been sharply censured by the King of France, for maintaining the King of England's antagonistic authority over the Iroquois. In a word, Dongan had shown more official "zeal" than an experienced politician in high place—then and now—would have considered expedient in a subordinate. So James superseded his Roman Catholic Governor of New York, and issued a new commission, making the Protestant, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor General of his "Dominion of New England," which now included all the territory (except Pennsylvania) between Maryland and Canada.

The recall of Dongan gratified the vanity of Louis, whom he had offended. But Louis had no reason to be pleased that James had appointed Andros to govern the consolidated British American Colonies, which, it was understood in London, would "be terrible to the French, and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done." However disagreeably this measure of her King affected New York, it was

certainly patriotic and wise, in respect to the colonial interests of England in America, as opposed to those of France.

The instructions which the King gave to Andros with his new commission, named forty-two of the principal inhabitants of the several colonies now forming his "Dominion of New England" to be its Counsellors. Those from New York were Anthony Brockholls, Frederick Philipse, Jervis Baxter, Stephen Van Cortlandt, John Spragg, John Younge, Nicholas Bayard, and John Palmer, nearly a fifth of the whole number. By the advice and consent of a majority of the Counsellors, of whom five were an ordinary quorum, the Governor could make laws and impose taxes throughout the Dominion. The Provincial seal of New York was directed to be broken, and that of New England to be thereafter used in its place. Liberty of conscience, pursuant to the King's Declaration of April, 1687, was to be allowed "to all persons, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it." No press was to be used, nor book to be printed, without the Governor's license. But this was no novelty; for press censorship had long been the darling Puritan practice in Massachusetts.

Such were the most prominent Instructions of James the Second to Andros, for the Government of his Dominion of New England. As the territory of that Dominion was now so vast, it was necessary that some one should be appointed to act for the Governor, in case of his absence or death. Captain Francis Nicholson was accordingly commissioned by the King to be his Lieutenant Governor of New England. No place was fixed by the Sovereign as the seat of Government of his American Dominion. It might be at Boston, or New York, or elsewhere within that Dominion, at the discretion of Andros; (*New York Colonial Documents*, III., 536-550, ix, 372.)

When Dongan was notified of these arrangements, so unexpected by himself, he prepared to surrender his government of New York to Andros. Among other things, it was ordered in Council, that all Spanish Indians who had been made slaves within the Province, should be set free, if they could "give an account of their Christian faith, and say the Lord's prayer." The last law passed by Dongan and his New York Council, on the second of August, 1688, was "to prohibit shoemakers from using the mystery of tanning hides." The last patent, under the Provincial seal of New York, was issued by its Governor, on the same day, to the Town of Huntington, on Long Island.

Meanwhile, Andros had heard of his promotion over Dongan, of whom he was jealous, and anxiously awaited the arrival of his new commission at Boston. The news of its coming quickly spread; and Attorney General Graham

of New York, who had been an old ship companion of Sir Edmund, hurried eastward towards the rising sun, which radiantly promoted him to be the Attorney General of the whole Dominion of New England. John Palmer, one of the Judges of New York, whom Dongan had sent with his dispatches to London, in the previous autumn, now returned to Boston; and Andros at once made him a fourth Associate Justice of the Superior Court of the enlarged Dominion, along with Joseph Dudley, and William Stoughton, and Peter Bulkley, who had been its three Judges since 1687; (*Col. Doc. III.*, 421, 428-478; *Valentine's Manual* for 1862, 741; *Palmer's Impartial Account*, 22; *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, I., 362-371.)

At length, on the nineteenth of July, 1688, the Governor General's new commission was published, with great parade, from the Balcony of the Boston Town House. Nicholson, at the same time, was installed in his place as a Lieutenant Governor of the whole Dominion of New England. A fortnight afterwards Andros set out for New York, attended by several of his counsellors, to resume its government, together with that of New Jersey.

On Saturday, the eleventh of August, 1688, Andros reached the metropolis, where he was received by Colonel Bayard's Regiment of militia infantry, and a troop of horse. The Governor General's commission was read in Fort James and then published at the City Hall. The Provincial seal of New York was received from Dongan, and "defaced and broken in council, according to the King's order. In its stead, the great seal of New England, with its motto from Claudian, "*Nunquam libertas gratior extat*," was thenceforth to be used throughout the Dominion (*Valentine's Manual* for 1862, 738, 739; *N. Y. Col. Doc. III.*, 546-567.) The same day a proclamation was issued, continuing all persons in office, and directing all former taxes to be collected. Thus Andros began his second government of New York. He had left the Province seven years before, at the command of the Duke of York. In the interval, she had gained, as he had lost, a popular Assembly. And now her Governor returned among familiar scenes, to assume almost imperial authority, as the Viceroy of James the Second.

A few days afterwards, the Governor General went over to New Jersey, and published his commission at Elizabethtown, and then again at Burlington. Several local officers were at once commissioned by Andros, under the great seal of the Dominion. It was remarked that both East and West Jersey were thinly inhabited; but that the people "showed their great satisfaction in being under His Majesty's immediate government." (*Col. Doc. III.*, 554-567.)

But if the people of New Jersey were satisfied with their altered condition, the people of New York, who had long been accustomed to the direct government of James, were not generally pleased that their Province should lose its individuality, and be consolidated with the Royal Dominion of New England. It was true that their old Governor had come back to his first American home, and that many of its inhabitants preferred Andros, the Protestant, to Dongan, the Romanist. Yet the return of Andros to New York was accompanied by humiliating circumstances. It demonstrated that she had ceased to exist as a distinct British-American Province. To be sure Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and Maine, and Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and New Jersey, had also ceased to exist, as separate English Colonies. But New York, from her beginning, had something peculiar about her. Historically, geographically, and socially, she was, and always must be, distinguished from every other North American possession of her British Sovereign. For half a century before her conquest, she had remained a territory of the Dutch Republic, interposed between the English Puritan Colonies at the North East, and the English Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Colonies at the South. For more than that period, her relations with the Canadian French, and with the Iroquois within her own borders had required special skill in their management. Of all the North American possessions of England, comprehensive New York seemed most to need a separate government. Up to this time she had, in fact, been differently governed from any other British-American Colony. She had never been chartered as a corporation, under either Dutch or English authority. In truth, she had never desired to be ruled by an oligarchy, like some of the incorporated Colonies in New England. What the eclectic people of New York desired, and what for a season they had enjoyed, was a "Charter of Liberties," which did not sequester local authority for the benefit of a sectarian minority of Church members; but which secured to every inhabitant of their territory a share in legislation, freedom of conscience, and entire toleration of all modes of Christianity. The expressive words, "*The People*," were, for the first time, used in that superbest of all American Colonial Charters, drafted by the freemen of our own dear old "EMPIRE STATE." (*See N. Y. Colonial Documents, III., 358.*) If New York wished Connecticut and New Jersey to be annexed to her, it was because those Colonies had belonged to her ancient territory, and ought to belong to her now, under the King's Patent of 1664. But New York, in sympathy with Rhode Island, had no wish to be too closely associated with Massachusetts. It is not surprising that

the metropolitan city of the old Dutch Province, knowing that it had become "the envy of its adjacent neighbors, who did not cease by all their little artifices to interrupt its trade," should have especially lamented "that unhappy annexation to New England." (*Col. Doc. III., 576, 792, 799; Dunlap, II., App. CXL.*)

Nevertheless, if the people of New York generally felt it a political "degradation" to be thus annexed to New England, there were some who at first enjoyed gratification. Her Provincial Counsellors found their official importance increased by the act of their king. If the New England Counsellors could now vote on the affairs of New York, the New York Counsellors could likewise vote on the affairs of New England. And this they did, in the case of a proposed law to regulate the carrying of passengers abroad in ships, which Andros failed in causing to be passed in Council at Boston, but which was easily enacted when it was again brought up in Council at New York.

An event now occurred which gave the Dutch people of New York real uneasiness. For almost half a generation, they had hoped that the wife of their own Prince of Orange would become Queen of England. Joyfully would they have mingled cries of "ORANJE BOVEN" with "LONG LIVE THE QUEEN." But James had married a Roman Catholic second wife, who bore him a son on the tenth of June, 1688; and this son, as Prince of Wales, would become King of England, on the death of his father, if all should go regularly on. The news was received at New York with regret by the Dutch Orangeists, but with vehement joy by the Royal officials. A great city carouse was given the same evening, at which the mirth waxed so boisterous, that the record quaintly tells us Mayor Van Cortlandt "sacrificed his hat, peruke, &c." (*Col. Doc. III., 554, 665.*)

A conference with the Five Nations at Albany, and a visit to Esopus, detained Andros for some weeks in New York, where he would have staid longer if he had not been obliged to hasten to Boston on account of Indian troubles which had broken out in Maine.

Nicholson was accordingly directed to remain in New York, to administer its government, assisted by the local Counsellors, Phillipse, Bayard, Van Cortlandt, Younge and Baxter, the latter of whom was stationed, in command of the Fort, at Albany. Brockholls accompanied his old chief, Andros, to Boston; and such of the New York Records as were necessary for the Governor-General to have at hand were taken Eastward.

When he returned to Boston, after an absence of eleven weeks, Andros disapproved of what his subordinates there had done, and took vigorous measures to check the outrages of the sav-

ages in Maine. Most of the King's three companies of regular soldiers at New York and Boston were at once dispatched thither, under the command of Brockholls, with stores and provisions. But this did not meet the emergency. It was therefore ordered in Council, on the first of November, 1688, that a militia force should be raised out of the whole "Dominion of New England," and that the command of this force should be offered to Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, one of the King's Counsellors. But Winthrop pleaded illness, and declined the hazardous duty. The offer was repeated to other Colonial militia officers of the Dominion, every one of whom "absolutely refused the service." They all preferred staying at home, to doing duty in chilly Maine. Yet, a little while afterwards, this pusillanimity was attempted to be excused by the suggestion that Brockholls was a "Popish commander," and that Andros, by his vigorous policy for the defence of its frontier, was plotting "to bring low" the people of the rest of the Dominion. But, certainly, if Andros had been plotting "to bring them low," he would not have weakened the garrison in Boston by detaching most of the King's stipendiary soldiers for service in the forests of Maine.\*

Seeing that no New England militia officer was willing to conduct the campaign against the Maine savages, the Governor-General, by the advice of his Council, resolved to take the command himself. Palmer, one of his Counsellors, thus records the truth, which has hitherto been suppressed: "The Governour's proposal to the Council, about his going to the eastward, met with no opposition, lest some of the military men there, should have been bound in honour to have taken that Employment upon themselves." (*Palmer's Impartial Account*, 35.)

So Andros gallantly went to Maine, and, throughout the biting winter, shared all the hardships of the militia, whom he led. There were about eight hundred men in all, raised out of the several Colonies; and among the officers, besides Brockholls, were Lieutenant-colonel MacGregorie and Captain George Lockhart, of New York. Many of the soldiers died from fatigue and exposure, in chasing the savages into their remote hiding-places. The result was, that this attempt to capture roaming native Americans, was like trying "to hedge in the cuckoo," as Cotton Mather afterwards philosophized on the expedition. But Mather omitted to state the disgusting fact that while Andros was thus trying,

with personal devotion, to protect the frontier of his Government in Maine from the savages, some Boston merchants, taking advantage of his absence, sent a vessel thither, laden with ammunition and provisions, to truck with those Indian enemies and their French friends in Canada and Nova Scotia. (*Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 724.)

As he could not destroy or capture its savage foes, Andros established some eleven garrisons for the protection of Maine. At *Fort Charles in Pemaquid*, he placed Brockholls in chief command, with six regular soldiers and sixty militiamen. MacGregorie and Lockhart, of New York, were stationed at other forts. During the winter, he caused a sloop to be built out of the magnificent timber of Maine, and other precautions to be taken. But everything the Governor did was misrepresented at Boston, where, during his absence, the most absurd stories were propagated, and rumors from England cautiously circulated.

Prominent among the King's instructions to Andros, was one which required him to suppress "all pirates and sea rovers." This the Governor tried to execute; but his efforts were foiled by interested speculators. "Since the vacating their charter," wrote Secretary Randolph, "they have been kept from the breach of the Acts for Trade and Navigation, encouraged by their former government;" and "they are restrained from setting out privateers who, for many years together, robbed the Spanish West Indies, and brought great booties to Boston; and also, they durst not, during the Governor's time, harbour pirates." Boston, as witnessed by Randolph, had now become "the common receptacle of pirates of all nations." According to the testimony of Palmer, the "constant and profitable" correspondence of Massachusetts with "Foreigners and Pirates" had been so greatly obstructed by Andros as to make it "very disagreeable to many persons who had even grown old in that way of trade." The chief attraction of freebooters to Boston seems to have been the Massachusetts mint, established in 1652, which "encouraged pirates to bring their plate thither, because it could be coined and conveyed in great parcels, undiscovered to be such;" (*Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 582; *Palmer*, 20.)

The abrogation of the Massachusetts charter had crippled those worldly advantages. But it had still more affected the sectarian interests of Puritan clergymen; and it is not surprising that combined efforts were made by the sufferers to restore an oligarchy under which they had enjoyed such valued privileges.

Before the Massachusetts charter was cancelled in 1684, not one of its inhabitants could vote for officers of the corporation, unless he was a freeman of that corporation, and a puritanical communicant. But these corporate "freemen" were

\* According to a return made to Andros in 1688, the militia force of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, was 13,329. That of New York was about 2,000 in the same year. See, also, *Arnold*, I., 520; *N. Y. Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 723, *IV.*, 29, 185, 197, 213; *Force's Tracts*, IV., No. 10, p. 11.

only a small minority of the population of Massachusetts. The majority of her inhabitants were disfranchised. They were not represented in her General Court; they were taxed without their consent and against their will; they were the subjects of a spiritual despotism. Class government is not and never was democracy. As long as the Massachusetts charter survived, the greater part of her people enjoyed no real political freedom; and not until its abrogation did exclusive privilege give way to equal popular rights.

When the direct government of the English Crown took the place of the class government which had domineered Massachusetts by a perversion of her Royal charter, it was very natural that her Puritan ministers should have keenly felt their altered condition, and have bitterly vented their griefs. Their political supremacy was gone. They could no longer control the choice of corporate officers who would make laws at their dictation. There was now popular equality under the Common Sovereign of all English Colonists, where sectarian privilege had flourished before, under a colonial oligarchy. And so, the cry was soon started that Episcopalian "wild beasts of the field" had entered through the broken hedge of the old charter, and were ravaging that succulent Massachusetts sheep-fold of which Puritanism had so long enjoyed the exclusive pasture.

There was some truth in this metaphor of Cotton Mather. Most American Historians have denounced Andros as Governor of New England, oftentimes in terms of coarse invective, and they have generally represented him as a mere bigot, and minion, and tyrant. The partisan statements of early New England writers have been reiterated without question, to the exclusion of almost every thing recorded on the other side. Whether the Commission and Instructions of James the Second to his Governor were more or less "illegal" or "arbitrary" than the charter which his beheaded father had granted to Massachusetts, and which "knew no representative body," was certainly not a question for Andros to answer. He was not to blame, because his King had directed New England to be governed by himself and his Counsellors, without an Assembly. His duty was to execute his Sovereign's commands; and this duty he did with characteristic energy—faithfully, fearlessly, and, in some instances, harshly. In his administration he greatly offended the "perverse people" who had so long been accustomed to order every thing in their own way. So they complained that it was a great wrong to require deponents to touch the Bible, instead of holding up their hands; a grievance that Quakers should be allowed "freedom to worship God" in their own fashion,

and not be compelled, as of old, to pay forced rates for the support of Congregational ministers; an offence that the English Church service should be celebrated in Boston by the Rector, Samuel Miles. They liked the Press to be muzzled by Puritan censors; but they groaned when it was muzzled by Episcopalians. It was especially galling to them that West, and Farewell, and Graham, and Palmer, whom Andros had made his chief subordinates and confidants, had come from New York. These officials were opprobriously called "a crew of abject persons." Yet, much allowance should be made for such old spiteful words, uttered by partisans, in the heat of angry controversy. It is certainly true that many of the acts of the Governor General's experienced subordinates were selfish and very oppressive. Land titles were questioned so that large fees might be exacted for new Patents. Other official charges were avariciously increased. The Judges of the Dominion were greatly blamed for administering the law strictly, according to the practice in England. They were especially reviled for not allowing writs of Habeas Corpus under Shaftesbury's act of 1679. But those Colonial Judges were at any rate lawyers enough to know that Shaftesbury's Statute did not extend to the English Plantations. It was purely an English domestic measure. And I may here mention, as an interesting historical fact, that this English Habeas Corpus act never did affect any one British-American Colony, until Queen Anne used her prerogative to stretch it across the Atlantic to Virginia, in 1705. Nevertheless, Andros was held to be responsible for every doing and every saying of each of his subordinates. Most of his own acts were able and statesmanlike, while some of them were arbitrary and provoking. His greatest fault was that he administered his government too loyally to his Sovereign, and too much like a brave soldier. Instead of conciliating, he wounded; instead of arguing, he ordered. Even James saw the injury his honest Viceroy was doing him in New England, and was obliged to rebuke his excessive zeal.

The King's Declaration of April 1687, for liberty of conscience, was at first joyfully received by his most sanguine New England subjects. Puritans thought it a deliverance from English Prelacy; Quakers and Anabaptists felt that they could at length share in the liberty which Congregationalists had monopolized; and the small band of Episcopalians gathered in Boston rejoiced that they might now freely hear the beautiful liturgy of their denomination read by a surpliced clergyman. What in our own day is called "*Broad Church*," seemed to be established by James the Second throughout his Dominion of New England. But the Puritan



ministers of Massachusetts soon caught an alarm. They quaintly complained "that a licentious people take the advantage of a liberty to withhold maintenance from them." They were vexed that Andros would not allow all the inhabitants to be distressed by constables visiting their houses, to levy the compulsory church rates to pay the salaries by which Massachusetts Congregational preachers had been comforted of old. All around Boston, these S  ctarians waxed wroth when they discovered that their own hatred of Protestant Episcopacy was surpassed by that of the Roman Catholic head of the Church of England; and the most discerning Puritan politicians in the Bay Colony began to dread a Royal toleration more than the enforcement of the suspended penal laws about religion, which they now called "the only wall against Popery." Addresses of thanks to the King were, nevertheless, adopted by several congregations; but, at the same time, petitions were signed for relief from some of the imperious measures of Andros. These documents were entrusted to Increase Mather, one of the most eminent Puritan ministers in Massachusetts, who had been sued for a libel by Randolph, and was obliged to embark in disguise for England, apparently hoping to obtain from the King a restoration of his Colony's effete oligarchy.

But the determination of James to maintain the government he had established in New England, could not be shaken. Personal favorites, prevailing in other points, were foiled in this. Sir William Phipps, a native of Maine, whom he had made a Knight, for his success in recovering a large treasure from a Spanish wreck near Hispaniola, was allowed to ask what he pleased; and Phipps asked "that New England might have its lost liberties restored." But James, who had no idea of re-establishing Puritanism in Massachusetts, replied, "Anything but that." Phipps then procured a Royal Patent to be High Sheriff of New England, so that he could impannel jurors, and thus counteract Andros. With this he came to Boston some time after Mather had gone; but the Governor found a way to defeat his Patent, and Phipps returned to London full of indignation. (*Magnalia*, I, 175, 176, 178.)

In the mean time, Mather had been kindly received by James on the thirtieth of May, and, in conjunction with Nowell and Hutchinson, former magistrates of Massachusetts, had petitioned for liberty of conscience, and favor to the College at Cambridge. But these petitions spoke of the Episcopal Church in such "very indecent language," that the Agents were obliged to withdraw them from the Plantation Committee, to which they had been referred. The Agents then petitioned for a confirmation of estates in New

England, "and that no laws might be made, or monies raised, without an Assembly, with sundry other particulars." This petition was referred to Attorney-General Powis for a report. But Lord Sunderland, the President of the Council, struck out of it, "the essential proposal of an Assembly," telling Mr. Brent of the Temple, the Solicitor of the petitioners, "that it was by his advice that the King had given a commission to Sir Edmund Andros, to raise monies without an Assembly, and that he knew the King would never consent to an alteration; nor would he propose it to His Majesty." Powis, however, had been "dexterously gained," and being hardly a third-rate lawyer, and very jealous of his predecessor Sawyer, he reported that the Massachusetts charter had been "illegally vacated." A copy of this report was dispatched to Boston, where it was used to excite hopes of a new charter, "with larger power." But the agents at length became convinced that the Massachusetts charter would neither be restored nor enlarged, and that the King would not disturb the policy he had adopted in regard to consolidated New England. They then asked the Plantation Committee to report "that until His Majesty shall be graciously pleased to grant an Assembly, the Council should consist of such persons as shall be considerable proprietors of lands within his Majesty's Dominions," that each county should have a Counsellor, and that no law should be made except by a vote of the majority of these Counsellors. This would of course have placed the government of New England in the hands of a local landed aristocracy.

But extraordinary events were now culminating in England, which postponed definite action on Colonial affairs. In the midst of these movements, William Penn retained the favor of his Sovereign, who made him "Supervisor of excise and hearth money," and promised to enlarge Pennsylvania by "a grant under the great Seal, for the three counties on the Delaware." If this royal promise had been executed, there would have been one less North American State; and New York would now have had a rival Sister, no less powerful in commerce than in agriculture. Yet, while James thus especially favored Penn, he promised Mather a "speedy redress" of many grievances in New England; and that, in the mean time, Andros "should be written unto, to forbear the measures that he was upon." But no such instructions were sent to Andros.

A revolution in England prevented many of the King's designs in America from being carried out. One of these designs seems to have been to extend the system of consolidation, which had worked so well in New England, throughou

the other British North American Colonies. If James had remained King, he would very soon have included Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas in one grand general government, with New England, under his North American Viceroy. It was also his purpose, as he afterwards informed the Pope, "to have set up" the Roman Catholic religion in the English "Plantations of America." This, however, could not have been accomplished as long as the Mother Country was Protestant. The rash bigotry of James precipitated the event, in that country, which observing men had long foreseen. It alarmed the penetrating judgment of the Vatican. "We must," said the thoughtful cardinals of Innocent the Eleventh, "excommunicate this King, who will destroy the little of Catholicism which remains in England." But before Rome applied her precautionary "brake," the last male Stuart sovereign of Great Britain was dethroned.

The story of the English Revolution of 1688 is familiar. James the Second offended English Protestants so much, that they invited the Dutch Stadtholder, William the Third, Prince of Orange, to come over from Holland and deliver them from their Roman Catholic King, who had now narrowed God's field long enough. As soon as James was assured that William was coming, he issued a Proclamation summoning his subjects to defend their country from invasion. He also wrote a circular letter, on the sixteenth of October, 1688, to Andros, and his other Colonial Governors, warning each of them "to take care, that upon the approach of any fleet or foreign force, the militia of that our Plantation, be in such readiness as to hinder any landing or invasion that may be intended to be made within the same."

The dispatch of this circular was the last official act of James the Second in regard to his American Colonies. Lord Sunderland, the versatile Minister who countersigned it, was removed from office, a few days afterwards, for treasonable correspondence with the enemies of his master. But nothing could now help James. On the fifth of November, 1688—the eighty-third anniversary of the discovery of Guy Fawkes's "Gunpowder Plot" against James the First, in 1605—by a singular coincidence, William landed at Torbay in Devonshire, at the head of a large Dutch force. The second James, less lucky than his grandfather, became stupefied, abdicated his crown, and fled to France. A provisional directory of English Peers was formed at London, which invited the Prince of Orange to assume the administration of the English Government. This invitation was accepted by William, who, after partaking of the Holy Communion, according to the ritual of the English Protestant Epis-

copal Church, on the last day of December, 1688, became the virtual Sovereign of England.

The attention of the Prince of Orange was quickly called to the situation of the English Colonies in North America, "for the happy state of which he possessed a particular care." A few days after his assumption of the administration, on the ninth of January, 1689, Mather was introduced to him by Lord Wharton, and he was fully informed of the warning letter which James had sent to his American Governors in the previous October. William now thought it prudent to communicate his own instructions to those Governors. Accordingly, on the twelfth of January, 1689, under the countersignature of William Jephson, his private Secretary, the Prince wrote an adroit circular letter to each of them, directing that all persons "not being Papists," holding any offices in the Plantations, should continue to execute them as formerly; and that "all orders and directions lately made or given by any legal authority, shall be obeyed and performed by all persons," until further commands should come from England. Thus William clearly announced his American policy to be that of "*statu quo*." This letter was dispatched to Virginia; and it was directed to be sent to New England, and the other English dependencies.

But the Massachusetts Agents in London saw at once, that if William's letter should be received by Andros, it would be "fatal to their schemes;" because it would reduce their constituents to the dilemma of submitting to his authority, under the Prince's direction, or else of treasonably rebelling. By this time Phipps had got back to London; and he, with Mather, so effectually wheedled Jephson, that William's letter to Andros "was stopped, and ordered not to be sent." This was the turning point of the trouble which followed in New England; and no one afterwards regretted the success of this Whitehall back-stairs intrigue, of which William was made the chief victim, more than did William himself.

A month after this letter of the Prince of Orange was thus withheld from Andros, on the thirteenth of February, 1689, WILLIAM and MARY were proclaimed King and Queen of England, and "all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging." The next day the new Sovereigns, by their Proclamation, confirmed in their offices "*all Protestants*" within the Kingdom. But this did not affect officers in the English Colonies. Five days afterwards, on the nineteenth of February, 1689, another Proclamation directed that "*all men*," in the several Colonies, "*being in offices of Government, shall so continue, until their Majesty's further pleasure be known.*" The difference between these two

Proclamations was very significant. In England, *Protestants only* were to be kept in office. But in the English Colonies, *all officials* were to remain undisturbed. There was no danger to Protestantism in America, as there had been in Britain.\*

The Revolution in England was thus held by her statesmen as in no way affecting her Colonies, except in transferring their allegiance, without their expressed consent, from one British Sovereign to another. But, while Phipps and Mather acquiesced in this doctrine, they thought the time had come for a vigorous effort to break up the consolidated New England of the late King. They were "secessionists;" they thought more of Massachusetts than of Union; and they wanted to destroy Union. Encouraged by the favor of Mary, who, before she left Holland, had been gained over to their side, by "the eminent" Abraham Kick, of Rotterdam, Phipps and Mather, on the eighteenth of February, petitioned William that Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut might be "restored to their ancient privileges." But they said nothing about New York and New Jersey in which they had no interest. William referred this petition to his Plantation Committee; and meanwhile he directed that the dispatches and Proclamations which the Privy Council had ordered to be sent to Andros should be "postponed 'till the business of taking away the charters should be considered." Phipps and Mather were accordingly heard by their Counsel before the Plantation Committee; and Sir

Robert Sawyer, the former Attorney General, in 1684, reported the reasons for the cancellation of the Massachusetts charter. Sawyer's report was legally satisfactory. Even Treby and Somers, the Attorney and Solicitor General of William the Third, pronounced the "unreversed" judgment in Chancery, gained by Sawyer against that charter, to be good, in spite of the unwelcome opinion which a few months before had been bought from Powis, the venal Attorney General of James the Second.

And so, the Plantation Committee of William the Third agreed to report, on the twenty-second of February, 1689, "that His Majesty be pleased to send forthwith, a Governor to New England, in the place of Sir Edmund Andros, with a Provisional Commission, and with Instructions to proclaim His Majesty in those colonies." But the sending of another Royal Governor in place of Andros, was just what Phipps and Mather did not wish to be done. He was as good as any other Royal Governor might be. Accordingly, the King was prevailed upon to order that a new charter should be prepared for New England, which, while it recognized colonial rights in property, reserved colonial "dependence on the crown;" and that, instead of a Governor, two Commissioners should be sent to administer its government, in the name of the Sovereign. Yet even this did not suit the Massachusetts agents. It settled the fate of Andros; but it showed that William meant to keep New England consolidated, as James had established that Dominion.

A general popular Assembly in New England, was not palatable to the Massachusetts agents. What they wanted was the restoration of the old separate Puritan oligarchy in that Colony:—nothing more, nothing less. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of March, Mather was again presented to the King, whom he implored to "favour New England." This William readily promised; but he keenly remarked, "there have been irregularities in their government." At the same time he declared that Andros should be recalled, and that "the present King and Queen shall be proclaimed by their former magistrates." What William really meant by this phrase, "former magistrates," is not clear; but it is certain that he did not mean to decompose his predecessor's "Dominion of New England" into its former several integers. He was too good a statesman not to adopt at once James's royal notion of Colonial consolidation, and not to maintain that idea which was so demonstrably advantageous for England, especially when she was on the eve of a bitter war with France. Yet, William's large European policy was not revealed to the agents of his subordinate American colony. In this state of doubt, Phipps thought that he had better hasten back to Massachusetts.

\* The following is a copy of the circular letter of the English Privy Council, to the several Colonial Governors:

"After our very hearty commendations:—Whereas, WILLIAM and MARY, Prince and Princess of Orange, have, with the consent and at the desire of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Assembled at Westminster, been proclaimed King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and of the Territories and Dominions therunto appertaining. We have thought fit hereby to signify the same unto you, with directions that with the Council and other principal officers and inhabitants of [Virginia] you proclaim their most sacred Majesties, according to the form here inclosed [See Col. Doc. III., 605], with the solemnities and ceremonies requisite on the like occasion. And we do further transmit unto you their Majesties most gracious Proclamation, signifying their Majesty's pleasure that all men being in offices of Government shall so continue, until their Majesty's further pleasure be known. We do in like manner will and require you forthwith to cause to be proclaimed and published, as also that you do give order that the oaths herewith sent, be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance might heretofore have been required; and that the said oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be set aside and abrogated within your government. And so, &c. &c. &c."

"From the Council Chamber, the 19th February, 1688-9.  
 "HALIFAX, C. P. S.      SHEWSEBURY,      MACCLESFIELD,  
 "BATH,                      H. CAPSHAW,      J. BOSCAWEN,  
 "WINCHESTER,      DEYONSHIRE,      DELAMERE,  
 "R. HOWARD,      R. HAMPTON."

This dispatch was sent to, and acted on, in Virginia, and in Pennsylvania; and it would surely have been obeyed by Andros, if he had received it. Compare Col. Doc., III., 572, 583, 587, 588, 605; Chalmers, I., 431, 469; Anderson's Colonial Church, II., 381, 382; Penn. Col. Rec., I., 340, 341.

But before he left London, a messenger from James, who was now in Ireland, tendered him "the government of New England, if he would accept it." This Irish offer, by "the abdicated king," Phipps wisely declined; and soon afterwards he set sail for Boston, carrying the Privy Council's delayed dispatches to Andros of nineteenth of February, and "with certain instructions from none of the least considerable persons at Whitehall." One of these private "instructions" was that if the people of New England "did give them the trouble to hang Sir Edmund, they deserved no friends:" (*Col. Doc. III.*, 587, 588; *Magnalia*, I., 178.)

After the departure of Phipps, the English Privy Council, on the eighteenth of April, directed Secretary Shrewsbury, to inquire who were best fitted to be Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of New England. These appointments were the more necessary to be made at once, in view of the opening war with France. It was also contemplated to bring the several proprietary governments in America "under a nearer dependence on the Crown, as His Majesty's revenue in the Plantations is very much concerned herein." Thus William's Whig Counsellors, in the third month of his reign, advised him to carry out some of the most decided colonial measures of his predecessor, because those measures were now selfishly considered to benefit England.

Two hundred years ago, news from Europe came tardily and uncertainly across the Atlantic. The monitory letter sent by James to Andros in October, did not reach Boston until the following January. By the same vessel, Mather warned his Massachusetts friends, "to prepare the minds of the people for an interesting change." The King's letter was dispatched to Maine, and in obedience to it, on the Tenth of January, 1689, Andros issued his Proclamation, dated "at Fort Charles, at Pemaquid," charging "all officers, civil and military, and all other His Majesty's loving subjects within this his Territory and Dominion aforesaid, to be vigilant and careful in their respective places and stations; and that upon the approach of any Fleet or Foreign Force, they be in readiness, and use their utmost endeavour to hinder any landing or invasion that may be intended to be made within the same." (*See Val. Man.*, 1859, 452; *Hist. Mag.*, Nov. 1866, 144, *Sup.*)

A few weeks afterwards, while Nicholson was putting New York in a better condition of defence, a coasting vessel from Virginia arrived there, on the fifth of February; and Andries Greverael her master, called on the Lieutenant-Governor at Fort James, with news that the Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay. Astonished to hear it, Nicholson compared William to Monmouth; prophesied that "the very 'prentice boys of

"London will drive him out againe;" and forbade the news to be divulged to any one. A week afterwards, Jacob Leisler, a Captain of one of the City train-bands, and a large importer of foreign liquors, received a confirmation of the intelligence, by way of Maryland. The news was "kept private at first" by Nicholson and his Counsellors, "to hinder any tumult by divulging the same so suddenly." But, on the first of March, 1689, "a full account" of it was dispatched from New York to Andros, in Maine.\*

When Andros received Nicholson's dispatch from New York, he left Brockholls in chief command at Pemaquid, and hastened to Boston which he reached "about the latter end of March." (*Col. Doc. III.*, 581, 723.) A few days afterwards, on the 4th of April, John Winslow arrived at Boston from the West Indies, bringing copies of the Prince of Orange's Declaration from the Hague, and confirmation of the previous news of his landing in England. Andros required Winslow to produce the Prince's declarations; but he refusing to do so, was imprisoned for not communicating these important public documents to the Governor-General of New England, who certainly had a right to know their contents.

The intrigue of Phipps and Mather, in London, which prevented the transmission to Andros of the Prince of Orange's confirmatory letter of the twelfth of January, and of the Privy Council's dispatches of the nineteenth of February, now produced its intended result. That active divine Increase Mather, had written home, that "a charter with larger power" for Massachusetts would be obtained from James. It was plausibly argued by Mather's correspondents, that, if favor might be expected from James, much more would surely come from William. The success of the Calvinistic Dutch Prince became the earnest prayer of the New England Puritans. Although it was well understood by Louis, and Seignelay, in France, that the Protestant Andros would at once declare for William, if he should become the Sovereign of England, (*Col. Doc. IX.* 403, 404,) the chief leaders of opinion in Massachusetts chose to pronounce otherwise. What they wanted to get—rightly or wrongly—was restoration of the former separate charter government of the colony. Accordingly, they rumored that by his Proclamation of January to hinder the landing of any "foreign force" in New England Andros had meant to oppose the commands of William, if he should become his lawful Sovereign. The Boston merchants who had sen-

\* It is remarkable that Mr. J. G. Palfrey, the most recent historian of "New England," who frequently quotes what he calls the "O'Callaghan Documents," abstains from any allusion to this earliest intelligence received in America, of the landing of William the Third in England, which is printed, in full, in the *New York Colonial Documents*, III., 591, 660.

supplies to the Indians in Maine, and others whose illicit trading had been stopped, joined in the conspiracy against the Governor. By this time there was great excitement in and around Boston; and Andros wrote to Brockholls at Pemaquid, on the sixteenth of April, that "there is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter, or they 'know not what';" (*Hutch. I.*, 372.) But the most reflecting Massachusetts minds saw that the American Plantations of England must necessarily follow the fate of their mother country; and that it would be wise to await the event in that country. As swings the ship with the tide, so must swing her yawl. So, the "principal gentlemen in Boston" after consultation agreed that they would, if possible, "extinguish all essays in the people towards an insurrection." Yet, if an "ungoverned *mobile*" should push matters to extremity, those "principal gentlemen" would themselves head the movement, and secure any official rewards that might follow its success. Accordingly, the young Cotton Mather drew up a prolix: "*Declaration of the gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Boston, and the country adjacent*," explaining their intended revolt, and their purpose to secure Andros and his officers, "for what justice orders from his Highness with the English Parliament shall direct, lest, ere we are aware, we find (what we may fear, 'being on all sides in danger') ourselves to be by 'them given away to a Foreign power, before such orders can reach unto us.'" (*Magnalia*, I., 179, 180; *Hutch.*, I., 381; *Forcé's Tracts*, IV., ix., x.)

There was certainly no "Foreign power" able or likely to damage New England in the Spring of 1689, except the French Canadians and the Savages, against whom Andros had been the whole winter endeavoring to defend Maine. That he would have "given away" New England to Louis, was not believed by Louis himself; (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IX., 403, 404.) But this absurd intent was charged against Andros, with the design of recommending to William a Colonial revolt he did not desire, and which must necessarily embarrass his government. The train thus carefully prepared was admirably fired. It was noised about, that Boston was to be destroyed by the New York Mohawks, and by mines under the town: that the soldiers in Maine were all poisoned with rum; and that a French fleet of thirty sail was hovering on the coast; (*Palmer*, 9.) These and other absurd stories were so generally circulated, that insurrection could not be restrained. On the eighteenth of April, the populace in and around Boston rose in arms, seized Captain George, of the Royal frigate *Rose*, and imprisoned Sheriff Sherlock, with Randolph, Farewell, and other obnoxious officials of the New England government. About noon,

Bradstreet, the last Governor of Massachusetts, under its cancelled charter, with several other prominent Boston citizens, assembled in the Royal Council Chamber at the Town-house; and after Cotton Mather's verbose declaration had been read from the balcony, they notified Andros, who was then at the fort, to surrender the government, "to be preserved and disposed according to order" and direction from the Crown of England, "which suddenly is expected may arrive." A boat had meanwhile been sent ashore from the *Rose* frigate, to bring off the Governor. But as he was going down to embark, he was met by an armed party bearing the summons from those assembled at the Town-house. Surprised at this demand for which he knew "noe cause or occasion," Andros, with several attendants, went to meet its signers at the Royal Council Chamber. As he passed thither, "the streets were full of 'armed men; yett none offered him or those 'that were with him the least rudeness or 'incivility, but, on the contrary, usual respect.'" At the Council Chamber, where, among the civilians, five Boston ministers were very busy, the Governor was ordered by the conspirators to be imprisoned along with Graham, West, Palmer, and other subordinates of the Dominion. But the mutineers, who "broke open the Secretary's 'office," missed finding "Sir Edmund's papers;" and the Great Seal of New England seems also to have disappeared at this time; (*Col. Doc.* III., 582, 723, 724; *Hutch. Coll.*, 567-575.)

And now that Andros was safely in jail, the question arose how the Government of the Dominion of New England was to be lawfully administered. Had he succeeded in his attempt to embark on the *Rose* frigate, and gone in her to Newport or New York, the course of subsequent events would have been very different. The seat of the New England Government would have been changed; but the government itself would have been maintained. This made the Massachusetts insurgents especially anxious to secure the person of Andros. Under the King's commission, Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson was to succeed his chief only in case of his death or absence from the Territory. The Governor's forced incapacity had not been contemplated. (*Col. Doc.* III., 542.) Perhaps the imprisonment of Andros in Massachusetts did not strictly entitle Nicholson to assume the government of New England. Yet, next to Andros, he was the only representative of the English crown who had any right from that crown to chief authority in the Dominion. Certainly, no maladministration could be alleged against Nicholson, as it had been charged against Andros. But those who imprisoned their Royal Governor, meant to rend consolidated New England into pieces. Their act was only "secession." Mas-

Massachusetts did not want union with her sister Colonies, unless she could control that union, as she had controlled the New England Confederacy of 1643. She pined for the separate local government which she had enjoyed under her perverted and abrogated charter. It was very galling to her, that, in common with neighboring British Colonies, she should be subjected by her Sovereign to the authority of his own Governor-General. Although but a subordinate English Colony, without a charter, she determined to secede from the rest of New England. Accordingly, a Council of Safety assumed the direction of affairs in Massachusetts, and hastened to withdraw the garrisons which Andros had carefully established in Maine. The last Colonial charter officers, chosen in 1686, were reinstated, until orders should come from England. On the twenty-ninth of May, Phipps arrived at Boston, with the dispatches addressed to Andros by the English authorities at Whitehall. Finding that the Governor was in prison, Phipps opened the letters directed to him; and the acting magistrates of Massachusetts, the same afternoon, proclaimed William and Mary, according to the Privy Council's orders to Andros of nineteenth February, which he would doubtless have cheerfully obeyed, if they had been dispatched to him as originally intended. (*Col. Doc. III.*, 572, 583, 587, 588; *Chalmers, I.*, 431, 469.)

Thus, the intrigue begun by Phipps and Mather at London, was completed at Boston. Without the knowledge and against the purpose of William, his Dominion of New England—which had hardly lasted eight months after the annexation of New York and New Jersey—was “dis-united” by the rebellious secession of Massachusetts. The name which James the First had given survived in history; but the consolidated, actual New England of James the Second never more existed. And thus, Massachusetts became the first practical exponent, on the American continent, of that extreme doctrine of “State Rights,” which afterwards produced so much national disorder. The Boston notion of “secession” quickly spread throughout the other New England Colonies. Plymouth—as Wiswall wrote to Hinckley—did not like “to trot after ‘the Bay horse.’” (*Mass. H. S. Coll.*, xxxv., 301.) Therefore, Plymouth set up again her old Patent government; and so Plymouth seceded from New England. Rhode Island had no sympathy with the persecutors of Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, who had now imprisoned Andros; yet, to avoid anarchy, she replaced her former magistrates under her charter; and so Rhode Island seceded. Connecticut—which had adroitly coquetted with both Massachusetts and New York, and did not wish to be governed by either—boldly resumed her charter government; and

secession was triumphant. Before the sum of 1689, “New England” was once more resorted into her several constituent Colonies.

What happened in New York, after the dissolution of Andros, may perhaps be detailed some future occasion.

It only remains to be observed at this time that what is often called the “*Revolution in England*,” in the spring of 1689, cannot be justified on the grounds maintained by the English nation, which after the abdication of James, made William and Mary its King and Queen. England as a nation had all the attributes of Sovereignty; and what that nation required no confirmation elsewhere. On the other hand, New England was a Colonial dependency of the Mother Country; bound to follow the fate of that country, as long as “the Dominion” was dependent. In none of the mutinous movements in that Dominion was there thought of making any one of its constituent colonies independent of England. On the contrary, the foremost insurgents in Massachusetts loudly protested their subjection to English authority, and their loyalty to “the Crown of England.” This was precisely the doctrine of their Governor General, whom by imprisonment they prevented from executing the orders of the Crown. If they had meant to declare themselves independent of the Mother Country, the Massachusetts mutineers against Andros had a perfect right to revolt from England; and history would have applauded the rebellion. They might have failed in their attempt at that time; yet, at any rate they would have tried to vindicate the principle of a right to self-government. But this grand notion was not the Boston notion of 1689. That notion was to swing Massachusetts back again to her former condition of an English corporation, that her Puritan ministers might control a colonial oligarchy, which would, among other things, evade the execution of the English navigation laws. This was not a consistent position for a subordinate, loudly loyal, English colony to assume. Yet it was the attitude in which Massachusetts placed herself; unsuccessfully in regard to most of her intended objects. There can be no just comparison of her selfish colonial tiny against her King's subordinate Governor in 1689, with her grand colonial revolt against King himself in 1776. The one was a disavowed insurrection of avowed English subjects; the other was a defiant rebellion of American freemen, who boldly renounced their allegiance to England.

But history tells us that there was, at all epochs, one common cause of colonial grief in both epochs. The oppressive navigation laws of England, which were meant to cripple all col-

commerce, had much to do with the deposition and imprisonment of Andros. And here, let me say that those laws survived until the spring of 1849, when they were finally abolished by the British Parliament, mainly through the personal influence and exertions of that eminent American Historian, now an officer of this Society, who then so admirably represented his country in England. I repeat, that those English navigation laws had much to do with the New England insurrection of 1689; as they had much to do with the American Revolution of 1776. From "the common gale in Boston," on the twenty ninth of May, 1689, Randolph, the imprisoned Secretary of the Dominion, thus wrote to the Plantation Committee at London: "MY LORDS: Notwithstanding all the pretensions of grievances mentioned in their papers, and cries of oppression in the Governor's proceedings, it is not the person of Sir Edmund Andros, but the government itself, they design to 'have removed, that they may freely trade.'" (*Col. Doc., III., 581.*)

### III.—AN APOLOGIST FOR FALSEHOOD.

A few days since, while discussing the subject of "American Heroes and Statesmen," *The Boston Daily Evening Transcript* indulged itself in the following remarks:

"While on this subject, we cannot forbear to deprecate the denationalizing tendency of any and every attempt to diminish reverence for 'the fathers of the Republic, who, whatever may have been their personal errors, as citizens and patriots have become historically pre-eminent all the world over; and whose example and writings are sacred precedents to lovers of 'freedom and humanity. It is especially unworthy of historical students and societies to sanction that 'folly' which is 'the martyrdom of fame.'

"Israel Putnam's character has been attacked with virulence; Hamilton and Jay disparaged; old slavery-misdemeanors in Massachusetts raked up and 'set in a note-book'; and, the other day, an American historical magazine defended the insulting conduct of Genet at the expense of Rufus King and other high-minded Federalists; while here is an elaborate defence called forth by a national historian's reflections upon the career and character of one of Washington's most trusted friends, and America's 'pure and able and patriotic officers of the Revolution.'

The *Transcript* is an excellent paper, and its management is evidently in good hands; yet we incline to the belief that in this instance it has forgotten itself in the earnestness of its desire to

slur three writers, not one of whom it has the courage to attack more openly and with the evidence in its hand.

Whether or not the telling of the Truth on any subject is more "denationalizing" in its "tendency" than the publication of Falsehood would be, we leave to the *Transcript* to determine; we shall be content, meanwhile, with the information which we have already received, that "righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people." (*Proverbs, xiv. 34.*) Whether or not "reverence" is due to any one, of any period, beyond his merits, is also, to us at least, somewhat questionable, notwithstanding the precedents which we find in the various Histories of Massachusetts, and in the Addresses delivered before the different New England Societies on Forefathers' Day; and if we shall adhere, in our ignorance, to the notion that "the fathers of the Republic" were only men—in too many instances, only frail, selfish, and unscrupulous partizans, like many whom we see every day—and entitled only to the same treatment as other men, we trust the *Transcript* will pardon us.

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Bancroft has so read the evidence and so considered it, that his "reverence" for "the fathers of the Republic" has been severely shaken, and that he has had the courage to say so. Greene and Schuyler, Sullivan and Putnam, Reed and Wayne, are among those whose reputations have suffered at his hands; and his allusions to the "ambition" of Jay and the questionable descent of Hamilton, we are aware, have aroused the indignation of some of the descendants of those distinguished men. We have read History, in some of these cases, with a different result; yet we have never supposed, before, that the fate of the Republic or the salvation of either of us depended on either Mr. Bancroft's conclusions or our own.

We are not insensible of the fact, also, that the "old slavery-misdemeanors in Massachusetts" have been "raked up and 'set in a note-book,'" in the face of the repeated assurances of modern Massachusetts historians, jurists, poets, orators, politicians, "heroes, and statesmen," that their fathers had never been guilty of such "misdemeanors," and of the persistent pretensions to superior authority in the Republic, of the descendants and successors of those who had thus been falsely claimed as the champions of "Freedom and Humanity," in by-gone ages.

We are not insensible of the fact, also, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for November last contained an article on "The Citizen Genet," in which all the papers—those which opposed him as well as those through which he defended himself—were published *in extenso*. We are insensi-

ble of the fact, if it is a fact, that that article "defended the insulting conduct" of any one "at the expense" of any one, the remarks of the *Transcript* to the contrary notwithstanding; although it is very evident that our Boston contemporary has, itself, convicted "Rufus King and other high-minded Federalists" of some wrongdoing, on the testimony presented in that article.

Mr. Bancroft, we have no doubt, is able to take care of his own reputation as a writer. No one knows better than the *Transcript* that Mr. Moore needs no assistance in the protection of his *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* from what seems suddenly to have become orthodox in that Commonwealth—the fictions of her so-called Historians, and the falsehoods of her "Heroes and Statesmen." THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, also, even in the face of those who have at last unmasked their batteries and hoisted the banners of Reverence and Falsehood for that of Truth, under which they have heretofore assumed to act, considers itself competent to protect itself and any cause which it shall be pleased to advocate.

Before we dismiss the subject, we beg to be indulged with permission to offer a suggestion or two for the private ear of the *Transcript*.

We have never supposed that the work of the Revolution in America was performed, as the miracles were performed, by the direct action of the Almighty; and, even in the face of the "denationalizing tendency" of some irreverent modern historians, hereabouts, we have adhered to the idea that *men*, just such as those whom we see every day, in the streets of New York and Morrisania, were the instruments, in the hands of the Supreme Disposer of events, by which it was accomplished. It was not the first time, nor will it be the last, when God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound those which are mighty, and vile things of the world, and things which are despised, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are, that no flesh should rejoice in his presence.

Entertaining those ideas, we have supposed, also, that if Israel Putnam and Nathaniel Greene, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, Rufus King and Henry Knox, or any others, have received more than the shares of credit therefor which justly belonged respectively to them, there were those to whom more credit was due than they have yet received; and it is on the question of a correction of these several accounts—current of fame, that the *Transcript* has seen fit to become the apologist for wrong-doing.

The great record of New England's "patriotism" long since denoted, as her opinion, that Charles Lee was better qualified to command the armies of the Revolution than was George Wash-

ington; and the same hands also posted on her ledgers, Philip Schuyler's honest credits on the right-hand side of the dishonest account of Horatio Gates. Neither "reverence for the fathers of the Republic" nor fear of their sons will prevent us, as we shall have occasion, to transfer to Washington and to Schuyler the credits which have always belonged, respectively, only to them.

The Legislature of Connecticut duly "Resolved," a few years since, that that State had furnished, in Israel Putnam, "not only a hero but a commander" for Bunker's Hill; and "reverence" for that ancient humbug induces *The Transcript* to defraud William Prescott, of Groton, and Thomas Knolton, of Ashford, of the honor which belongs only to them; while its lips are sealed when they should condemn him as an imbecile at Long Island and a traitor at West Point.

Hamilton and Jay must not be "disparaged" by an exposure of the fictions of their descendants and biographers, or by statements which shall conflict with those fictions, if *The Transcript's* "reverence" is to be regarded as the true rule of an historian's action.

We are not among those who respect Hamilton the less because, as John Adams said, he was "the bastard brat of a Scotch pedlar" instead of a scion of the Duke of Hamilton, in Scotland, nor Jay because his grandfather was a pirate instead of a Hugueontic saint, exiled for conscience sake; we only insist that the paramour of Mrs. Reynolds shall not continue to be embalmed in History as a pattern of Virtue and Integrity; nor the great leader of the Royalists in the Provincial Congress of New York, in 1776, as a model of Republican simplicity or a champion of the "inalienable" Rights of "all men."

Rufus King's malignant and too-successful opposition to Thomas Addis Emmett—the kinsman of his early friend—and the Irish Republicans of '96, and Henry Knox's toryism in Boston, even after the slaughter at Lexington and the glories of Bunker's Hill had separated the Royalists from the Republicans, throughout America, may properly find shelter, it seems, in an unholy "reverence for the fathers of the Republic," particularly for the "high-minded Federalists;" and "it is especially unworthy of historical students and societies," we are told, to reprint any document from which may be learned, even incidentally, that neither of them hesitated to lie for the promotion of their party ends, nor to blast the reputation of a stranger, unjustly, when it became necessary to conceal a partizan violation of the provisions of the first Treaty to which, in their darkest days, the United States had been willing parties.

We have offered these suggestions, as we have



said, for the private ear of *The Transcript*; whenever that sheet shall be pleased to give us another lesson in Ethics, we shall probably have more to say on the subject, publicly. In the mean while, its advocacy of Falsehood in History for Reverence sake will serve to illustrate the worth of its judgment on all subjects relating to the past; and it affords a measure, also, for the morality of that community where it has been so long a favorite.

H. B. D.

#### IV.—THE NATCHEZ OF LOUISIANA, AN OFFSHOOT OF THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

By D. G. BRINTON, M.D.

Of all the tribes north of Anahuac none seem to have so nearly reached civilization as the Natchez of Louisiana. "Among them alone," remarks Gallatin, "we find, connected together, "a highly privileged class, a despotic government, and something like a regular form of "religious worship." (*Trans. Am. Antig. Soc.*, ii., 113.) They erected temples on artificial mounds; they worshipped idols of stone, wood, and baked clay; they had a systematic helioatry, human sacrifices, and a distinction of castes four in number, like the Hindus, and not a whit less rigidly enforced. The position of this enigmatical people in American Ethnology is wholly undetermined. I believe there is evidence to prove them an offshoot of the great Maya family of Yucatan; cousins, therefore, of the builders of Uxmal, Palenque, and Chichen Itza.

In such researches, tradition, though a deceitful, is not a despicable guide. As recorded by Le Page du Pratz (*Hist. Louisiana*, ii., 110), it assigns the Natchez an origin in the Southwest, and a migration from some point on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Now the Mayas of Yucatan, who were likewise idolaters, sun-worshippers, mound-builders, and given to human sacrifice, had a colony, the Huastecas, Southwest of the Natchez, where the Rio Panuco empties into the Gulf. Dr. Vater and Albert Gallatin showed that their language was largely derived from the Mayas, which but verified an ancient Mexican tradition to the effect that at a remote date the Huastecas came by sea from the East, bringing with them painted books and a strange religion. (*SAHAGUN Hist. de Nueva Espana*, Lib. X., cap. 29.) While Hernando D'Escalante Fontaneda was a prisoner in Florida, he saw Indians from Yucatan and Honduras, thrown ashore in their attempt to reach the great river Jordan, the Mississippi, of which, obviously, some account had reached them. (FONTANEDA, *Smith's Trans.* 24.) It would seem that on the adjacent Island

of Cuba the Mayas certainly had a colony, if we can rely on Peter Martyr, who in his tract "*De Insulis nuper Inventis*" avers its natives conversed intelligibly with the Yucatanese—"quorum idioma, si non idem, consanguineum tamen."

While these are interesting hints, the decision must be pronounced by a comparison of languages.

The Natchez offered one of several examples among American Indians where in the same community two independent tongues were employed, one by the nobles, the conquerors, another by the vulgar, the conquered. In their instance, the latter of these, called *la langue vulgaire, la langue puante*, or the *Stinkard tongue*, was beyond doubt a dialect of Choctaw. Dumont and Dupratz give the following specimens, over against which I set the Choctaw equivalents:

	STINKARD NATCHEZ.	CHOCTAW.
good	athicema	achukma
ten	pocole	pokoole
great	tachito	chito

But the language of the nobles lends itself to no such relationship. We have of it a few words, not a dozen altogether, in the early French writers; and, in 1826, Albert Gallatin obtained from a Natchez, and subsequently published in his vocabularies, a hundred and twenty-three words. At that time nearly a century had elapsed since the tribe had been almost exterminated by the French, and had fled for refuge among the Choctaws. No wonder, therefore, that among these words are some evidently adopted from their protectors and allies; for example:

	NATCHEZ.	CHOCTAW.
sky	nasooktah	sootah
sea	kootshel	bokooshah
deer	tza	issa
tobacco	hakahoo	hakchooma

But the mass of words are from a totally different stock. Not counting the adventitious Choctaw words, and some whose equivalents in Maya I have not found, there remained for comparison just about one hundred words.

For the Maya and its dialects, I have depended upon Gallatin, Dr. Vater, and Dr. Scherzer. It is a difficult language to bring to writing. Few more so. It has five consonants we cannot express, nasals and gutturals. Had I allowed myself to write these vocabularies in phonetic uniformity, the similarities would have been more obvious. This I have refrained from doing, and must beg the reader, therefore, to remember that in the Natchez words the vowels a, e, i, o, are to be pronounced as in French, u as in *but*, oo, y and all consonants as in English; that in the Huasteca and Maya the vowels are as in Spanish, the

has in English, hu as our w, the x, k and o before vowels usually guttural, while the Maya dialects, the Quiche, Poconchi, Kachikel, which I have designated by their initials, are according to German orthography. The only liberty I have allowed myself is in the Natchez to drop the pronominal suffix *nesoo*, my, and from three of the numerals the affix *uita*, which, attached to the first four numerals, with slightly varying orthography in Gallatin's vocabulary, is clearly one of those numeral terminations so common in these languages.

*Comparative Vocabulary of the Natchez, Huasteca, and Maya tongues.*

ENGLISH.	NATCHEZ.	HUASTECA.	MAYA.
mother	kwai	ixal	ixal
husband	tahmahl	tomol	
woman	tahmahl	tomol	
son	akwai		lakpal
daughter	mahn-oonoo		iz-mehen
boy	tamun-oonoo	tam	mehen
brother	ka ka	atatal	
child	tsit sie	tzitzicach (fem. pl.)	chichen (small)
head	apoo		pol
eyes	oktool		uich, tuknel
nose	shamats	zam	tzam (Q.)
mouth	heche	huy	chi, tchi (Q.)
tongue	its-uk		uak
body	iwit		uinctil
bone	ikwel		wuakel (P.)
blood	itsch	xihtz	kik
friend	keta		etail ( <i>i</i> a suffix)
star	tookul		ek
day	wit		kih, quih (P.)
thunder	pooloopoolooluh	ululul	
fire	wah		k'ahk
water	koon		cha (Q. P.), kaanab (the sea)
river	wol	hual-ja	hal-tun (rivulet)
stone	ohk		tok (flint stone)
tree	tshoo		che, tsche (Q. P.)
white	kakap	zathi	zazac
red	pahkop		chak
small	tsikistiktenoo	tzicat, chichic	chichen
wolf	uttuwah		tiu (Q. P.), u-tiu (K.)
bad	wattaks	atax	kakas
all	lah-takop		lah
house	habit		pati (Q.)
we	tuca-hanehi		tu, ca
one	hu	hun	hun, hu
two	ah	tzab	ca
four	gan		can
seven	uk-woh	buk	uuk
eight	upku-tepish		uaxac, uapxae (Q.)
twenty	oka-poo		hunkal
to drink	pokoo		ukul ( <i>l</i> the intrans. term.)
to sleep	nanole		uenel
servants	theou		tzic, tzicah (to obey)
chief or sun	liquip		leh-quih, great sun
come (imper.)	caheuch	cachich	

The last three words are taken from early French authorities.

It appears that from the one hundred words compared, five have affinities more or less marked

to words peculiar to the Huasteca, thirteen to words common to Huasteca and Maya, and thirty-nine to words of similar meaning in the Maya and its dialects. It will be further ob-

served that the letters d, f, g, j, q, r, v, which are wholly wanting in Maya, are also very rare or wholly absent in Natchez.

Concerning grammatical structure little can be said. It is clear from the vocabulary that possessive pronouns and adjectives follow the noun they qualify. This prevails in Choctaw, but neither in Huasteca nor Maya. Dupratz says the substantives in the noble language were declined as in Latin. There is in Maya a sort of declension, a vocative, a plural, an indefinite and a definite termination. The plural ending in both Huasteca and Maya is ob. Many Natchez words end in op. In the degeneration of language, it is quite common for plurals to be used as singulars; perhaps this is the case here.

If this analysis of language and traditions proves the Natchez a Maya colony, the interesting questions arise, what influence did they exert on the early semi-civilization of the Mississippi valley? were there other tribes of like descent among their neighbors? and is that great "Empire of the Natchez" which looms up, vast and dim, in the ancient traditions of all the Gulf tribes, and which such a careful Ethnologist as Theodor Waitz (*Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Th. iii., s. 218) is inclined to accept as a historical truth, a reminiscence of actual fact, or but one of those dreams of former greatness which perishing nationalities ever delight to frame?

## V.—GEMS FROM THE DIADEM OF MASSACHUSETTS.

### 1.—HER REFUSAL TO FURNISH HER QUOTA OF MILITIA, IN THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

[Governor Strong to the Justices of her Supreme Judicial Court.]

BOSTON, August 1, 1812.

The Honourable the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

GENTLEMEN:

Having laid before the Council of this State a letter from the Secretary of War, of the 12th of June last,\* and letters dated June 22nd† and

\* The following is a copy of the letter here referred to :

"WAR DEPARTMENT, June 12, 1812.

"SIR:

"I am directed by the President to request your Excellency to order into the service of the United States, on the requisition of Major General Dearborn, such part of the quota of militia from the State of Massachusetts, detached conformably to the Act of April 10th, 1812, as he may deem necessary for the defence of the sea-coast.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"W. EUSTIS.

"His Excellency Caleb Strong,

"Governor of Massachusetts."

† The following is a copy of the letter here referred to :

July 15th,\* which I received from Major General Dearborn, and also a letter which I have received from the Secretary of War, of July 21, 1812,† requesting their advice what measures, ought to be adopted in consequence of the requisition expressed in the said letters: the Council thereupon advised that, as upon important questions of law and upon solemn occasions the Governor and Council have authority by the Consti-

"HEAD QUARTERS, BOSTON, June 22d, 1812.

"SIR:

"I have received instructions from the President of the United States to call on your Excellency for such part of the quota of militia from the State of Massachusetts, detached conformably to the Act of Congress of April 10 h, 1812, as I may deem necessary for the defence of the sea-coast; and I now have the honor of requesting your Excellency to order fourteen companies of artillery and twenty-seven companies of infantry into the service of the United States, for the defence of the ports and harbors in this State and the harbor of Newport.

"The companies are intended for the following ports and harbors, viz.: Passamaquoddy, one company of artillery and four companies of infantry, with a full complement of officers, to be commanded by a Major; Marblehead, Salem, Cape Ann, and Newburyport, two companies of artillery and two companies of infantry; Boston, four companies of artillery and eight companies of infantry, with one Lieutenant-Colonel and one Major; and eight companies of infantry for the defence of Rhode Island.

"Having received official information that War has been declared by Congress against Great Britain, your Excellency will perceive the expediency of giving facility to such measures as the crisis demands; and, as the defence of the sea-coast of New England is, at present, confided to my direction, I shall, with confidence, rely on all the aid and support that the respective Governors can afford, and more especially on that of the Governor of the important State of Massachusetts; and I shall, at all times, receive with the greatest pleasure, any advice or information that your Excellency may be pleased to communicate.

"With respectful consideration,

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"H. DEARBORN.

"His Excellency Caleb Strong,

"Governor of Massachusetts.

"Omitted in the above—Machias, one company of artillery; Penobscot, one company of artillery and two companies of infantry, to be commanded by a Major; Wiscasset and Damariscotta, two companies of artillery, one each; Kennebunk, one company of artillery; Portland, two companies of artillery and three companies of infantry, to be commanded by a Major."

\* We have not found a copy of this letter in any of the collections of papers of that period, and are, therefore, unable to lay it before our readers.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† The following is a copy of the letter here referred to :

"WAR DEPARTMENT, July 21, 1812.

"SIR:

"By information received from Major General Dearborn, it appears that the detachments from the militia of Massachusetts, for the defence of the maritime frontier, required by him under the authority of the President, by virtue of the Act of the tenth of April, 1812, have not marched to the several stations assigned to them.

"Inasmuch as longer delay may be followed with distress to a certain portion of our fellow citizens, and with injurious consequences to our country, I am commanded by the President to inform your Excellency that this arrangement of the militia was preparatory to the march of the regular troops to the Northern frontier. The exigencies of the service have required, and orders have accordingly been given to Major General Dearborn, to move the regular troops to that frontier, leaving a sufficient number to man the guns in the positions on the seaboard. The execution of this order increases, as your Excellency cannot fail to observe, the necessity

tution to require the opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, it is advisable to request the opinion of the Justices of that Court on the following questions, to wit:

1. Whether the Commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States have a right to determine whether any of the exigencies contemplated by the Constitution of the United States exist, so as to require them to place the militia, or any part of it, in the service of the United States, at the request of the President, to be commanded by him, pursuant to Acts of Congress.

2. Whether, when either of the exigencies exist authorizing the employing of the militia in the service of the United States, the militia thus employed can be lawfully commanded by any officers but of the militia, except by the President of the United States.

In conformity with the above advice of Council, I request you, Gentlemen, to state to me your opinions on the questions above mentioned, as soon as conveniently may be. The Secretary will deliver you, herewith, the letters above mentioned.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,  
Your most obedient servant,  
CALEB STRONG.

[*The Reply of the Justices.*]

To his Excellency the Governor and the Honorable Council of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, have considered the several questions proposed by your Excellency and Honours for their opinion.

By the Constitution of this State, the authority of commanding the militia of the Commonwealth is vested exclusively in the Governor, who has all the powers incident to the office of Commander-in-chief, and is to exercise them personally, or by subordinate officers under his command, agreeably to the Rules and Regulations of the Constitution and the Laws of the land.

While the Governor of the Commonwealth remained in the exercise of these powers, the Federal Constitution was ratified, by which was

vested in the Congress a power to provide for calling forth the militia, *to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions*, and to provide for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers. The Federal Constitution further provides, that the President shall be Commander-in-chief of the army of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.

On the construction of the Federal and State Constitutions must depend the answers to the several questions proposed.

As the militia of the several States may be employed in the service of the United States for the three specific purposes of executing the Laws of the Union, of suppressing insurrections, and of repelling invasions, the opinion of the Judges is requested, whether the Commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States have a right to determine whether any of the exigencies aforesaid exist, so as to require them to place the militia, or any part of it, in the service of the United States, at the request of the President, to be commanded by him, pursuant to Acts of Congress.

It is the opinion of the undersigned, that this right is vested in the Commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States.

The Federal Constitution provides, that when either of these exigencies exist, the militia may be employed, pursuant to some Act of Congress, in the service of the United States; but no power is given, either to the President or to Congress, to determine that either of the said exigencies does in fact exist. As this power is not delegated to the United States by the Federal Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, it is reserved to the States respectively; and, from the nature of the power, it must be exercised by those with whom the States have respectively entrusted the chief command of the militia.

It is the duty of these Commanders to execute this important trust agreeably to the Laws of their several States respectively, without reference to the Laws or officers of the United States, in all cases, except those specially provided for in the Federal Constitution. They must therefore determine when either of the special cases exist, obliging them to relinquish the execution of this trust and to render themselves and the militia subject to the command of the President.

A different construction, giving to Congress the right to determine when those special cases exist, authorizing them to call forth the whole of the militia, and taking them from the Commanders-in-chief of the several States and sub-

"hastening the detached militia to their several posts, as assigned by General Dearborn, in which case they will, of course, be considered in the actual service and pay of the United States.

"The danger of invasion, which existed at the time of issuing the order of the President, increases; and I am specially directed by the President, to urge the consideration to your Excellency, as requiring the necessary order to be given for the immediate march of the several detachments specified by General Dearborn, to their respective posts.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your obedient servant,

"W. EUSTIS.

"His Excellency Caleb Strong,  
"Governor of Massachusetts."

jecting them to the command of the President, would place all the militia in effect at the will of the Congress and produce a military consolidation of the States, without any Constitutional remedy, against the intentions of the People, when ratifying the Federal Constitution. Indeed, since the passing of the Act of Congress, of February 28th, 1795, vesting in the President the power of calling forth the militia when the exigencies mentioned in the Constitution shall exist, if the President has the power of determining when those exigencies exist, the militia of the several States is in fact at his command and subject to his controul.

No inconveniences can reasonably be presumed to result from the construction which vests in the Commanders-in-chief of the militia in the several States the right of determining when the exigencies exist, obliging them to place the militia in the service of the United States. These exigencies are of such a nature, that the existence of them can be easily ascertained by, or made known to, the Commanders-in-chief of the militia; and when ascertained, the public interest will induce a prompt obedience to the Acts of Congress.

Another question proposed to the consideration of the Justices is, whether, when either of the exigencies exist, authorizing the employing of the militia in the service of the United States, the militia thus employed can be lawfully commanded by any officer but of the militia, except by the President of the United States.

The Federal Constitution declares that the President shall be the Commander-in-chief of the army of the United States. He may undoubtedly exercise this command by officers of the army of the United States, by him commissioned according to law. The President is also declared to be the Commander-in-chief of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States. The officers of the militia are to be appointed by the States; and the President may exercise his command of the militia, by the officers of the militia duly appointed. But we know of no Constitutional provision, authorizing any officer of the army of the United States to command the militia or authorizing any officer of the militia to command the army of the United States. The Congress may provide laws for the government of the militia, when in actual service; but to extend this power to the placing of them under the command of an officer, not of the militia, except the President, would render nugatory the provision that the militia are to have officers appointed by the States.

The union of the militia in the actual service of the United States with the troops of the United States, so as to form one army, seems to be a case not provided for or contemplated in the Constitu-

tion. It is therefore not within our department to determine on whom the command would devolve on such an emergency, in the absence of the President. Whether one officer, either of the militia or of the army of the United States, to be settled according to military rank, should command the whole; whether the Corps must be commanded by their respective officers acting in concert, as allied forces; or what other expedient should be adopted, are questions to be answered by others.

The undersigned regret that the distance of the other Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court renders it impracticable to obtain their opinions seasonably upon the questions submitted.

THEOP. PARSONS,  
SAMUEL SEWALL,  
ISAAC PARKER.\*

#### VI.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS IN AMERICA.—CONTINUED FROM VOLUME X., SUPPLEMENT, PAGE 45.

"Simultaneously with the *Siege of Detroit*, was issued the *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River*, by E. M. RUTTENBER.†

"Most of the papers were gathered from the collection of documents preserved at Washington's Head Quarters at Newburgh. Mr. R.'s time did not permit of his making this work quite so full as was desirable, and the Notes were added by the Publisher. The scanty facts in the romantic sketch of Bernard Romans, of whom next to nothing was known among writers, were gathered by a very widely extended correspondence.

"Mr. SAMUEL H. PARSONS, whose ancestor was in command of that Department, in the time of the Revolution, made a liberal subscription to carry the work through the press, and to him it was dedicated, after the manner of the olden

\* On the fifth of August, 1812, the Governor communicated this opinion—which, from that day to this, has continued a part of the Law of the Commonwealth, and may be found in her published *Reports* (viii., 549-554)—to the Secretary of War, as the reason for his refusal to comply with the President's requisition for troops, closing his communication with the following words: "I am fully disposed to afford all the aid to the measures of the National Government which the Constitution requires of me; but I presume it will not be expected or desired that I shall fail in the duty which I owe to the people of this State, who have confided their interests to my care." The letter, entire, may be found in the *American State Papers. Military Affairs*, i., 323.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River*, embracing the Minutes of the Secret Committee appointed by the Provincial Convention of New York, July 16, 1776, and other documents relating to the subject, together with papers relating to the beacons. By E. M. Ruttenber. Maps and Wood Cuts. Albany, 1860.

It is uniform in size and style with the preceding volumes; and embraces seven pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and ten pages of text; and was carefully illustrated.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"time; except that in these Dedications the *"incense* was tempered to suit a more fastidious public. Although the subscriptions were now nearly eighty copies, but five of the ten large paper copies were called for, of which two were made by a bookseller. I will here mention that throughout this enterprise no one took more interest in it than the late Commander ROBERT TOWNSEND, whose name, with those of his four brothers, appear in all the subscription tables published at the end of the volumes. This work was peculiarly interesting to them, as their ancestor, Peter Townsend, forged the chain that was stretched across the river.

"Mr. WINTHROP SARGENT, who had published a volume of the Loyalist poetry of the Revolution, offered a collection of the *Loyal Verses of Stansbury and Odell*, which, with the introduction and notes that accompanied the text, constituted a volume which some competent critics regard as the most valuable one in the series.\*

"The subscriptions to this work were so near the whole number printed, that a *Patron* was not sought for it. Besides the four regular subscribers to the large paper copies, which consisted of Messrs. JAMES LENOX (the first large-paper subscriber), J. CARSON BREVOORT, JOHN CARTER BROWN and WM. MENZIES, the author took a copy—in all five.

"At Newburgh I found an original *Orderly Book of Burgoyne's campaign*, which was one of the trophies of the capture. Although the manuscript was deficient of two or three leaves, it was thought to be an inviting subject, and forms the seventh volume in the series.† It was ably edited by Dr. O'CALLAGHAN. In searching out the personal history of the officers mentioned in the text, many facts were obtained which were here published for the first time, procured by distant correspondence. It was a source of keen disappointment that no more could be obtained relating to General FRAZER. A letter addressed to a relative in Canada, was answered by another kinsman in Van Dieman's Land, that the family papers had been destroyed by fire, and no facts remained in possession of his de-

scendants. The subscription to this volume was less than the preceding, and Mr. ROBERT TOWNSEND became its Patron. A more permanent demand was expected for the work, and a larger edition was printed than of any of the previous volumes in the series. It was the fourth volume issued during the year 1860.

"The eighth volume in the series was a collection of *Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, made by several Jesuit Missionaries in the seventeenth century.\* It was furnished by Mr. JOHN GILMARY SHEA, whose researches in this department of American history are so well and favorably known. It was unaccompanied by any engravings, but met with a ready patronage.

"Volumes IX. and X., and the last in the series, consisted of the *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, appointed by Law for the Extinguishment of Indian Titles in the State of New York*.† The original manuscript had lain a quarter of a century in the library of the Albany Institute, to which it was presented by a descendant of PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT, one of the last set of Commissioners. It was edited with the customary ability and diligence of Doctor HOUGH, and is accompanied by three useful maps. It has not yet attracted the attention it deserves, when it is considered that it is the only history of the manner in which the present titles were obtained to nearly the whole of the territory of the Six Nations.

"This series attracted but little attention until the fall of 1864, when the sale of Mr. FOWLE's library took place in Boston, at which they sold at prices ranging from thirty to sixty-five dollars a volume. The few remaining volumes were immediately bought up at original prices, and soon after the price of sets rose to four hundred dollars. Single volumes were sought for to complete sets at almost incredible prices. It is said that one hundred and twenty-five dollars was offered in New York for one volume wanted to make a set complete. No more than ten large paper copies were printed, and it is thought that not more than six or seven complete sets of large paper exist."

\* *The Loyal Verses of Joseph Stansbury and Doctor Jonathan Odell*: relating to the American Revolution. Now first edited by Winthrop Sargent. Albany, 1860.

It embraces one hundred and ninety-nine pages without any preliminary paging; and exactly uniform with the volumes previously issued.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† *Orderly Book of Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne, from his Entry into the State of New York, until his surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct., 1777*. From the original manuscript deposited at Washington's Headquarters, Newburgh, N. Y. Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D. Maps and Plates. Albany, 1860.

It embraces ten pages of preliminary matter and two hundred and twenty-one of text; and it was carefully illustrated.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\* *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, by Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, Guignas*. With an Introduction, Notes and an Index. By John Gilmary Shea. Albany 1861.

It formed a handsome volume of a hundred and ninety-one pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, appointed by Law for the Extinguishment of Indian Titles in the State of New York*. Published from the original manuscript in the Library of the Albany Institute, with an introduction and notes by Franklin B. Hough, Member of the Albany Institute. 2 vols.

The two volumes were paged continuously, making together, five hundred and one pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

## VII.—THE FIRST DAILY NEWSPAPER IN THE WEST, AND THE FIRST TELEGRAPH LINE BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

The close of 1866 marks the completion of the fortieth year since the commencement of the first *daily* newspaper established between Albany and the Pacific Ocean, and the twentieth year since the Telegraph was first constructed across the Alleghany Mountains, between the sea-board cities and the Mississippi Valley.

Such events—the pioneers of the vast extensions and improvements in both departments of modern progress—form epochs in the history of our Continent. And yet, where is the book, even among works professedly chronicling remarkable events in history and statistics, wherein either of these important facts are mentioned? Hence, it is particularly desirable that such facts should be stated in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, as hints for persons who may hereafter write about the progress of the world in the Nineteenth Century.

### I.—THE FIRST DAILY JOURNAL OF THE INTERIOR

The Publisher and Editor of the first Western "daily" met with some friends in New York on the twenty-sixth of October, to "compare notes" at the close of the fortieth year since they thus pioneered the way of Western daily Journalism. The circumstances were thus briefly stated, editorially, in the New York *Evening Post*:

#### "THE FIRST DAILY JOURNAL WEST OF ALBANY.

"This 26th of October, 1866, completes the fortieth year since the beginning of the first daily newspaper established between Albany and the Pacific Ocean—a journal yet existing though partly changed in name—the Rochester *Daily Advertiser*, now known as the *Union and Advertiser*.

"The issue of this daily newspaper marked an era in the history of the Western press. Rochester was one of the places which earliest felt the impulse of the canal system—the lowly village sprang into city dimensions and prosperity with a degree of vigor at that time unequalled. The Erie canal—completed only the previous year, though for two or three years partly in operation—quickly developed the water-power, in milling operations, which has rendered Rochester celebrated as the source of 'Genesee Flour.' Entering early and largely into the forwarding business, the Rochester people for many years controlled the greatest portion of the vessels engaged in the canal trade, and exerted a strong influence on all questions concerning internal improvements. The advance-

of Rochester in some other respects was scarcely less remarkable, though the growth of Chicago and other places soon after threw it comparatively in the shade.

"Noticing the establishment of the *Daily Advertiser*, the *Evening Post* of October 31, 1826, said—'Nothing can show, in a more striking point of view, the rapid increase of our population and internal commerce, than the fact that Rochester, which within a few years was a wilderness, is now enabled, by the number of its inhabitants and the activity of its trade, to support a daily paper.' 'When I saw your place in 1810, without a house,' said DeWitt Clinton, writing to a friend in Rochester, 'who would have thought that in 1826 it would have been the scene of such a change?'

"In nothing is 'change' more remarkable than in the history of the press, since the Rochester *Daily Advertiser* was established. In 1826 the aggregate circulation of all the daily newspapers in America scarcely equaled the quantity of printed matter (considering the increased size of newspapers) now struck off in three hours by one of Hoe's ten-cylinder presses in some of the New York printing offices.

"The original publisher of the Rochester *Daily Advertiser* was Luther Tucker, and the editor Henry O'Rielly. The former is now, as he has been for thirty years, editor of the *Cultivator* and *Country Gentleman*; the latter has been connected with the telegraph system since its commencement. Before taking charge of the *Cultivator*, on the death of Judge Buel, its founder, Mr. Tucker had established the *Geneesee Farmer*, which was the pioneer of the agricultural press in the West—remarkable as the first paper that popularized farming discussions: many of its contributors have since made enduring marks in agricultural literature."

### II.—THE ORIGIN OF THE TELEGRAPH SYSTEM.

The editorial pioneer of the Western *daily* press in 1826, Henry O'Rielly, was, twenty years later, in 1846, the pioneer telegrapher in establishing lightning intercourse between the Atlantic cities and the Mississippi Valley—the first Telegraph Line across the Alleghany Mountains having been put in successful public operation by him in December of that year.

This lightning line, called the Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph, was but the first section of the great range known afterwards as the "Atlantic Lake and Mississippi Telegraph," or the "first division of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph," as Mr. O'Rielly styled the range of eight thousand miles, whereby he first electrically connected the different sections of the United States—which was the first great Telegraph range not only in America, but in the world.

Wonderful as the Ocean Telegraph is, it is a curious fact, illustrative of the defective traveling and postal facilities in 1846 (at which time railroads had not reached even the Alleghany Mountains), that the sub-oceanic connection between the Old and New World does not annihilate as much time between America and Europe as O'Rielly's first Telegraph Line annihilated in the correspondence between the Mississippi River and the sea-board cities.

In those days, when stage-coaches did on that route what railroads now do so much more rapidly, it took longer time generally to convey letters and papers between New York and St. Louis than the Ocean steamers take for their voyages between New York and England. When the Telegraph first reached St. Louis, for instance, the "bad traveling" occupied about thirty days in taking letters and bringing answers between those great commercial cities.

The importance of the enterprise, communicated at such an early period of Telegraphing, and amid difficulties of most extraordinary character, may render interesting the following extracts from the address, whereby Mr. O'Rielly announces the completion of the line across the mountains to Pittsburgh—the line was extended, via Cincinnati and Louisville, to St. Louis within a year thereafter:

"ATLANTIC, LAKE AND MISSISSIPPI TELEGRAPH  
"LINE.

"Section constructed across the Alleghanies.

"\* \* \* The construction of the telegraph line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh has fully realized the 'belief' expressed by me in a card published last month—that 'the whole route, 'from the sea-board line to the Ohio, would be 'completed by the 1st of January.' *The work is already done.* The 'iron cord' from Philadelphia was connected with the register of the Pittsburgh telegraphery on the 26th of December; and the Atlantic and Ohio line—the first section of the great central telegraph between 'the Atlantic, the lakes, and the Mississippi—is 'now ready for operation on the first of January; 'thenceforward connecting Pittsburgh with Eastern cities by iron links and lightning messengers, annihilating barriers which the Alleghany Mountains have hitherto interposed against speedy correspondence between the Ohio river and the Atlantic sea-board.

"The satisfaction with which friends in Pennsylvania and New York will hail this result, 'a result accomplished 'in defiance of winter 'storms upon the mountains,' shall not be 'marred by any lengthy allusion now to 'other 'obstacles' which will soon find proper judgment beneath the public sentiment and the judicial tribunals of the land. I will only add,

"that if the faith and honor and justice which 'should characterize the telegraph enterprise, in 'its aspirations for public confidence, are outraged or assailed in the contest about 'other 'obstacles,' it will not be the fault of those 'men who generously combined their means and 'energies to sustain me in constructing this and 'other sections of the 'Atlantic, Lake, and Mississippi line,' a line which will be completed 'by my associates as certainly as the Mississippi 'runs Westward of Chicago and Cincinnati.

"HENRY O'RIELLY.

"Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph Office,  
"Pittsburgh, Dec. 28, 1846." }

The papers through the Union published the following, as "the first despatches sent by lightning across the Alleghany Mountains:

"HEAD QUARTERS, Pennsylvania Militia, }  
"Pittsburgh, Dec. 29, 1846—3 P. M. }

"To the PRESIDENT of the United States:

"The compliments of Adjutant-General Bowman to His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States. The Second Pennsylvania Regiment will be organized and ready to leave this place by the Sixth of January. The weather is mild, and the river in good order. Through the politeness of Henry O'Rielly, I have had the honor conferred on me of making the first communication by Telegraph west of the Alleghany Mountains, to the President of the United States, over the Atlantic and Ohio Telegraph Line.

"G. W. BOWMAN, Adjutant-General."

As soon as the above had been forwarded, the editors of Pittsburgh sent their compliments to that ornament of their profession, J. R. Chandler, Esq.,\* as follows:

"To JOSEPH R. CHANDLER,

"Patriarch of the Philadelphia Press:

"The Press of Pittsburgh sends compliments 'by lightning to the Press of Philadelphia, 'this Twenty-ninth of December, in the year of 'our Lord, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-six."

The extension of the Telegraph, Westward, would have been made still more rapidly, had not Mr. O'Rielly been induced to leave his Western lines temporarily, in order to aid the Morse Patentees in completing the short line which they (or their Magnetic Telegraph Company) undertook to construct between Baltimore and New York—(the short line from Washington to Baltimore having been previously built by the Government as an experiment, to show that the Telegraph would actually work thirty-six miles!)

\* Then Editor of the *United States Gazette*, and afterwards American Minister at Naples.



told that it contained some plan or proposals for an Accommodation and that it was this part which alarmed the Congress, and occasioned them to take so extraordinary a step to prevent it's being sent, they being of opinion that no Colony ought to presume to make separate proposals, or to take separate measures on the present occasion, but to leave the whole to their management.

A day or two before the end of the Session I received a very unexpected Attack from the Council. The pretence was an expression in my reply to their address; but as the expression alluded to was very far from warranting any such interpretation, I cannot but imagine it was intended merely *ad populum*—however if that was their Aim, they have been greatly disappointed, for the purport and language of their Message is much disapproved by all ranks of people—even one of the Members of Assembly who is far from being a friend of mine speaking of it in the House called it “an unwarrantable, “ungenerous, and ungentlemanly Attack on the “Governor.” The truth is as I have reason to believe, that Three of the leading Members of the Council are strongly inclined to favor the Measures of the Congress, and that the rest who were present have a leaning the same way, except two or three at most, and even these think it necessary to their safety to observe a kind of trimming conduct. A seeming difference therefore with the Governor who publicly and privately avowed his disapprobation of those measures would be likely to answer their purpose at such a time as the present. My situation is indeed somewhat particular, and not a little difficult, having no more than one or two among the principal officers of government to whom I can now speak confidentially on publick affairs. Notwithstanding the declarations of the Council & Assembly in their Addresses with regard to the perfect safety of the officers of the Crown in this Province, yet in less than a fortnight after the Session was over, two Judges and one Justice of the Peace who live in three different Counties, have been seized by order of Committees, and one of them is a member of the Assembly. What is to be their fate I know not, but I cannot learn that they are even charged with having taken any active part against the measures of the Congress, though they have refused signing associations, and spoke against some of their proceedings.

I have suspended W<sup>m</sup> Alexander Esq. (claiming to be and comonly called Earl of Stirling) from the Council until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known—the reasons will appear in the minutes of privy Council now copying and which will be transmitted by the next packet. If his Majesty shall think proper to remove him, I shall then

recommend such person as I may think most suitable to serve the Crown in that Capacity.

Since correspondence by letter is become so precarious and indeed dangerous, I obtain very little more intelligence of publick matters than what is to be found in the Newspapers—but I find it is generally believed that the Congress have well grounded assurance of assistance from France, if not from Spain; and that they are determined to apply for foreign aid if they find Govern<sup>t</sup> likely to employ foreign Troops ag<sup>t</sup> them. It is certain that they meet with little or no difficulty in getting Powder &c. from the French Islands; and I have reason to think it is with the connivance of the French Governors there. It is also suggested that the French Ambassador in England has immediate and full intelligence of what passes in the privy or cabinet Council, and conveys the same to some persons in London connected with America. It has likewise been intimated that a french Fleet is expected in the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence as early as the Season will admit; and we have certain intelligence of a considerable body of French Troops being arrived in the West Indies.

Inclosed is a copy of a paper said to be wrote in New England and sent to all the Seaport Towns in N. America to persuade the people to suffer those Towns to be destroyed rather than supply the King's Ships with provisions.

In Sussex County in this Province there are, I am told, a considerable body of people called Tories; and it is said they have been lately furnishing themselves with Arms & ammunition, and that the Committee of Safety are to meet next tuesday at Princeton to consult on Measures for disarming them, &c. The provincial Congress here have given leave to some persons to export country produce, on condition of importing the value in Powder and other military Stores—a copy of one of their resolves for that purpose is inclosed. I have no doubt but a great quantity will be smuggled into some of the harbours on the New Jersey shore from Sandy Hook to Cape May, particularly into Barnegat, Little and Great Egg Harbour unless prevented by the King's Ships.

Two of the New Jersey Delegates to the Continental Congress (Mess<sup>rs</sup> Kinsey & De Hart) have resigned their Seats on pretence of inconvenience, but it is generally attributed to apprehension of danger— I inclose a copy of the latters resignation that your Lordship may have an opportunity of seeing what extravagant Ideas of the measures of government these men endeavour to instil into the minds of the people. For further information respecting the public transactions in this and the other Colonies, I must beg leave to refer your Lordship to the inclosed News Papers, and to the printed Journal of the proceedings of the Congress sent herewith.

The Assembly did not think proper to make any further Attack on me, on account of the extract of my letter to your Lordship printed in the parliamentary Register, for which they have given some reasons (probably not the true ones) in their Minutes of Nov<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>. But I am told that they have obtained a copy of the whole of that letter, tho' only a part was laid for parliament. by what means this has been done, I cannot learn, but I find it is suspected that *it has been* obtained by some management of Mr De Berdt, and that this has been one reason for the Assembly's appointing him their Agent. I think it proper to give your Lordship this hint, as it is represented by his friends here that he has some share of your Lordship's confidence and regard, though perhaps without any just foundation—At any rate, as I have no doubt but some measures will be, if they are not already taken to influence Clerks in Office, I hope this letter will be communicated only to his Majesty's most confidential Servants— I have the honor to be with the greatest respect & regard, my Lord, your Lordships most obedient and most humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup>. FRANKLIN.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. the Earl of Dartmouth, &c &c.

#### X.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

##### 10.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON.\*

HEAD QUARTERS; ROBINSONS  
Sep<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1780

Dear Sir

I arrived here yesterday on my return from an interview with the French General and Admiral and have been witness to a scene of treason as shocking as it was unexpected—General Arnold from every circumstance had entered into a plot for sacrificing West Point. He had an interview with Major Andre the British Adjutant General last Week at Jos; Smiths when the plan was concerted; by an extraordinary concurrence of incidents, Andre was taken on his return with several papers in Arnolds hand writing that proved the treason. The latter unluckily got notice of it before I did—went immediately down the river got on board the Vulture which brought up Andre and proceeded to New York.

I found the post in the most critical condition and have been taking measures to give it security

which I hope will be to night effectual. With the greatest respect and regard

I have the honor to be

Your most ob<sup>d</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

Go WASHINGTON.

P. S.

Smith is also in our possession and has confessed facts sufficient to establish his guilt.

##### 11.—GEORGE PLATOE AND CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FROM MARYLAND, TO — \*

York Monday P. M. 22d June 1778.

GENT :

The Instructions of the House of Delegates of the 18th inst we this morning received in a letter from Mr. Chase and laid them before Congress, whereupon at our earnest desire it was resolved to take into immediate consideration the Amendments proposed by our State to the Confederation, altho Congress had previously determined to take up the Amendments offered by the Several States in the order in which the States are ranged in the Confederacy, beginning first with New Hampshire and so on—

This evening the 3 Amendments offered by Maryland were debated and 11 States out of the 12 present rejected the Amendments to the 4th and 8th Articles, so that our State only voted for them. The fate of the most important Amendment is not yet decided, the question being put off by adjournment till to-morrow morning, when it will probably be rejected by a majority of eight States out of twelve—

A Confederation at this critical juncture appears to Congress of such momentous consequence that I am satisfied a great majority are resolved to reject the Amendments from every State, not so much from an opinion that *all* the Amendments are improper, as from the conviction that if *any* should be adopted, no Confederation will take place, at least for some months, perhaps years, and in that case many apprehend none will ever be entered into by all of the present United States—The distractions probably consequent on such an event and the many dangers and evils which may arise from partial Confederacies (which you may more easily paint to yourselves than we can express) have determined some States to accept the present Confederation altho' founded on principles not altogether consistent, in their opinion, with justice and sound policy—For if any Amendments should be adopted, it will then be necessary to send the Confederation back to those States whose Legislatures have

\* From the original, in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

\* From the Collection of M. M. Jones, Esq., of Utica, N. Y.

empowered their Delegates to sign and ratify it in its present form; for instance to New Hampshire, New York, Virginia and North Carolina, the Delegates of which States are positively instructed to ratify the Confederation as it now stands, and some of them are directed to admit of no alterations, even literary ones, such as would not affect the true spirit and meaning of any Article, but only serve to elucidate that meaning and spirit by removing all ambiguity and doubt—

In debating our second Amendment, viz to the 8th Article it was admitted on all sides to be the true meaning and intention of that Article that *all* lands, not only those already granted to, or surveyed for any person, but all lands *hereafter* to be granted to, or surveyed for any person, should be subjected to valuation, and considered as a part of the whole wealth of the State in which they lie—It was contended by several members that the meaning of the 8th Article is clearly expressed, but confessed by some to be dark and ambiguous, who nevertheless voted against the Amendment, for the reasons we have already assigned.

The amendment to the 4th Article was considered by every State, Maryland excepted, as unimportant; the Article not being liable, in the opinion of any other State, to the objection made and consequences, as apprehended by Maryland—

23d P.M.

Our third Amendment has just been rejected by a majority of one State; the division was as follows

Against the Amend <sup>d</sup> .	For the Amendment.
N. Hampshire	Rhode Island
Massachusetts	Jersey
Connecticut	Pennsylvania
N. York divided	Delaware
N. Carolina absent	Maryland <sup>d</sup>
South Carolina	
Georgia	
Virginia	

Inclosed you have a copy of Gen. Washington's letter received this morning—We are with great respect

Gent, Yr. most Obedt, hum, servants

GEO. PLATOE

CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

P. S.—We write in great haste to be in time for the post, you will therefore be pleased to excuse all interlineations, erasures & blots

12.—A. M. HOOPER TO DOCTOR JOSEPH JOHNSON.\*

CRAWFORD, RUSSELL CO. ALABAMA

April 22. 1851

DEAR SIR

I hasten to inform you that I have received a

letter from my friend Mr Niel M<sup>c</sup>Laurin, by the pen of his son Joseph. I now give you what he communicates to me, relative to Hector M<sup>c</sup>Niel the associate of Fanning.

"Hector M<sup>c</sup>Niel was of Argyleshire, Scotland, & came to North Carolina, on board of a British man-of-war, being then quite young, & probably acting in the capacity of a 'powder-monkey.' He left the man-of-war, and joined the Americans, where he soon rose to high rank.—that of Colonel. He was considered brave; but supposing himself neglected by his brother officers, he left—not deserted—and raised a considerable force in Bladen & Robeson counties, ultimately joined Fanning, and was at Hillsborough, or thereabouts, when Governor Burke & his Aid & Secretary were captured & all carried thence to Charleston S. C. He was shot down by some body in ambush immediately after, or while crossing the Eno, a rivulet which runs thro' Hillsboro'."

This is the revelation of Mr Niel M<sup>c</sup>Laurin. A few days after the receipt of my letter, Mr M<sup>c</sup>Laurin, the father of Joseph, who writes, became acquainted with Doctor Malcolm M<sup>c</sup>Niel, a descendant of Hector M<sup>c</sup>Niel. Doctor M<sup>c</sup>Niel resides at *Lumberton, Robeson Co. N. C.* He promised to write for Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Laurin, a full account of his grandfather, Hector M<sup>c</sup>Niel, when he returned home. Mr M<sup>c</sup>Laurin was in hopes to receive this account, in time to accompany his letter to me. \* \* \* \* \*

I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir, Truly & respectfully Yours

A. M. HOOPER

D<sup>r</sup>. JOSEPH JOHNSON

13.—DOCTOR SOLOMON DROWNE TO HIS BROTHER.\*

GENERAL HOSPITAL, NEW YORK, July 13<sup>th</sup> 1776-

DEAR BILLY.

I received your kind letter by Mr Arnold, some time ago, and about a week after, that by Mr. Greene, though of an earlier date than the other. I was glad to hear all friends were well, both in town and country: and intended by all means to have written to you by Capt<sup>d</sup>. Lovett; but an affair turned up yesterday that hindered me.

I suppose you will have heard before this reaches you, that the fleet has arrived here, and lies in fair view of the city.

Yesterday afternoon two ships and three tenders came to sail and stood towards the city. They had not got fairly within shot, before our forts and batteries began to fire at them;—and, what was mortifying, they kept steadily along, seemingly regardless of our constant fire, 'till

\* From the original, in the possession of the Editor.

\* From the original, in possession of H. T. Drowne, Esq., of New York City.

they got almost abreast of our works; then gave us a few passing Broad-sides, and, with a fine breeze, sailed stately up the North River, I believe unhurt by us.

But, shocking to tell, we had six fine fellows killed and four or five wounded at our grand Battery, through mere carelessness, or ignorance.

For, neglecting to swab the cannon at all or doing it improperly, the cartridges took fire, and the fatal accidents ensued. The wounded were brought to the Hospital, and this day one of them had his arm (all the bones of which were broken) taken off. He was moved first, to the new, or City Hospital, which has been intended, fitted and kept for the wounded; where I now attend him, to be ready if lest the stump should bleed afresh.

One ball came into the Hospital yard, struck the ground, at a little distance from us and bounded through the board fence. I believe it was a twelve pound shot. I think our situation as much exposed, as any in the city. \* \* \*

It is now almost midnight, and but a little while since I returned to my chamber, from carrying medicine to one of the Wards I have the care of, and applying a poultice to a man's foot, over which a gun carriage run yesterday, in the battle with the ships:—so you may judge how much time I have to write.

You requested to know upon what terms I entered the Hospital. I have as good a berth as I desired. Our pay is Twenty Dollars per month and two rations a day. We expect it will be raised soon in consequence of a petition to Congress for that purpose. Twenty Dollars a Month will go but little way in this city, things are so extravagantly high. I entered the Hospital the 5<sup>th</sup> of June.

We hear Lord Howe is at the Hook; if so, I fear we shall be closely employed for longer than the summer.

I suppose you have heard of the execution of one of the General's Guards, concerned in the hellish plot, discovered here some time past. There was a vast concourse of people to see the poor fellow hanged.

\* \* \* \* \*

I heartily congratulate you, my dear Brother, on being an inhabitant of a Free and Independent Country,—

The United States of America.—

I herewith send you a Gazette, which contains y<sup>e</sup> Declaration; and also an Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, which, if you have not had yet, should be glad you would show Thomas Russell. The Declaration was read, agreeable to general Orders, at y<sup>e</sup> Head of y<sup>e</sup> Brigade, &c. this week; and loud Huzzas expressed the Approbation of y<sup>e</sup> Freeborn Bands.

The Night following, the famous, gilded eque-

trian Statue of y<sup>e</sup> British King, in this City, was levelled with y<sup>e</sup> Dust: his head taken off, and next morning, in a Wheel-Barrow carried to his Excellency's Quarters, I was told.—There is a large Quantity of Lead about it, which is to be run into Bullets to destroy his Myrmidons.—

Sally wrote me that you had <sup>list</sup>ed; should be glad if you would explain that matter in your next.

Several of the young Doctors have been ill, among the rest Doctor Binney; but through the great goodness of my Bountiful Creator, I am in health, and in pretty good spirits I believe.

I am very tired, and it is past midnight.

Write often to your Friend and Brother.

SOLOMON DROWNE.\*

To Mr. WILLIAM DROWNE.

Providence.

(R. I.)

## XI.—ARRIVAL OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY IN AMERICA.

The precise year in which JOHN WASHINGTON, the ancestor of General WASHINGTON, arrived in America has not been well settled by historians. SPARKS says "about the year 1657;" CUSTIS uses the same words; BARON VON WASHINGTON, a General in the Bavarian Army, wrote in 1844, "about the year 1650;" IAYING says, "in 1657."

While a paroled prisoner at Annapolis, in 1862, the undersigned copied from a volume of Colonial Records, for 1658 and 1659, the following, which seems to settle the question. The record is otherwise curious and interesting.

Utica, N. Y., 1866.

M. M. JONES.

Present Oct. 5, 1659 at Mr George Reade's House—Josias ffendall Esqr Gov. Philip Calvert Esqr Sect<sup>y</sup>. Capt. Will<sup>m</sup> Stone, Mr Thom. Gerrard Col. Nathaniel Vlye, Mr. Baker Brooke & Mr Edw. Lloyd.

Whereas John Washington of Westmoreland County in Virginia hath made complain<sup>t</sup> ags<sup>t</sup> Edward Prescott Merch<sup>t</sup> Accusing ye sd Prescott of felony unto ye Gouverno<sup>r</sup> of this Province alleging how that hee ye sd Prescott hanged a witch on his ship as hee was outward bound from England hither the last yeare vpon w<sup>th</sup> complain<sup>t</sup> of ye sd Washington the Gov<sup>r</sup> caused ye sd Edward Prescott to bee arrested Taking Bond for his appearance att this Provincia<sup>l</sup> Court of 40,000<sup>ba</sup> Tob. Gyving moreover notice to ye sd Washington by letter of his proceedings therein (a copie of w<sup>h</sup> lre w<sup>h</sup> ye sd Washingtons answere thereto are as followeth: Mr Washington Vpon yo<sup>r</sup> complain<sup>t</sup> to mee yt Mr Prescott did in his voyage from England hither cause a woman to bee executed for a witch, I have caused him to be apprehended uppon suspicion of felony

\* At that time, and for several years after, Physician and Surgeon in the United States Army.

& I've intend to bind him over to ye Provincial Court to answe're it where I doe also expect yo<sup>a</sup> to bee to make good ye charge. Hee will bee called uppon his Tryal ye 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> of Octob<sup>r</sup> next at ye court to be held then att Patuxneare Mr ffenwicks house where I suppose yo<sup>a</sup> will not fayle to bee. Witnesses examined in Virginia will bee of noe vawle here in this case for they must bee face to face w<sup>th</sup> ye party accused or they stand for nothing, I thought good to acquaynt yo<sup>w</sup> w<sup>th</sup> this that yo<sup>a</sup> may not come unprovided. This at present S<sup>r</sup> is all from

Yo<sup>r</sup> ffriend Josias ffendall 29 Septemb

Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Yo<sup>a</sup> of this 29<sup>th</sup> instant this day I received. I am sorry yt my extraordinary occasions will nott permitt mee to bee att ye next Provincial Court to bee held in Mary Land ye 4<sup>th</sup> of this next month Because then, god willing I intend to gett my young sonne baptized All ye Company & Gossips being already invited. Besides in this short time wittnesses cannott be gott to come over But if Mr Prescott be bownd to answer it ye next Prowinciall Court after this I shall doe what lyeth in my power to get them over. S<sup>r</sup> I shall desyre yo<sup>a</sup> for to acquaynt mee whither Mr Prescott be bound ouer to ye next Court and when ye Court is that I may haue some time for to provide Evidence & soe I rest Yo<sup>r</sup> friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>  
30 Septemb, 1659 John Washington

To w<sup>th</sup> complaynt of John Washington the s<sup>a</sup> Edward Prescott submitting himselfe to his tryall denyeth not but that there was one Elizabeth Richardson hanged on his ship as he was outward Bound ye last yeare from England & coming for this province neare unto ye Western Islands by his Master & Company (Hee hauing appoynted one John Greene for y<sup>e</sup> voyage Master though himselfe was both Merch<sup>t</sup> & owner of ye ship) But further sayth That he w<sup>th</sup>stood ye proceedings of his s<sup>a</sup> Master & Company & protested agst them in that business And that thereuppon both ye Master & Company were ready to Mutiny.

And it appeering to ye court by ye Printed Custome house discharge & Light house bills or acquittances produced & shewen by ye sd Edw. Prescott taken or gyven in John Greene's name that ye sd Greene was Master for y<sup>e</sup> voyage & not Edward Prescott and noe one conning to prosecute, the sd Prescott therefore prays that he may be acquitted:

Whereuppon standing uppon his Justificat<sup>n</sup> Proclamat<sup>n</sup> was made O, Yes &c Edward Prescott prisoner at ye bar uppon suspition of felony stand uppon his acquittall. If any person can give evidence against him let him come in, for ye Prisoner otherwise will be acquitt. And noe one appearing the prisoner is acquitted by ye Board.

## XII.—NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MINT.

*From Robert Morris's Diary.*

1781. July 16th. Wrote to Mr. Dudley at Boston inviting him hither in consequence of the Continental Agent Mr. Bradford's Letter respecting him referred to me by Congress.

July 17th. Wrote Mr. Bradford respecting Mr. Dudley.

Nov. 10th. Ordered some money on application of Mr. Dudley to pay his expences.

Nov. 12th. Sent for Mr. Dudley to consult him respecting the quantity of Alloy Silver will bear without being discoloured, he says he can put 6 drops into an ounce. Desired him to assay some Spanish Dollars and French Crowns, in order to know the quantity of pure Silver in each.

Nov. 16th. Mr. Dudley assayed a number of Crowns and dollars for our information respecting the Mint.

1782. Jan. 2d. Mr. Benjamin Dudley applied for money to pay his Board which I directed to be paid by Mr. Swanwick, this gentleman is detained at the public expence as a person absolutely necessary in the Mint, which I hope soon to see established. My propositions on that subject are to be submitted to Congress so soon as I can get the proper assays made on Silver coins &c.

Jan. 7th. Mr. Dudley applies about getting his wife from England. I promised him every assistance in my power.\*

Jan. 18th. I went to Mr. Gouv<sup>r</sup> Morris's

\* The following, from the Morris Papers, serve to illustrate this subject:

"1.—ROBT. MORRIS TO RICHARD YATES.

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup>. Jan. 23<sup>d</sup> 1782.

"Sir,

"At the request of a very honest Man who seems much distressed for the welfare of his wife, now in London, I beg to trouble you with the enclosed Letter, praying that you will forward it, and if in consequence thereof M<sup>r</sup> Dudley should come to New York, I beg of you to procure Liberty for her to come to her Husband at this place. The money for her Passage and reasonable expences in New York, which must be reasonable as possible, she may draw upon her Husband M<sup>r</sup> Benjamin Dudley, and I engage that the Draft shall be paid. [I shall thank you for your attention to this poor Lady when she arrives, and remain Sir,

"your most obedient and

"humble servant

"ROBERT MORRIS."

"2.—ROBT. MORRIS TO THE COMMISSARY GENERAL OF PRISONERS

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup>. Jan. 23<sup>d</sup> 1782.

"Sir,

"I send herewith an open letter for M<sup>r</sup> Richard Yates containing one for M<sup>r</sup> Dudley in London from her Husband now here. I wish these may be safely delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Yates, and therefore pray you to send them into New York, by some person that will not only promise, but perform the delivery of them. I am Sir,

"your most obedient and

"humble servant

"ROBERT MORRIS."

Lodging to examine the plan we had agreed on, and which we had drawn up respecting the Establishment of a Mint, we made some alterations and amendments to my satisfaction and from a belief that this is a necessary and salutary measure. I have ordered it copied to be sent into Congress.

*Jan. 26th.* Mr. Dudley applied for money to pay his Lodgings &c. I ordered Mr. Swanwick to supply him with fifty dollars, informed him that the Plan of a Mint is before Congress, and when passed, that he shall be directly employed, if not agreed to by Congress, I shall compensate him for his time &c.

*Feb. 26th.* Mr. Benjamin Dudley brought me the rough drafts or plan for the rooms of a Mint &c. I desired him to go to Mr. Whitehead Humphreys to consult him about Screws, Smith-work &c. that will be wanted for the Mint, and to bring me a list thereof with an estimate of the Cost.

*Feb. 28th.* Mr. Dudley informs me that a Mr. Wheeler, a Smith in the Country, can make the Screws, Rollers &c. for the Mint. Mr. Dudley proposes the Dutch Church, that which is now unoccupied, as a place suitable for the Mint, I sent him to view it, & he returns satisfied that it will answer, wherefore I must enquire about it.

*March 22d.* Mr. Dudley and Mr. Wheeler came and brought with them some Models of the Screws and Rollers necessary for the Mint. I found Mr. Wheeler entertained some doubts respecting one of these Machines which Mr. Dudley insists will answer the purposes and says he will be responsible for it. I agreed with Mr. Wheeler that he should perform the work; and, as neither he or I could judge of the value that ought to be paid for it, he is to perform the same agreeable to Mr. Dudley's directions, and when finished, we are to have it valued by some Honest Man, Judges of such work, he mentioned Philip Syng, Edwd. Duffield, William Rush and ——— all of whom I believe are good judges and very honest men, therefore I readily agreed to this proposition. And I desired Mr. Dudley to consult Mr. Rittenhouse and Francis Hopkinson Esquire, as to the Machine or Wheel in dispute, and let me have their opinion.

*March 23d.* Mr. Dudley called to inform me that Mr. Rittenhouse & Mr. Hopkinson agree to his plan of the Machine &c.

*April 12th.* Mr. Dudley wants a horse to go up to Mr. Wheelers &c.

*May 20th.* Mr. Dudley wrote me a Letter this day and wanted money. I directed Mr. Swanwick to supply him, and then desired him to view the Mason's Lodge to see if it would Answer for a Mint, which he thinks it will, I desired him to go up to Mr. Wheelers to see how he goes on with the Rollers &c.

*June 17th.* Mr. Dudley applied for money to pay his Bill. I directed Mr. Swanwick to supply him.

*June 18th.* Issued a warrant in favor of B. Dudley £7.11.6.

*July 15th.* Mr. B. Dudley applied for money, he is very uneasy for want of employment, and the Mint in which he is to be employed and for which I have engaged him, goes on so slowly that I am also uneasy at having this gentleman on pay and no work for him. He offered to go and assist Mr. Byers to establish the Brass Cannon Foundry at Springfield. I advised to make that proposal to Genl. Lincoln and inform me the result to-morrow.\*

*July 16th.* Mr. B. Dudley to whom I gave an order on Mr. Swanwick for fifty dollars, and desired him to seek after Mr. Wheeler to know whether the Rollers &c. are ready for him to go to work on rolling the copper for the Mint.

*August 22d.* Mr. Saml. Wheeler who made the Rollers for the Mint, applies for money. I had a good deal of conversation with this ingenious gentleman.

*August 26th.* Mr. Dudley called and pressed very much to be set at work.

*Sept. 3d.* Mr. B. Dudley applied for a passage for his Friend Mr. Sprague, pr. the Washington to France & for Mrs. Dudley back. Mr. Wheeler applied for money which I promised in a short time.

*Sept. 4th.* Mr. Wheeler for money. I desired him to leave his claim with Mr. McCall Secretary in this office, and I will enable the discharge of his notes in the Bank when due.

*Novr. 8th.* Mr. Dudley applies for the amount of his Bill for Lodgings and Diet &c. and I directed Mr. Swanwick to pay him, but am very uneasy that the Mint is not going on.

*Dec. 23d.* Mr. Dudley and Mr. Wilcox brought

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\* This letter will illustrate this subject :

ROBERT MORRIS TO THE REV. WILLIAM GORDON, D.D.

[From the Morris Papers.]

" PHILADA. 23th July, 1782.

" SIR,

" In consequence of your Letter of the nineteenth of June, I sent for Mr. Dudley told him the information you had so kindly given to me and assured him of my desire to make him easy and happy. The Business in which he is intended to be employed, is like many other important matters, retarded by the tediousness of the States in supplying the Continental Treasury.

" The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Secretary at War has commenced a correspondence with General Gates at my request, which I think, will produce what he wishes. Be assured that I take particular pleasure in promoting the Interest and happiness of worthy men, and that I am with great esteem Sir,

" your most obedient  
" and humble Servant,

" ROBERT MORRIS."

the subsistence paper, and I desired Mr. Dudley to deliver 4000 sheets to Hall and Sellers.\*

*Decr 26<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Hall the Printer brought 100 Sheets of the subsistence notes this day, and desired that more paper might be sent to his Printing Office, accordingly I sent for M<sup>r</sup> Dudley and desired him to deliver the same from time to time, until the whole shall amount to 4000 Sheets.

*1783. April 2<sup>d</sup>* I sent for M<sup>r</sup> Dudley who delivered me a piece of Silver Coin, being the first that has been struck as an American Coin.

*April 16<sup>th</sup>* Sent for M<sup>r</sup> Dudley and urged him to produce the Coins to lay before Congress to establish a Mint.

*April 17<sup>th</sup>* Sent for Mr. Dudley to urge the preparing of Coins &c for Establishing a Mint.

*April 22<sup>d</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley sent in several Pieces of Money as patterns of the intended American Coins.

*May 6<sup>th</sup>* Sent for M<sup>r</sup> Dudley and desired him to go down to M<sup>r</sup> Mark Wilcox's, to see 15,000 Sheets of paper made fit to print my Notes on.

*May 7<sup>th</sup>* This day delivered M<sup>r</sup> Dudley the paper Mold for making paper, mark'd United States, and dispatched him to M<sup>r</sup> Wilcox's, but was obliged to advance him 20 dollars.

*May 27<sup>th</sup>* I sent for M<sup>r</sup> Dudley to know if he has compleated the paper at M<sup>r</sup> Wilcox's's paper mill for the Certificates intended for the pay of the Army. He says it is made, but not yet sufficiently dry for the printers use. I desired him to repair down to the Mill and bring it up as soon as possible.

*May 28<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Whitehead Humphreys to offer his lot and buildings for erecting a Mint.

*July 5<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Benj<sup>n</sup> Dudley gave notice that he has received back from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Hall and Sellers the Printers, three thousand sheets of the last paper made by M<sup>r</sup> Wilcocks. I desired him to

bring it to this office. He also informs of a Minting Press being in New York for sale, and urges me to purchase it for the use of the American Mint.

*July 7<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley respecting the Minting Press, but I had not time to see him.

*August 19<sup>th</sup>* I sent for M<sup>r</sup> Benjamin Dudley, and informed him of my doubts about the establishment of a Mint and desired him to think of some employment in private service, in which I am willing to assist him all in my power. I told him to make out an account for the services he had performed for the public, and submit at the Treasury office, for inspection and settlement.

*August 30<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley brought the dies for Coining in the American Mint.

*Sept 3<sup>d</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley applies for money for his expenses which I agree to supply, but urge his going into private business.

*Sept. 4<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley for money, which is granted. Directed him to make three models for constructing Dry—

*Nov. 21<sup>st</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley applies for money. He says he was at half a guinea a week and his expences borne when he left Boston to come about the Mint, and he thinks the public ought to make that good to him. I desired him to write me and I will state his claims to Congress.

*Nov. 26<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley for money which was granted.

*Dec. 17<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley with his account for final settlement. I referred him to M<sup>r</sup> Milligan.

*1784, Janv 5<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley applies for a Certificate of the Time which he was detained in the public service. I granted him one accordingly.

*Jan. 7<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Dudley after the settlement of his account, which I compleated by signing a warrant.

\* This letter will illustrate this matter :

ROBERT MORRIS TO BENJAMIN DUDLEY.

[From the Morris Papers.]

"OFFICE OF FINANCE, 29 Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1782.

"SIR,

"You will herewith receive the Form for making a particular kind of Paper — You are to proceed to the Paper Mill of Mr. Mark Wilcox. In Ash Town Chester County, who has the Staff prepared, and there to superintend the making of sundry reams of Paper upon this Form—in doing of which you are to be particularly carefull not to leave it in the power of any person or persons to make any paper upon this Form without your immediate Inspection.

"You are to attend the Workmen constantly whilst they are at work, and when you retire from the Mill upon any occasion, you are to take the Form with you. You are to count the Paper as it is made sheet by sheet and when you have finished the whole, you are to bring it to me together with the Form. I am Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"ROBERT MORRIS."

### XIII.—THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

Our friend, the venerable Clerk of the Common Council of the city of New York, in his letter communicating the action of that body concerning the proposed publication of portions of its ancient records in the successive numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, has referred very briefly to the great interest which attaches to those time-stained volumes, and their great importance to both the student and the statesman. They are the earliest existing memorials, in its archives, of the beginnings of the commercial metropolis of America; the earliest internal evidences of Government in that primitive community which laid the foundation of New York's present and future greatness; and, in the lessons which the men of that early period have sent down to us, there is much to be gathered which will make us both wiser men and more useful citizens.

In its earlier days, although New Amsterdam was considered and called a city, it was not different in its character and government from the other settlements of New Netherland. The Commonalty had no voice in its government; there were within it none of the municipal officers or institutions which distinguished the cities of Father-land from its country towns; and the Director-general and Council of the infant Colony, who exercised at once Executive, Legislative and Judicial functions,

were its only law-givers. PETER MINUIT of Wesel, WOUTER VAN TWYLER of Nieuwkerke, WILLEM KIEFT and PETRUS STUYVESANT, may therefore be considered as successively the earlier heads of the City Government in New Amsterdam, and the Orders and Proclamations of the Directors-general and Councils of New Netherland, relating thereto, as its *Ordinances*, until February, 1653, when the administration of the Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens, which had been granted to the Commonalty, gave to it, to some extent at least, the appearance of a self-governed municipality.

The existing records of the Corporation extend no farther back than the last of May, 1647, when PETRUS STUYVESANT was the widely-known and respected Director-general; but of its transactions from that time until the present, there is an unbroken record, save only where a single volume, of a comparatively recent period, has been abstracted from the archives.

In the following pages, which have been carefully copied from the Translations made by Doctor WESTBROOK and compared with the original, the pages of each series of volumes are noted, in order that they may be referred to by students at a distance; and illustrative Notes have been added where they can serve to illustrate the Text or render it more useful.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., 1867.

H. B. D.

[Resolution of the Common Council of the City of  
New York.]

IN COMMON COUNCIL.

*Resolved*, That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to make copies of and to publish in that work, from time to time, such portions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and such of its papers on file as, in his opinion, shall serve to illustrate the early history of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the same shall be done under the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Aldermen, December 6, 1866.

Adopted by the Board of Councilmen, December 10, 1866.

Approved by His Honor the Mayor, December 13, 1866.

D. T. VALENTINE,

Clerk of the Common Council.

[Letter from the Clerk of the Common Council.]

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE COMMON COUNCIL, }  
NEW YORK, January 2d, 1867. }  
HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: At the same time that I communicate to you the action of the Common Council, authorizing the use by you of its ancient records and papers, and the publication of portions of them in your work, I take pleasure in complying with your request that I should furnish some account of our early Dutch Manuscript Records, so far as they have come under my observation.

When I first became connected with this office, now more than forty years ago, these ancient Dutch Records were scattered throughout the public offices, some being in the Register's, some in the Surrogate's, some in the County-Clerk's, and others of them in this office.

They were not very attentively cared for, having been without readers for probably a century or more. No attempt had been made to translate them; and of the history of New Amsterdam and of the times in which lived and acted the revered fathers of our City and State, which has since been so fully revealed, so large a portion was not supposed to lie hidden in these dusty, unbound, and forbidding volumes. They were as unpromising to the searcher among the relics of the past as were the sterile mounds in Assyria to the eye of the traveler, who little supposed that beneath them lay the most ancient relics of the Historic period. Indeed there were but few who could decipher the ancient form of manuscript in these old Records;

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and when to this difficulty were added the great changes in the Dutch Language, caused by the lapse of two centuries, it is obvious that the difficulties of translation were not easily overcome.

A few years after I took charge of this office, still held by me, I commenced the publication of short historic sketches in the small *Manual*, then annually published for the use of the Corporation Officers. To these were added some curious pictorial representations of old buildings and scenes of interest in early times in our city.

The project seemed to meet a public want, and great encouragement was held out by our citizens for a more extended examination of our early history, which could be presented for the delectation of the intellectual palate of our citizens in this form of publication to greater advantage than any merely private historical research could promise.

Stimulated by these assurances of public interest, I urged the authorities to make provision for the translation of these vagrant volumes, and was met with alacrity by the appropriation of a sufficient sum to secure the translation of a few of them. These were principally the records of the Burgomasters and Schepens, which were translated about the year 1838, by Doctor Westbrook.

They were found to be full of interesting particulars of our early history, and were carefully digested and studied in unfolding the gradual progress of the city in that early stage of its history; and a few years afterwards, other volumes, embracing the proceedings and records of other tribunals, were added, which were translated by Doctor O'Callaghan. These, and others subsequently translated by him, embraced, in all, several volumes.

The last translations were made last year (1866), consisting of the records of Transfers of Titles of Real Estate, which were made by John Paulding, Esq.

All these volumes have been, by Legislature authority, made a part of the archives of my office; where the originals are deposited with due regard to their preservation, and the translations are open to public inspection.

Truly, yours,

D. T. VALENTINE,

Clerk of the Common Council.

[Original, 1, 2; Translation, 1-3.]

PETRUS STUYVESANT, Director General of New Netherland, Curacao, etc., and the Islands of the same, Captain and Commander of the Company's ships and vessels cruising in the West Indies, to all persons to whom these Presents may or shall come, or who may or shall hear them read, Sendeth Greeting:

Whereas we have observed and remarked the insolence of some of our inhabitants who are in the habit of getting drunk, of quarrelling and fighting, and of smiting each other on the Lord's Day of Rest, of which, on the last Sunday, we ourselves witnessed the painful scenes and of which we also came to the knowledge, by report, in defiance of the Magistrates, to the contempt and disregard of our person and authority, to the great annoyance of the neighborhood, and finally, to the injury and dishonor of God's holy laws and commandments, which enjoin upon us to honor and sanctify him on this holy Day of Rest, and which proscribe all personal injury and murder, with the means and temptations that may lead thereunto:

Therefore, by the advice of His Excellency the Director General and our ordained Council,



here present, to the end that we may as far as it is possible and practicable, take all due care, and prevent the curse of God instead of his blessing from falling upon us and our good inhabitants. We do, by these Presents, charge, command, and enjoin upon all Tapsters and Inn-keepers, that, on the Sabbath of the Lord, commonly called Sunday, before two of the clock in the [2] afternoon, in case there is no preaching, or, otherwise, before four of the clock in the afternoon, they shall not be permitted to Set, nor Draw, nor Bring out, for any person or persons, any Wines, Beers, or Strong-waters of any kind whatsoever and under whatever pretext, excepting only to persons travelling and to the daily boarders who may from necessity be confined to their places of abode, under the penalty of being deprived of their occupations and, in addition thereto, in the penalty of Six Carolus Guilders for each person who, during that time, may or shall have run up a score for any Wine or Beer in their houses. And, furthermore, we do hereby forbid all Inn-keepers and Tapsters whatsoever to keep their houses open for common company, or to Tap or Deal out, on said day, or on any other day in the week, after the ringing of the bell in the evening, which shall take place about nine of the clock, any Wines, Beers, or Strong-waters, excepting to all the members of their families, travellers, and boarders, under the same penalty. And to the end that we may take all due care to prevent all rash drawing of knives, all fightings and personal injuries, and all catastrophes resulting from the same; Therefore, with the praiseworthy approbation of the High, Wise, and Honorable Councillors of the city of Amsterdam [in New Netherland,\*] by these presents, We do Proclaim and Ordain that all persons who shall rashly or in anger draw, or who shall have drawn any knife or dagger against another person, shall, in such case, be fined in the penalty of One hundred

[3] Carolus Guilders; or, in case of their failure in the payment of the same, they shall be put to the most menial labor, with bread and water for their subsistence; or, in case any person shall have been wounded thereby, the penalty shall be Three hundred Carolus Guilders, or, an additional half-year's confinement to the most menial labor, with bread and water for their subsistence.

We do also command our Fiscaal, our Lieutenant, our Sergeants and Corporals, and every one of our citizens and inhabitants, as well as the Soldiers, on all occasions, with all due zeal, and activity, and fidelity, to take measures that all such persons be pursued and apprehended, so that they may be proceeded against and dealt with as the Law directs. Done in Fort Amsterdam, this last day of May, Anno, 1647.\*

\* This Order was the first, concerning New Amsterdam, which was promulgated by Director General Stuyvesant, who had arrived in that port less than three weeks before; and it is highly important to the historical student, in illustrating not only the condition of the Colony at the close of Kieft's administration, but of the different policy which was immediately inaugurated by the sturdy and unflinching Director General who had just entered on the discharge of his duties.

The mismanagement of Van Twyler and Kieft is generally known; but the actual condition of the city and its vicinity is nowhere so evident as in the means which were found necessary to correct the abuses which prevailed there, and in the determination, requiring even an exhibition of the superior authority of the Home Government to strengthen it, with which those means were necessarily employed by the new Government.

The great body of the inhabitants, partaking of the vices of both their Civil and Ecclesiastical leaders, appear to have given way to the most intemperate habits; and faction being opposed to faction, and even the Church affording only an example of intemperance and violence, there need be little surprise that the infant community, beyond the influences which had restrained the passions of its members while they were yet in the Fatherland, and surrounded by the bad examples, and encouraged by the looseness of the restraints which were presented by both the Church and the State, had become in the highest degree demoralized. In Stuyvesant, however, the State had found a different representative, while the Church was also about to be purged of its badness by the resignation of its intemperate Pastor, the Domine Bogardus. Keeping in sight, both for his own support and for the condemnation of the wrong-doers, the respect which was due to the Magistracy, the right of protection which was due from the State to its law-abiding subjects, and the Supreme authority of "God's holy laws and commandments," the Director General boldly breasted the torrent of vice which was rapidly overwhelming the city; and in the Order which is the subject of these remarks he inaugurated a new policy of Government, and laid the foundation of that peculiar greatness, in New Amsterdam, which, to this day, distinguishes New York from all other cities in Christendom.

But it was not alone for this purpose that the Order in the text is important to the student of the history of New York.

Coming in conflict with the interests of a large and influential body of the Burgheers, as well as with the passions of another and still larger body of the inhabitants, there is little doubt that to this identical Order may be traced the beginning of that steady and powerful internal opposition which the Administration of Director General Stuyvesant encountered in New Netherland, and which was seen most distinctly during the last week of his official career; and in it, also, may be seen an evidence of the peculiar courage and sturdy devotion to duty, regardless of consequences, which distinguished that much-abused officer above most others of his time, and added a dignity to his actions, which neither the opposition of open enemies nor the ridicule of professed friends have been permitted to tarnish, much less to conceal.—H. B. D.

\* In the original Dutch, the words equivalent to "in New Netherland" do not appear; and they are inserted here only because the Translator seems to have understood the term "City of Amsterdam," as referring to this city, and added the words in question, to establish that interpretation.

We do not believe, however, that he was correct in this view of the subject. The City of Amsterdam, in Fatherland, as will be seen in various parts of these Records and in other contemporary writings, controlled, to some considerable extent, the Government of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland; and there is good reason to suppose that the demoralization which had prevailed there, under Van Twyler and Kieft, had attracted the attention of the Home Government, and induced it to give especial authority to the newly-appointed Director General to take the stringent measures, for the correction of the abuses, which are contained in this Order. The reference to the superior authority of "the High, Wise, and Honorable Councillors of the City of Amsterdam," in this first Order, was well calculated, therefore, to give weight to Stuyvesant's opposition to the wrong-doers; and it serves, also, to illustrate how far, in the beginning of his Administration, at least, he was willing to recognise and obey the superior authority of his official superiors, in Holland.—H. B. D.

[*Original, 2; Translation, 3, 4.*]

**W**HEREAS His Excellency the Director General and the Honorable the Council have been credibly informed that certain individual Traders, engaged in the Southern Trade and sailing under the License of this Government, are in the practice of going into the interior and entering the Maquas country, whereby the regular traffic is ruined and, in addition thereto, the privileges of those Traders who remain with their cargoes, at the usual places of deposit, are greatly damaged or entirely lost; and, moreover, by such [4] means, the good understanding with the Indians may be interrupted and they may be stirred up to murder and put to death such and such persons, whereby these districts of country are put in constant danger of being brought into difficulty and war: Therefore, to the end that we may, in the most effectual way, guard the interest and honor of the West India Company, we have forbidden and interdicted, and we, do by these Presents, from this time, forbid and interdict, every one of our Inhabitants from having the hardihood to go into the interior with any cargoes or any other merchandize; but they shall leave them at the usual places of deposit, and there wait for traffic. Done at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, on the 18th June, Anno. 1647.

[*Original, 3; Translation, 4-6.*]

**W**HEREAS, there is a continual practice of selling much strong drink to the Indians, whereby these districts of Country are exposed to imminent dangers: and Whereas it behooves us, promptly, to take measures to prevent the same: Therefore, we, the Director General and the Council of New Netherland do hereby forbid and interdict, from this time forth, all Tappers and all other inhabitants, from Selling, Dealing out, or Bartering, in any way or under any pretext whatsoever, to the Indians, any Wine, Beer, or Strong drink, and from [5] permitting the same to be fetched by the mug, directly or indirectly, even though it may be through the third or fourth person, under the penalty of Five hundred Carolus Guilders and the farther responsibility for all the misdemeanors that may result therefrom.

All persons are hereby also warned and forbidden against trespassing upon the Orchards, Fields, and Gardens, Provided they shall be found in fence or planted with fruit-trees; and every one who shall have trespassed upon any Fields, Gardens, or Orchards in fence or in fruit, shall be fined One hundred Guilders and, in addition thereto, be liable to pay actual damages.

All the inhabitants of New Netherland hereby charged and commanded to set off and put into good fence all their Plantations, so that the Cattle therein may be kept from committing trespass; which Cattle, whether they be Horses, or, in a special manner, Goats and Hens, must be taken care of, or otherwise disposed that they cannot commit any trespass. To the end, the Fiscaal, Van Dyck,\* shall build a Pond in which the Cattle shall be detained until damage shall have been made good and the cost of the officer paid. Let every one take warn and look out for costs. Done at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland: [6] Present, His Excellency the Governor General, the former Director General Kieft, the Honorable Director,† Mons. la Montagne, the Captain Lieutenant Newton, Paulus Leendersen, Jacob Lopez Solomon Teunissen and John Claessen Boel, the first day of July, Anno, 1647.

\* HENDRICK VAN DYCK, the Fiscaal of the Colony, seen have come to New Netherland as an Ensign in the Company of military service, in 1639; and, in 1642, he commanded an expedition against the Wechquaesqueeks, who had offended him during the following year (October 6, 1643), he was wounded in one of the forays by the Indians, which followed the Peace of April 22d; and, soon after, it is evident that he returned to Holland.

He was appointed to the important office of Schout of the Colony, in 1646; and, in that capacity, he accompanied Stuyvesant to New Netherland, in the following year; but seems to have very soon lost, if he ever possessed, the respect as well as the confidence of the Director General. In his place he seems very soon to have been in the front rank of who opposed Stuyvesant; and, in March, 1652, he was suddenly removed from office, and returned to Holland.

He was a man of dissipated habits, negligent of his official duties, untrustworthy in matters of State, and of questionable personal integrity; and he was succeeded in his office as Schout by Cornelis Van Tienhoven, the profligate Secretary of the Colony.—H. B. D.

† LUBBERTUS VAN DINCKLAGE, "an honorable man and a lover of Laws," succeeded Conrad Notelman as Schout of the Colony in 1633; but, in consequence of his opposition to Van Twyler's conduct, he was dismissed from that office in the summer of 1636, and returned to Holland.

He seems to have been a constant suppliant before the authorities, in Fatherland, for a redress of his grievances, the recovery of his salary, which had been withheld from him until the nominal removal from office, in December, 1636. Director Kieft, when he was ordered back to New Netherland as its Vice or Provisional Director—a post he seems not to have really occupied, notwithstanding a Commission was issued in the following May.

In July, 1646, when Stuyvesant really superseded Director-General, Van Dincklage went with him, and, during the period in question, was the Vice-Director and First Counselor of the Colony. He subsequently became opposed to Stuyvesant's administration and was imprisoned by the Director-General, after which he retired to Staten Island, in the service of the Baron Van der Capellen.

On the failure of the Baron's adventure, in company with Cornelis and Jacob Melyn, Van Dincklage removed to New Haven, where, in April, 1657, he became a citizen.

He was married to Margaretta, daughter of Rev. Hans van Rensselaer, by whom he had nine children, and died early in the year 1658.—H. B. D.

† JACOB LOPEZ had been a Captain Lieutenant in the Dutch army. His wife was Cornelia, daughter of Cornelis Melyn of Staten Island.—H. B. D.

[Original, 4; Translation, 6.]

**WHEREAS**, in times past, all free Merchants in New Netherland, for some time back, have been in the habit of, paying, monthly, the duties on all Peltries procured here, in trade, and of shipping them to Father-land when opportunities offer: Therefore, it is by Council deemed very necessary to establish a regular duty, so that every one may have the opportunity of knowing what the Law requires them to pay; with respect to which it is determined that the following shall be the established Tariff: For every Beaver-skin exported, Fifteen Stivers—Two halves for One, and Three thirds for Two whole Beaver-skins.\* For every Otter-skin and Beaver-skin, Fifteen Stivers. For every skin of an Elk, Fifteen Stivers. As the other Peltries are of less value, the duty shall be as the case may require. Done in Council: Present, the Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, the former Director General William Kieft, the Honorable Dincklage, Mons. la Montagne, Lieutenant Newton, the Equipage-master Paulus Leendertsen, Jan Claessen Bol, this 23rd July, Anno, 1647.

[Original, 4, 5; Translation, 7, 8.]

**WHEREAS**, both by correct information and our own knowledge, we have remarked the disorderly practice, both now and formerly, of building and erecting Houses and of extending House-lots far beyond their lawful limits, and of putting up Hog-pens and Privies along the Public Road and Streets, neglecting and omitting to make suitable improvements upon the Lots given and granted to them, To prevent this for the future, it is resolved by the Director General Petrus Stuyvesant and their Excellencies the Councillors, to appoint three Surveyors of Buildings—His Excellency Lubbert Van Dincklage, the Equipage-master Paulus Leendertsen,† and the Secretary Cornelis Van Tien-

\* By an order of Director-General Kieft, dated "21 June, A° 1644," an excise of One Guilder, subsequently made Fifteen Stivers, was imposed "on each merchantable beaver pur chased within our limits and brought here to the fort," for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the existing War with the Indians.

This, the first excise on peltries in New Netherland, seems to have been agreed to by the Eight men of the city, under the circumstances; although the Director promised it should be only a temporary measure.

By this Order, the excise was continued over.—H. B. D.

† PAULUS LEENDERTZEN VAN DER GRIST was the commander of the West India Company's ship *Great Gerrit*, and came to New Netherland with Stuyvesant, in 1647. He was appointed Equipage-master, or Navy-agent, of the Colony; entered into trade; was Schepen in 1652-4; Burgomaster in 1657-8, 1661 and 1664; and returned to Europe in 1671.

He lived on the West side of Broadway, near where Trinity Church now stands; and his place of business was in Pearl, near Broad-street. O'CALLAGHAN'S *Notes to Colonial Documents*.—H. B. D.

hoven—whom we do hereby authorize and empower to condemn all impropriety and disorder in Buildings, Fences, Palisades, Posts, and Rails, and in future to forbid it; for that purpose, to order and warn, from this time forward, all and every one of our subjects, within or around the city of New Amsterdam, who are disposed to build, plant, settle, or enclose with palisades, that no one shall continue in the practice of the same nor undertake to do it, without the knowledge, consent, and inspection of the aforesaid Surveyors of Buildings, in the penalty of Twenty-five Carolus Guilders and of removing whatever they may have built or set up. We do also hereby warn and give notice to all and every one who may heretofore have received the grant of House-lots, within nine months from this time, to improve their Lots [8] by building suitable and convenient houses, according to Order, or, in default thereof, the unimproved lots shall revert to the Patroon or Landlord, or to whomsoever they may have belonged and who may have conveyed the same. Thus done in Council at Fort Amsterdam: Present, His Excellency Director-General Kieft, His Excellency Dincklage, Mons. la Montagne,\* Lieutenant Newton,† Paulus Leendertsen, Equipage Master, Jan Claessen Bol,‡ this 25th of July, Anno, 1647.

[Original, 5; Translation, 8, 9.]

**WHEREAS**, it has come to the knowledge of His Excellency the Director General and their Honors the Councillors, that in and about the city of New Amsterdam there are Brewers who are in the practice of Tapping and Selling Beer by the small measure, whereby it may happen and come to pass that those neigh-

\* Doctor JOHANNES LA MONTAGNE, a learned Huguenot, arrived in New Netherland early in 1637, and was called to the Council, by Kieft, in March, 1638, where he continued until September, 1650, when he was appointed Vice Director of Fort Orange, in the place of De Decker, who was about to return to Father-land.

He married, successively, Rachel Monjour and Agretta Fillis, widow of Arent Corssen; by the first of whom he had John, Rachel, Maria, Jesse and William; by the latter he had no children.—H. B. D.

† Lieutenant BRIAN NEWTON was an Englishman, who had been employed by the Company some twenty years, and held office under Stuyvesant in Curacao.—O'CALLAGHAN'S *New Netherland*, ii., 19, 20.

In company with Nicholas Varieth, in 1660, he was sent on a mission to Virginia, and entered into a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the General Assembly of that Colony.

In September, 1661, he requested permission to resign his Commission and return to Holland; and in July, 1662, he was duly discharged. It is probable that he returned to Europe soon after.

He resided at Flatlands, L. I.—H. B. D.

‡ JAN CLAESSEN BOL was the commander of the Company's ship *Suol*, which came over with Stuyvesant; and he returned to Holland, after remaining in the Colony only a few weeks.—H. B. P.

the Excise may not be accommodated when they shall be tapped dry: Therefore, by the aforesaid, His Excellency the Director General and the Councilors, agreeable to the order and practice in Holland, this has been forbidden; and by these Presents it is Ordained and Interdicted [9] that no Brewer in and around the city shall be permitted to Tap and Sell Beer by the half-pot or small measure; and that no Brewer shall be permitted to Brew Beer, or procure it to be done for him by others, in the penalty of forfeiting all such Beer and all such stock on hand as shall happen to be in the house of said Brewer or Tapper; and, in addition thereto, he shall be admonished not to do so any more. Done this 12th January, 1648

[Original, 6; Translation, 9, 10.]

WHEREAS, it has come to the knowledge of His Excellency the Director General of New Netherland, Curacao, etc., and the Islands of the same, and their Excellencies the Councilors, that certain careless Persons are in the habit of neglecting to clean their Chimnies, by sweeping, and of paying no attention to their Fires, whereby, lately, fires have occurred in two houses; and Whereas, the danger of fire is greater as the number of houses increases here, in New Amsterdam; and Whereas the greater number of them are built of Wood and covered with Reeds, together with the fact that some of the houses have Wooden Chimnies, which are very dangerous: Therefore, by the very prompt and excellent Director General and their Honors the Councilors it has been deemed [10] advisable and highly necessary to look into this matter; and they do hereby Ordain, Enact, and Interdict that, from this time forth, no Wooden or Platted Chimnies shall be permitted to be built in any Houses between the Fort and the Fresh-water; and that those already standing shall be permitted to remain during the good pleasure of the Fire-wardens:

And, to the end that the foregoing Order may be duly observed, the following persons are appointed, to wit: From the Council, the Commissary, Adriaen Keyser\*; and from the Commonalty, Thomas Hall†, Martin Crygier‡, and George

\* ADRIAEN KEYSER, came to New Netherland as Secretary, subsequently was appointed Commissary, and still later the Vendue master.—H. B. D.

† THOMAS HALL was a farmer who had emigrated to the South river, in 1635; but, in 1647, he had resided several years in New Netherland. He had been Jacob Van Curler's overseer, at Flatlands; but, at the period in question he was largely engaged in the cultivation of tobacco, on his own account, and possessed considerable real estate, on Manhattan Island.

He was one of the Eight men of the city, in 1643; one of the Nine men, in 1649; and a Select-man, in 1650; and he was very much respected, notwithstanding he was, probably, somewhat engaged in illicit trade.—H. B. D.

‡ MARTIN CRYGIER was a noted Inn keeper in New Amster-

dam, Woolsey\*, who, in their turn shall visit all the houses in this city, wheresoever they may stand or be situated, between the Fort and the Fresh-water; and they shall inspect the Chimnies, whether they be kept clean by sweeping. And as often as any shall be discovered to be foul, the Fire-wardens aforesaid shall condemn them as foul; and the owners shall immediately, without any gainsaying, pay the fine of Three Guilders for each Chimney thus Condemned as foul, to be appropriated to the maintenance of Fire-ladders, Hooks, and Buckets, which shall be provided and procured the first opportunity†. And in case the house of any person shall be burned or be on fire, either through his own negligence or his own fire, he shall be mulcted in the penalty of Twenty-five Guilders, to be appropriated as aforesaid.

Done, passed, and published, at Fort Amsterdam, this 23rd January, 1648.

[Original, 7-9; Translation, 11-15.]

PETRUS STUYVESANT, Director General of New Netherland, Curacao, etc., and their Excellencies the Councilors, to all to whom these Presents may or shall come, or who may hear them read, Greeting:

Whereas, it has come to our knowledge that our former Proclamations, issued against unseasonable and intemperate Drinking, both at night and on the Rest Day of the Lord, to the scorn and derision of our persons and Nation, have not been observed and executed according to our intent and meaning; which Proclamations, by these Presents, we do renew, ordain, and enact, so that, from this time forth, they shall continue to be in force, maintained, and carried out with a stricter observance and execution, according to the obvious tenor and meaning thereof. In the meanwhile, the occasion and the reasons why these our good Regulations and well-meant Proclamations have not been observed according to the tenor and meaning of them, are the following, to wit: The kinds of business and the easy

dam, Captain Lieutenant of the Burgess Corps of that city, and, subsequently, Captain of a company sent from Amsterdam in Holland, with which he did good service to the Southward and against the Indians. He was, also, one of the first Burgomasters of New Amsterdam; and at the termination of the Dutch authority in the Colony, he retired to the valley of the Mohawk, where, at Canastota, now Niskayuna, he died in the early part of 1713. O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 554.—H. B. D.

\* GEORGE WOOLSEY was from Yarmouth, England, and in the employ of Isaac Allerton, a merchant of New Amsterdam. He owned a plantation at Long Island, but it is not known that he lived there.—H. B. D.

† This is the earliest minute, on the Records of the city, concerning a Fire Department. It will be seen that, although two fires had lately occurred, there was no apparatus in the city at the date of this Order, for either extinguishing fires or at resting their progress.—H. B. D.

profits flowing therefrom divert and seduce many from their primitive Calling, Trade, and Business; and they devote themselves to Tapping, so much so that almost one full fourth part of the city of New Amsterdam have become Bawdy-houses, for the sale of Ardent Spirits, Tobacco, and Beer, whereby very many do not only neglect and abandon their honest handicraft and business, but, also, the common man and the Company's [12] servants, in a great measure, are allured; and, what is still worse, the youth, even from their childhood, noticing the unbecoming conduct of their parents, are consequently drawn off from the path of Virtue unto all idleness and into what are concomitants—Cheating, Smuggling, and Frauds, in the clandestine sales of Beer and Brandy to the Indians and Natives, although both daily experience and God teach us better, because therefrom we cannot but apprehend fresh animosities betwixt them and us. And, in addition to all this, it happens that some honest Inns, established and supported for the use and benefit of the Traveller, and Stranger, and the Inhabitants—who honestly and righteously pay their Taxes and Excise, and are in the possession of suitable Houses, or do hire them—have to bear the greater part of the burdens, whereby these Tavern-Keepers are in a great measure interrupted in their licensed and lawful calling and business, being ready in these premises, to make provision according to the exigency of the case and the emergency of the [ ]. Therefore, we the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, on the subject of the Tapsters and Inn-Keepers, do Ordain and Enact the following Regulations and By-Laws:

## I.

In the first place, from this time forth, there shall be no new Tavern, Inn, or Retail Grocery made or established, without the special [13] approbation and consent of the Director General and the Councillors, unanimously agreed to and permitted.

## II.

The Inns, Taverns, and Retail Groceries that are already in the city, may be permitted to continue at least for the four following years; yet, in the meantime, they shall be held under the additional obligation to employ themselves in some other honest business in these places, together with suitable and honest sureties living under the guardianship and supervision of this city of New Amsterdam, each one in conformity with his state, quality, and condition, according to the Order and Regulations made by the Director and Council, with the advice and approbation of the Surveyors of Buildings.

## III.

That the Inn-Keepers and Tapsters to whom we have granted yet four years, at least, who shall wish, for sufficient reasons, to change their business, after they shall have laid aside this their former business of Tapping, shall not be permitted to transfer the same to any other person nor yet, to this intent, Rent nor Sell their houses and dwellings to any other person, without the previous advice, and full consent, and approbation, of the Director General and Councillors.

## IV.

Item. The Inn-keepers and Tapsters, from this time forward, shall not be permitted to Sell, nor [14] Mix, nor Hand out to the Indians or Natives, any Beer, Wine, Brandy, or Waters, although it may be through the first, second, or third person that the Natives are supplied therewith, under the penalty of the forfeiture of their business and arbitrary correction, at the discretion of the Court.

## V.

Item. They shall be obliged, for the prevention of all Fightings and Mischiefs, actually to report to the Officer, in case any one shall be injured or wounded in their houses, under the penalty of forfeiture of their business and One Pound, Flemish, for every hour after the injury or wound shall have been inflicted and during which time the Tapster or Inn-keeper shall conceal it.

## VI.

The Proclamations heretofore issued against all unseasonable Night-tipping and Drunk-drinking on the Sabbath, shall be fulfilled by the Inn-keepers, with strict regard and observance, to wit: That, in the evening, they shall not keep Tavern after the ringing of the Bell, nor, on the Sabbath, Sell nor Deal out any Beer or Waters to any one (nor the Traveller and the Boarder alone excepted) before three of the clock in the afternoon, when there is Divine Service, under the penalty fixed by Proclamation.

## VII.

Item. They shall be obliged not to receive into their houses or cellars any Wines, Beers, or Ardent Spirits, directly nor indirectly, before [15] the receipt of the Invoice and the possession of the Bill, under the penalty of the forfeiture of their particular Business, Beers, and Spirits, and an exemplary fine, besides, at the discretion of the Court.

## VIII.

Finally. All Inn-keepers and Tapsters who

may be minded to continue their Business, shall, within the time of eight days after the publication and affixing of these presents, address and give in their persons and their names to the Director and Council, and there solemnly promise, punctually to fulfil all things whatsoever that, on the subject of Tapsters and Inn-keepers, have been ordered or hereafter may be ordered, in all their particulars, and to conduct themselves honestly in their business, as become loyal and honest subjects. Done at our session at Fort Amsterdam, this 10th March, Anno, 1648.

[Original, 10 ; Translation, 15, 16.]

APPEARED before the Council, Adriaen Dircksen,\* Martin Crygier,† Jan Jansen Schepmoes,‡ Jan Snediger,§ Philip Geraerdij,|| Sergeant Daniel Litscho, Gerrit Douman, Hendrick Smith,¶ Cornelis Volekertsen,\*\* Abraham Pietersen,†† George Rapaelje, and Pieter Andriessen, all Inn-keepers and Inhabitants of this city of New Amsterdam, who have given in their names and persons and whom [16] their Excellencies the Director General and the Councillors do hereby Publish, in pursuance of the Proclamation issued on the subject of Tapsters and put up in the Market, they having, on their honor, promised to observe said Proclamation, in all its meaning. Dated the 16th March, Anno, 1648, at New Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

[Original, 10 ; Translation, 16, 17.]

WHEREAS, by their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors of

\* ADRIAEN DIRCKSEN had been a Pilot of the port and an Assistant Commissary of Fort Amsterdam.—H. B. D.

† MARTIN CRYGIER undoubtedly kept his Tavern on what is now called Broadway, opposite the Bowling-green.—H. B. D.

‡ JAN JANSEN SCHEPMOES had been a resident of the Colony since 1635, having come over, in that year, in the *Dolphin*.—H. B. D.

§ JAN SNEDIGER probably kept house in Pearl-street, near the Fort. He was one of the Select-men of the city, and about 1652, he appears to have removed to Flatbush, L. I.—H. B. D.

¶ PHILIP GERAERDIJ was the Landlord of the City Tavern.—H. B. D.

‖ HENDRICK SMITH was probably HENDRICK JANSEN SMITH, who lived on what is now known as Broadway.—H. B. D.

\*\* CORNELIS VOLEKERTSEN undoubtedly kept his tavern on the Great Highway, now Broadway.—H. B. D.

†† ABRAHAM PIETERSEN's tavern was subsequently closed, by Order of the Director General and Council, dated the twenty-third of July, 1648, in consequence of the murder there of Gerrit Jansen Clemp by Johannes Roodenborch.—*Council Minutes*, iv., 398-402.

Pietersen had been Miller before he became Tavern-keeper; and, within a month after the closing of his Tavern, he was re-appointed to the same place (*Council Minutes*, iv., 413.) In 1658, he obtained permission to erect a water mill at the Kolch. He was one of the Eight men of the city, in 1643; and his daughter, Maritje, married Thomas Jansen Mingal.

New Netherland, it has been daily seen and observed that the Goats and Hogs are in the habit of daily committing great damage in the Orchards, Plantations, and other Productions, here and about Fort Amsterdam, not only to the discouraging of the cultivation of fine Orchards and Gardens, but, also, to many great and particular damages:

Therefore, their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors, desirous of making provision in the premises from this time forth, do Ordain and Enact that, between the Fort New Amsterdam,\* or thereabout, and the Fresh-water, no Hogs nor Goats shall be pastured or kept, except within their own inclosures. Care must also be had, that the Goats do not get out of their inclosures; and that they do no damage to any one. Also, that Goats shall not be pastured beyond the Fresh-water, without a Herds-man or Keeper under the [17] penalty—in case the Goats shall be found outside their inclosure, or on this side of the Fresh-water, or, on the other side of the Fresh-water, without a Herds-man or Keeper—of their being attached by the Fiscaal and of being declared, by their High Mightinesses, to be forfeited. Be each one hereby warned, that he suffer no damage. Done on the 10th of March, 1648, and suspended and published on the 16th of March, at New Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

[Original, 11 ; Translation, 17-19.]

PETRUS STUYVESANT, in behalf of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, His High and Mighty Lord the Prince of Orange, and their High Mightinesses the Gentlemen Directors of the General Privileged West India Company, Director General over New Netherland, Curacao, &c. and the Islands of the same, together with their High Mightinesses, the Councillors:

Whereas, we have seen and observed that, notwithstanding our Decrees and Ordinances heretofore issued concerning the keeping and sanctifying the Holy Sabbath, according to the holy command of God, it has not been observed ac-

\* It is evident that the Translator, in this place, has misunderstood the intent of the Order and misinterpreted its meaning.

The "Fort Amsterdam," in the original, has been correctly translated in the Preamble of this Order; but the words "*fortificatie Nieuw Amsterdam*," in the original, which have been here rendered "Fort New Amsterdam," clearly indicate something else than the Fort at the lower end of the city, where "the orchards and plantations" referred to were not to be found.

We submit, therefore, that it would have been a more correct rendering of the original if the Translator had said, instead of "between Fort New Amsterdam and the Fresh-water," as in the text, "between the outer defences of New Amsterdam or their vicinity, and the Fresh-water."—H. B. D.

cording to our intent and meaning; and, Whereas, the Sabbath, in various ways, has been profaned and desecrated, to the great scandal, offence, and reproach of the Community and the neighboring strangers who frequent these places, and to the villifying and contemning of God's Holy [18] Word and our Ordinances flowing therefrom,

Therefore, we the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, for the purpose of averting, as much as lies in their power, the dreaded wrath and punishment of God, through this sin and other misdemeanors, from themselves and their subjects, Do, by these Presents, Decree, Renovate, and Amplify our former Proclamations and Ordinances; having for the better observance of the same, with the approbation of the Minister of God's Word, Ordained that, from this time forth, in the afternoon as well as in the forenoon, there shall be preaching from God's Word and the usual exercises of Christian prayer and praise; requesting and charging, for that purpose, all their Officers, Subjects, and Vassals, to frequent and attend the same; forbidding, in the meanwhile, during Divine Service, in conformity with our previous Proclamations, all Taverning, Fishing, Hunting, and other usual occupations, handicrafts, and professions, whether in Houses, Cellars, Shops, Ships, Sloops, or in the Streets and Markets, under the forfeiture of such wares, merchandise, or property, or the redemption of the same with the sum of Twenty-five Guilders, until otherwise ordered, to be applied for the benefit of the Poor and the Church; and, furthermore, One pound, Flemish, in case either buyers or sellers, the hirers or the hired, who may transgress [ ] to be applied, one half to the officers the other half at the discretion of the Court. Furthermore, we do hereby Enact and Forbid, that no one shall, on the fore part [19] of the day, give himself up to foolish drinking and other excesses, to the scandal and offence of others, under the penalty, in case any one be thus found, of being chastised by our Fiscaal or any of the higher or lower officers, at their discretion. Done and, after the resumption, agreed to and published on the 29th April, 1648, at New Amsterdam in New Netherland.

[Original, 12; Translation, 19, 20.]

WHEREAS, by daily experience, it has been seen and observed that, notwithstanding it has been forbidden several times, by former Proclamations, that any one should Tap, Hand out, Mingle, or Sell through a third or fourth person, directly or indirectly, any Strong Drink, to the Indians or natives of this Country, we must daily see before our eyes that the Indians are running about, through the Manhattans, in a state of in-

toxication; and that the inhabitants, living without, experience great vexation from the drunken Indians, whereby, as formerly, fresh animosities and wars are to be apprehended: Therefore, His Excellency, the Director General and the Honorable the Councillors have resolved, once more, to enact the former Proclamations, and hereby peremptorily to forbid, and we do by these Presents peremptorily forbid, the Handing out, the Mingling, or the Selling of any Strong Drinks, by whatever name or mark they may be known; and in case any person, after this date, shall be convicted of these offences, though it should be, even, through the information of the Indians themselves—to whom, for weighty reasons, credit shall be given [20] in this case,—he shall, over and above the penalty established by former Proclamations, be arbitrarily punished without any dissimulation, since it is far better that such evil-disposed persons should be punished than that the Country and Community in general should suffer damage through them. Done on the 13th May, Anno, 1648, at the Session in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

[Original, 13; Translation, 20, 21.]

WHEREAS, by their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors, it has been noticed and observed, with great concern, that many of the Scotch Merchants and small traders who, from time to time, have come out of their country with the ships, are doing or aiming at nothing else than, by their underselling and manner of trading, to destroy Trade, selling their goods very rapidly, giving Eleven to Twelve Guilders in loose seawant for one Beaver, and having sold out, going with their ships whence they may return the same year, without leaving or doing any benefit to the Country, to the injury of the inhabitants, who, by their freehold and birth, are obliged to bear all the burdens:

Therefore, for the purpose of preventing such destroyers of Trade, it is deemed advisable and necessary for New Netherland and the inhabitants thereof, to Enact and Ordain that, from this time forth, all Scotch merchants and small dealers who come from their country with vessels, with the intention of trading here with Christians or Heathens, at wholesale or retail, shall not be permitted to carry on the least trade in the land, except [21] in case they shall have had a residence here, in New Netherland, three following and succeeding years; and, furthermore, they shall be compelled, within one year after their Privilege and Opportunity, to erect a decent and habitable Tenement in this city of New Amsterdam, who obtain from them their Beer and pay

dam. All traders and others who are in possession of one habitable Tenement, and who have resided three years in the place, shall be permitted to Trade, and not otherwise, (the Merchant or Schipper of their High Mightinesses's vessels alone excepted), Provided, the same shall not be permitted to have any shop on the land. Done in the presence of His High Mightiness the Director General, His Excellency Dincklage; Mons. la Montagne, Brian Newton, and Paulus Leendertsen, on the 18th September, Anno, 1648, at New Amsterdam.

[Original, 14; Translation, 21.]

BY His High Mightiness the Director General and their Excellencies the Councillors of New Netherland, the Fire-wardens are charged and ordered to prevent all accidents by fire in this city of New Amsterdam; to visit all around; to see whether every one keeps his Chimneys clean by sweeping; and, in case any one is found to be deficient, immediately to demand the penalty of Three Guilders, which shall be appropriated agreeably to the Proclamation, on this subject, published on the 21st January, 1648. Done and Ordained in Session, at Fort Amsterdam, on the 28th September, 1648. Present, His High Mightiness the Director General, L. Van Dincklage, la Montagne, Brian Newton, Paul: Leendertsen.

[Original, 14; Translation, 22.]

WHEREAS, there are daily complaints made by the Indians and Natives, to their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors that some of the Inhabitants are in the habit of setting the natives at work, of availing themselves of their labor, and of letting them go off unpaid after the work has been done; and as the refusal to pay the Indians for their labor is contrary to the right of all people, for which reason the Indians are threatening, in case they are not satisfied and paid, that they will take their pay by resorting to other unbecoming measures:

Therefore, for the timely and possible prevention of all mischief, their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors do hereby warn all inhabitants who are indebted to the Indians for their daily wages or otherwise, to pay the same without any gainsaying; and, in case of the employment of the Indians for the future, they shall be under the same obligation, or the statement or complaint of the Indians—to whom, for reasons in the case, credit shall be given—to make payment therefore, under such a fine as, according to the occasion, shall be deemed right.

Done in Session and Published on the 28th September, 1648, at New Amsterdam: Present, His High Mightiness the Director General, L. Van Dincklage, la Montagne, B. Newton, Paulus Leendertsen.

#### XIV.—A LETTER FROM GEN. QUITMAN.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.:

MY DEAR SIR:—Thinking at that period of revising and republishing my *History of Schoharie County, &c.*, I wrote in 1854, to Gen. John A. Quitman, then recently of the Mexican war, to know if he was a son of Domine Quitman, at one time pastor of the Schoharie Lutheran Church; asking from him, if he were, a sketch of his public life. I believe he advocated, before his death, the doctrine of *secession*, as an inherent right of the States. I regret to say I never received any later communication from him. He died, if memory serves me, just before our great civil war began. Be'lieving that this letter should find a place in the H. M., I send you a copy. J. R. S.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y., Aug. 16, 1866.

MONMOUTH, NEAR NATCHEZ, }  
May 5, 1854. }

MY DEAR SIR:

Recently, on my return from a visit to Alabama, I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 28th March last, making inquiries about myself and my father's family. Your conjecture is right; I am a son of the late Rev. Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D., of Rhinebeck, N. Y., formerly Domine Quitman, of Schoharie. My father was a graduate of the University of Halle, in Germany, married in the West Indies, and came to New York some time in the last century. This family consisted of four sons, of whom I am the third, and three daughters. I am the only survivor of his sons, and was born 1st September, 1799, in Rhinebeck. My three brothers died childless. My sisters are still living. The eldest, Mrs. Quackenboss, now resides in Albany, a widow. My remaining sisters, single, reside in Philadelphia, spending their summers usually in Red Hook.

From the age of ten years I resided several years in the old village of Schoharie, under the instruction of Dr. Augustus Wackerhagen, then Lutheran Pastor there,—a learned and a good man, who still enjoys a green old age in Clermont, Columbia county. Subsequently I spent several years at Hartwick Seminary, Otsego county, as student and tutor; and afterwards, at the age of nineteen, I was for a year a professor in Mount Airy College, near Philadelphia. Having studied the profession of law, I migrated in 1820, to Ohio, and thence in 1821 to Mississippi, where I have resided since, except while engaged in military service in Mexico. My family consists of a wife, married here, a son and five daughters.

My life has been an active and I may say an



eventful one. In civil life I have held various positions; among them Member of Legislature, of the Convention to revise the Constitution, President of the Senate, twice Governor of Mississippi, and once American Governor of Mexico. From early life I have been connected with the militia service, and in the army have held the commissions of Brigadier and Major General; and served under the command of both Generals Taylor and Scott, and had the good fortune to be the first to enter the city of Mexico, and plant the standard of our country on the "Halls of the Montezumas."

Several imperfect sketches of my life have appeared in print. If I can procure one, I will take great pleasure in transmitting it to you. Being on the eve of a journey from home, I must be brief, but will at a time of more leisure further answer your complimentary letter. You will oblige me by informing me where your forthcoming work can be procured.

The late Governor Bouck of your State knew my venerated father well, and can perhaps give some reminiscences of him.

When a boy in Schoharie, of eleven years of age, I was Captain of a company of Cadets, armed with wooden guns, and have a distinct recollection of some skirmishes with a half-gipsy, half-Indian race of vagabonds living in the hills. They were called *Sloughers*, and from their peculiarities and habits, deserve a place in the history of that settlement.

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

J. A. QUITMAN.

J. R. SIMMS, Esq.

#### XV.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED—CONTINUED.

##### 16. PAPERS CONCERNING THE EVACUATION OF THE CITY BY THE BRITISH, IN 1783.

###### 1.—*Memorial of the Exiles.*

To His Excellency GEORGE CLINTON, Esquire, Governor, and the other the Honourable Members composing the Board, constituted by Law for the temporary Government of the Southern District of the State :

THE MEMORIAL of the Subscribers, in Behalf of themselves and others, the REFUGEE CITIZENS of NEW-YORK :

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your Memorialists were among the first of the citizens of America, who in the early stages of British usurpation, asserted their

rights as became freemen ; and who openly contended against the unconstitutional and arbitrary measures which were adopted and pursued by the King and Parliament of Britain, to reduce the inhabitants of this continent to the abject state of unconditional submission, to such exercises of power as their avarice or ambition might dictate. And your Memorialists, after a series of unavailing applications to the British court for redress, can also ascribe to themselves the honour of making the first overtures to their then sister colonies for establishing that union among themselves, which, under the protection of Divine Providence, has proved the happy means of their common preservation ; and which has enabled them, with such unparalleled success, to repel the powerful exertions of an exasperated enemy, and to close the hazardous contest by compelling even that haughty enemy to acknowledge these United States as a free, sovereign and independent nation.

That your Memorialists, conscious of the rectitude of their intentions, the justice and importance of the cause in which they were engaged, stimulated by the most sacred regard for the civil and religious liberties of their country, and possessing the fullest dependence upon the honour, the exertions, and support of their fellow sufferers, citizens and countrymen, so solemnly promised and pledged by voluntary associations, declaring to the world, that at every hazard, expence and danger, they would defend and maintain their freedom against every invader.—Governed by such motives, and confiding in such assurances, your Memorialists in demonstration of the sincerity of their professions, most cheerfully abandoned their comfortable habitations, their property, and many of them every means of support, upon the approach of the British armament to this state in the year 1776. Perhaps too sanguinely reasoning from the dictates of their own hearts, that a people on whose generosity and gratitude they were thus confidentially depending, and for whose safety, interest and cause they were thus fully devoting themselves, would receive them with the most cordial expressions of friendship, favour and esteem.

At this period, and in the most destitute and dispersed circumstances, commenced the various, aggravated and severe hardships, which, in the course of a seven years exile, your Memorialists have experienced; and, notwithstanding of which, animated by the hope of being eventually successful in the great cause in which they had embarked, they have on all occasions, with fortitude and firmness, continued to manifest their zeal and perseverance, by contributing according to their power and opportunity, whatever has been required from them in common with others,

for public use or service : Patiently, though anxiously waiting for that happy day, which would relieve them from such mortifying scenes of misery, by restoring them triumphantly to their native city with liberty and peace.

Such having been the conduct, the sacrifices, and the sufferings of your Memorialists, through the tedious periods of the war, there can be but few among all the citizens of America who have more real cause of rejoicing at the auspicious prospect of an honourable peace.—But when they reflect upon the present circumstances of the city, and compare them with their own :—When they remember that a very considerable part of it is reduced to ashes, and the residue in the occupation of adherents to the British government, and followers of the British army, possessed, not only of all the advantages derived from trade and business of every kind, but also of wealth and influence to secure those advantages to themselves.—Your Memorialists would be filled with the most painful and alarming apprehensions for their future means of subsistence and support, were they not comforted by the confidence and trust which they repose in the justice and wisdom of that government, which they have done so much to establish.

Your Memorialists have derived great satisfaction and encouragement from the provident measures adopted by the Legislature, which under prudent limitations, constitutes a temporary government for the southern district of the state, especially as they flatter themselves that a generous attention to the case and circumstances of the dispersed and unfortunate citizens of New-York, as a principal end, dictated the expediency and propriety of this judicious and necessary act. And your Memorialists, possessing the same confidence in the justice, generosity and wisdom of your Honorable Board, entertain no doubt but that you will be equally disposed to take your Memorialists under your immediate protection and favour, and to exert the powers with which you are invested for the purpose of promoting their speedy and effectual re-establishment, as far as may be practicable, in their former habitations, or in as comfortable a manner as the reduced condition of the city will permit.

Reduced in property, and destitute as many of your Memorialists are, and notwithstanding they have devoted so many years of the most valuable part of their lives to the common cause of their country, yet they never would think themselves warranted to solicit the interposition of your Honorable Board for their interest or accommodation in any instance where their application or claims would operate against the true interest of the state at large, or with the rights of those who were entitled to the favour of government ;

but your Memorialists are fully persuaded that when the merits of their present requests are dispassionately and impartially investigated, it will be abundantly evident, that on the one hand, they have given the most ample demonstrations of attachment, perseverance and zeal, through all the vicissitudes of the arduous contest ; and that on the other hand, those who are in possession of the city have perhaps, with equal perseverance, exerted themselves to support our enemy and to defeat the measures which have been pursued for the preservation of our lives, liberty, and the establishment of our freedom and independence ; nor can there be a doubt, but that exasperated by their disappointment and disgrace, they will retain the same vindictive rage and enmity against our happy constitution and government ; and instigated by their unconquerable prejudices, will exert every means in their power to attempt their subversion. And when it is considered how far the influence, principles and examples of the citizens of the metropolis prevail through the remote parts of the state, there can be as little doubt about the policy of guarding against the dangerous effects which reasonably might be apprehended from excluding the whig inhabitants and suffering the capital of the state to remain an asylum for the disaffected, and a nursery of tory principles.

Having thus freely, but they hope, with becoming respect, stated to your Honorable Board the peculiar embarrassments and distresses of their present situation ; and also taken the liberty to suggest such arguments as they trust, will sufficiently vindicate the justice and propriety of their claims : your Memorialists take leave to represent, that many of them were tenants, and rented houses either by the year, or upon lease for a term of years, which they abandoned, and with the American army retired from the city in the fall of the year 1776. That others of your Memorialists occupied houses their own property, which, since the enemy have had possession of the city, are consumed by fire, and that comparatively, there are but very few of those citizens who withdrew from New-York upon the approach of the enemy, who have either the means or prospect of being able to procure a covering for their families upon their return, especially as in their present circumstances, they cannot afford to pay such extravagant rents as are demanded by the proprietors, particularly by those who have adhered to the enemy or remained within their power and protection during the war, and which are frequently given by disaffected and strangers, as your Memorialists apprehend, thereby to gain a residence and establishment in the state.

Under such a complication of difficulties, your Memorialists are constrained to present their

case and claims to your Honorable Board:— They again declare that they wish for nothing incompatible with the rights of whig citizens, or which would embarrass government in their decisions; and they flatter themselves, that while they only claim to be provided for, as faithful and zealous citizens and subjects, in preference to those who have been open and avowed enemies, their applications will neither be deemed unreasonable, nor rejected by a government convinced of the truth of the facts which they assert, and friendly to the principles of our glorious revolution.

Your Memorialists do therefore most earnestly request, that your Honorable Board will be pleased to take their case into consideration, and as soon as conveniently may be, to make an ordinance, authorizing such of your Memorialists who either occupied, rented, or leased houses in the year 1776, from persons who have either remained, or removed within the enemy's lines, to repossess the same upon their return to the city. Also directing that such houses as are part of confiscated estates be appropriated, until the Legislature shall otherwise determine for the further accommodation of your Memorialists; and prescribing such other methods and means of providing houses for the Refugee Citizens as a due sense of their merits, their necessity, and your wisdom may suggest.

And in order to prevent as much as possible those irregularities and confusion, which, on such an occasion may be apprehended, as well as for the convenience of the citizens, your Memorialists beg leave further to request, that a competent number of prudent persons may be appointed by your Honorable Board for the purpose of distributing the houses, agreeable to such ordinance as your Honorable Board shall be pleased to pass in favour of your Memorialists, who as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

New Burgh, September 1, 1783.

Samuel Loudon  
Richd. Norwood  
Richard Leayeroff  
Geo. Taylor  
Hugh M-Connel  
Michael Brooks  
Alexr. Lamb  
Thomas Pasett  
Samuel Myer  
Samuel Fardon  
Abraham fardon—  
Peter montanye  
Benjamin Montanye  
Peter Montanye Junr  
Thomas Montanye  
Henry Peckwell  
Abraham Larzelere

Robert Hatton  
Samuel Hallaway  
Pelig Seaman  
Benjn. Montanye  
Amos Hone  
William Heriot  
Aaron King  
Lawrence Myer  
David Currie  
James McKenney  
Isaac Van Hook  
Nicholas Kortright  
Nicholas Kortright junr  
Stephen Smith  
John Currie  
John Montanye  
James McCullen

Abrm. Ingram  
Kamp Ayrs  
Jno. Harrison.  
Jno. Tyson  
William Frazer

Chas. Tillinghast  
Michael Tremper  
John Bailey  
Jno. Keese  
Wm. Keese

## 2.—Order of the Procession, November 25, 1783.

New-York, Nov. 24, 1783.

The Committee appointed to conduct the Order of receiving their Excellencies Governor CLINTON and General WASHINGTON,

**B**E G Leave to inform their Fellow-Citizens, that the Troops, under the Command of Major-General KNOX, will take Possession of the City at the Hour agreed on, on Tuesday next; as soon as this may be performed, he will request the Citizens who may be assembled on Horseback, at the Bowling-Green, the lower End of the Broad-Way, to accompany him to meet their Excellencies Governor CLINTON and General WASHINGTON, at the Bull's Head, in the Bowery---the Citizens on Foot to assemble at or near the Tea-water-Pump at Fresh-water.

## ORDER of PROCESSION.

A party of Horse will precede their Excellencies and be on their flanks---after the General and Governor, will follow the Lieutenant-Governor and Members of the Council for the temporary Government of the Southern Parts of the State---The Gentlemen on Horse-back, eight in Front---those on Foot, in the Rear of the Horse, in like Manner. Their Excellencies, after passing down Queen-Street, and the Line of Troops up the Broadway, will a-light at CAPE's Tavern.

The Committee hope to see their Fellow-Citizens, conduct themselves with Decency and Decorum on this joyful Occasion.

## CITIZENS TAKE CARE!!!

**T**HE Inhabitants are hereby informed, that Permission has been obtained from the Commandant, to form themselves in patrols this night, and that every order requisite will be given to the guards, as well to aid

and assist, as to give protection to the patrols : And that the counterfign will be given to THOMAS TUCKER, No 51, Water Street ; from whom it can be obtained, if necessary.

### 3.—Address to General Washington.

To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America.

The Address of the Citizens of New York, who have return'd from Exile, in behalf of themselves and their Suffering Brethren.

SIR

At a moment when the arm of Tyranny is Yielding up its fondest usurpations ; we hope the Salutations of long suffering Exiles, but now happy freemen, will not be deemed an unworthy tribute.—In this place, and at this moment of exultation and triumph, while the Ensigns of Slavery still linger in our Sight, we look up to you, our deliverer, with unusual transports of Gratitude and Joy.—Permit us to Welcome you to this City, long torn from us by the hard hand of Oppression, but now, by your Wisdom and energy, under the guidance of Providence, once more the seat of Peace and freedom ; we forbear to speak our gratitude or your Praise. we should but echo the voice of Applauding Millions ; But the Citizens of New York are eminently indebted to your virtues and we Who have now the honour to address your Excellency, have been often companions of your Sufferings, and witnesses of your exertions. Permit us therefore to approach your Excellency with the dignity and Sincerity of freemen, and to Assure you, that we shall preserve with our latest breath, our Gratitude for your Services, and Veneration for your Character ; and accept of our Sincere and earnest Wishes that you may long enjoy that calm domestic felicity which you have so generously sacrificed ; that the Cries of Injured Liberty may never more interrupt your repose, and that your happiness may be equal to your Virtues.

Signed at request of the Meeting—

THOMAS RANDALL  
DAN: PHOENIX  
SAM: BROOME  
THOS: TUCKER  
HENRY KIPP  
PAT. DENNIS  
WM: GILBERT SENR:  
WM. GILBERT JUNR:  
FRANCIS VAN DYCK  
JEREMIAH WOOL  
GEO: JANEWAY  
ABRAH: P. LOTT  
EPHRAIM BRASHIER

NEW YORK NOV: 26<sup>th</sup>: 1783.

### 4.—The General's Reply.

To the Citizens of New York who have returned from Exile.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank You sincerely for your affectionate Address, and entreat You to be persuaded that Nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite Congratulations: Permit me, in Turn, to felicitate You on the happy Repossession of your City.

Great as your Joy must be on this pleasing Occasion, it can scarcely exceed that which I feel, at seeing You, Gentlemen, who from the noblest Motives have suffered a voluntary Exile of many Years, return again in Peace & Triumph to enjoy the Fruits of your virtuous Conduct.

The Fortitude and Perseverance which You and your Suffering Brethren have exhibited in the Course of the War, have not only endeared You to your Countrymen, but will be remembered with admiration and Applause to the latest Posterity.

May the Tranquility of your City be perpetual.—May the Ruins soon be repaired, Commerce flourish Science be fostered ; And all the civil and social Virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious Manner which formerly reflected so much Credit on the Inhabitants of New York. In fine, may every Species of Felicity attend You Gentlemen & your worthy fellow Citizens.

Go. WASHINGTON.

### 5. The Firemen's Address to the Governor of the State of New York.

To His Excellency GEORGE CLINTON Esq. Governor of the State of New York in America &c.—&c.—&c.—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

As the Change of Government has now taken place on the Arrival of your Excellency in this City—We the Fire Engineers of the several Fire Engines, and Companies belonging to the same, beg leave to lay before your Excellency, the State and Condition of the Fire Engines &c as also of the several Companies and Number of Men now belonging to the same.

We further beg leave to represent to your Excellency That the Fire Engines with the other *emplements* belonging, were before the late Fire all in good Condition and the Companies under good Order and Regulations: And as there are at present a number of Fire Buckets wanting, and also some necessary to be done (Occasioned by the late Fire) to the several apparatus belong-

ing to the Engines, which require immediate dispatch, not knowing how soon they may be wanted—We think it Our duty, and therefore take this early Opportunity to represent this matter to your Excellency, as the safety and preservation of this Metropolis at Times depend greatly in keeping the Engines in good Order.

We now beg leave to inform your Excellency that we held a commission Jointly and Severally, under the late Governor *Robertson*, and are happy to say we always gain'd applause from the Citizens for Our good Conduct in the Alarming time of Fire in this City—Should it please your Excellency to Continue us in this office under your Administration we will always Act with such Conduct, as we make no Doubt will, when Called upon in Time of Fire gain the applause of your Excellency, as well as in the late Fire we have of the Citizens.—We

Remain with Great Respect  
Your Excellency's Most Obed.  
Most Hum'le Serv'ts

JOHN BALTHASER DASH.  
GEORGE STANTON  
FRANCIS DOMINICK  
JERONEMUS ALSTYNE

NEWYORK 27<sup>th</sup> November 1783.

A List of the Names of the Foremen and Common men belonging to the Several Fire Engines, with the Numbers of the same.

		Men
Engine—No 1.	Jacob Boelin,	Foreman 12.
2.	John Burt Lyng	. d. 12.
3.	John C. Puntzius	. d. 16.
4.	John Post . . .	. d. 13.
5.	Daniel Ten Eyck	. d. 22.
6.	Nicholas Carmer	. d. 21.
7.	Ahasures Turk	. d. 24.
8.	Henry Riker . . .	. d. 23.
9.	Charles Doughty	. d. 16.
10.	Isaac Meade . . .	. d. 22.
11.	Christopher Henniger	. d. 16.
12.	John B. Dash Junr	. d. 12.
13.	Richard Deane . .	. d. 12.
14.	Benjamin Birdsall	. d. 10.

Men belonging to }  
Ladders and hooks }

No 1. Daniel Cottong . Foreman 12.  
2. William Wright . d. 10.

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## XVI.—THE MURDER OF JANE MACCREA.

To the Editor of the Historical Magazine:

This tragic occurrence, which produced so great an impression on the public mind, in England as well as America, at the time, as to become the subject of discussion in Parliament

and the English press of the day, has recently been revived by some of our writers on historical topics, who criticize Mr. Bancroft's account of it with some sharpness, challenging his fidelity to the truth of history, because he does not accept the modern versions of more or less ancient traditions, which have resulted in an opinion that the unfortunate girl really received her death-wound at the hands of Americans, not Indians. I am aware that this version has received the *imprimatur* of Mr. Lossing, Mr. Stone and others, but it seems to me to be quite time to ask these gentlemen what disposition they have made or we are to make of the contemporary accounts of those who certainly ought to have known what they were writing about, and whose statements can hardly be overthrown or set aside by those traditions of traditions on which the new versions rest.

General Gates was not slow to aggravate the excesses committed by the Royal army and their savage allies; and in his famous "tickler on the "subject of scalping," he imputed the Indian cruelties to Burgoyne, in a letter of the second of September, 1777.

Burgoyne's own statement, in reply to Gates, on the sixth of September, 1777, is as follows:

"In regard to Miss M'Rea, her fall wanted not "the tragic display you have labored to give it, to "make it as sincerely abhorred and lamented by "me, as it can be by the tenderest of her friends. "The fact was no premeditated barbarity. On "the contrary, two chiefs, who had brought her "off for the purpose of security, not of violence "to her person, disputed which should be her "guard; and in a fit of savage passion in one, "from whose hands she was snatched, the unhap- "py woman became the victim. Upon the first "intelligence of this event, I obliged the Indians "to deliver the murderer into my hands; and "though to have punished him by our laws or "principles of justice, would have been perhaps "unprecedented, he certainly should have suf- "fered an ignominious death, had I not been con- "vinced, from my circumstances and observa- "tion, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that a "pardon under the terms which I presented and "they accepted, would be more efficacious than "an execution to prevent similar mischiefs."

This statement is confirmed by the evidence of Lord Harrington, before the House of Commons, March 1, 1779, and Burgoyne's review of the evidence, which are printed in his *State of the Expedition from Canada*, published in London, in 1780.

Gordon, in his History, confirms all this, very emphatically. He says:

"My account of Miss M'Rea's death will differ "only circumstantially from Burgoyne's. Mr. "Jones, her lover, anxious on her account, en-

"gaged some Indians of two different tribes to convey her away from among the Americans for the purpose of security. He might fear for her, on account of her father's being interested in the royal cause and of her attachment to himself. He promised to reward the person, who should bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. The two who took her and carried her to some distance, disputed who of them should convey her to Mr. Jones. Each was anxious for the reward; and that the other might not receive it, one of them struck his tomahawk into her skull and killed her."

Gordon gives his authority in a foot-note, in which he says: "This is the substance of the relation given by Mrs. M'Neil, who was in company with Miss M'Rea when taken by the Indians."

When these documents are disposed of, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the traditions. G. H. M.

NEW YORK, December, 1866.

#### XVII.—NOTES.

MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMON (H. M. x. 156).—Having but one, still I will name it: 1777, by Samuel Webster, A. M., of Salisbury. M. M. JONES.

UTICA, N. Y.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.—"The twenty-ninth Regiment of Foot," says the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of September, 1814, "which is now at Castine, is called the *Boston Regiment*, it being the same that perpetrated the memorable *Boston Massacre*. It is said that one man who was at that time a private in that regiment, still belongs to it, and is now at Castine." J. W.

BELFAST, Maine.

ANTHRACITE COAL.—A recent newspaper states that anthracite coal was first used in this country in the Wyoming Valley, by two Connecticut blacksmiths, in 1768-69; but it was not till 1808 that it was used for domestic purposes in the common grate. In that year, Judge Fell, of Wilkesbarre, recorded the fact that he had made the experiment of burning the common stove-coal of the Valley in a common fire-place, and found it answering all the purposes of fuel.

Gordon, in his *Hist. American Rev.*, ii. 32, mentions, among the principal articles left by the British at the evacuation of Boston, March 17th, 1776, "twenty-five hundred chaldrons of sea-coal." J. W.

BELFAST, Maine.

WASHINGTON AT TRENTON IN 1789.—According to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, three venerable ladies still survive who were of the choir of young ladies that, dressed in white, greeted Washington as he entered Trenton in 1789, on his way to assume the Presidency, and who strewed his pathway with flowers. One yet lives in Trenton, another is the mother of the Hon. Mr. Chesnut, formerly senator from South Carolina, and the third, Mrs. Sarah Hand, resides in Cape May County, N. J. J. W.

BELFAST, Maine.

A HISTORICAL DIFFICULTY.—Some time ago, a silver coin was dug up in a ditch in the vicinity of Davidson College, N. C., on the obverse of which was the usual stamp of Spanish coins in the center; and around the border, "CARLUS III. D. G."

On the reverse, in the center, an abbreviation of the word Carolus, with III. under it; and around the border, "HISPANIARUM REX," with the date, as far as could be made out, 1711. But all the Chronological Tables give the reign of this king from 1759-1788. Its origin here could not be accounted for, and it was stolen from the cabinet of the writer afterwards.

We have heard of gold coins found in Lincoln County, in the route of the British army in 1781, at the places where they encamped. But we know not of what denomination. They either lost a number of twenty-five pound cannon balls, or threw them into Dutchman's Creek, in that County, one of which is in the possession of the writer. E. F. R.

A LETTER OF THE FIRST NAPOLEON.—In removing the archives of the State Department, a few weeks since, (on the demolition of the old building,) the following remarkable letter of Napoleon I. came to light. It had probably got mixed in with some dispatches from the French Minister to this country at that time. It was given by Mr. Secretary Seward to Mr. Gobright of the Associated Press, and is having quite a run through the papers. It seems to have accomplished its object, for Mr. Armstrong, the American Minister referred to, was soon supplanted by Joel Barlow, which pleased Napoleon, as on the official presentation of Mr. Barlow, he addressed him as follows; "I am happy to receive a Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, particularly so distinguished a gentleman,—whose opinions are so well known to me. Make the English respect your flag, and you will obtain everything you wish from me."

CORRESPONDENCE OF NAPOLEON FIRST, 1810—  
16,147.

*To M. de Champagny, Duke de Cadore, Minister  
for Foreign Relations at Paris :*

PARIS, January 19, 1810.

MONSIEUR DUKE DE CADORE: You must see the Minister from America. It is beyond all ridiculous that he writes of things that one does not comprehend. I prefer that he should write in English, but at length, and in a manner that we can understand. How is it that in affairs so important he contents himself with writing letters of four lines? Speak to the secretary who is here; speak also to the secretary who is about arriving from America. Send by a courier extraordinary a despatch in cypher to America to make them understand that that Government is not represented here; that its minister does not understand French—is a morose man, with whom one cannot deal; that all obstacles would be removed if we had an envoy to talk with. Write in detail on the matter. Let me know what effect the letter from Attenburg has had in the United States, what has been done, and what is proposed. Write to America in such a manner that the President may know what a fool has been sent here.

NAPOLEON.

HISTORICAL COINCIDENCE.—There is a singular coincidence between Ezekiel and Herodotus.

In the prophecy of the former, Ch. xl. 5, he had a measuring reed of a cubit and a hand-breadth in length. In Ch. xli. 8, he calls these "*great cubits*," see also Ch. xliii. 3. This prophet lived at or in the vicinity of Babylon about 600 B. C. Now Herodotus, called the *father of profane history*, lived about 500 B. C., and visited and described the city of Babylon; and in Liber I., Sec. 178, he says, "the wall is fifty royal cubits in breadth, and in height, two hundred; but the royal cubit is larger than the common one by three fingers breadth."

Both, then, must be speaking of the same cubit; and this is mentioned nowhere else in the Bible; unless perhaps there is an allusion to it in Revelations xxi., 15-17, where the angel that talked with John had a *golden reed* to measure the New Jerusalem; "and he measured the wall thereof, a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the *angel*." The length of the cubit is ordinarily given at twenty-two inches; this "*great cubit*" then will be about twenty-six inches. Now Mr. Rich says that the Babylonian bricks are thirteen inches square; and as Herodotus says the wall was fifty royal cubits thick, this will give exactly a hundred bricks to reach across the wall.

The first synchronism of sacred and profane

history is said to be in Jer., xxv. 1, where the fourth year of Jehoiakim and the first of Nebuchadnezzar coincide. And in Ch. xxxii. 1, the tenth of Zedekiah is the same as the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar. In 2 Kings, xxv. 2, 8, the eleventh of Zedekiah falls upon the nineteenth of Neb.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON'S COLLEGE, N. C.

ARNOLD IN MAINE.—A dwelling-house owned by Henry Norcross, in Augusta, Me., was burnt in June last. It was one of the oldest houses in the city, having been built in 1770, by James Howard, and possessed a historical interest as being occupied by General Benedict Arnold on his expedition to Quebec during the Revolutionary War. Dr. Senter, in his *Journal of that expedition*, says, under date of September 23d, 1776, "Head Quarters were at Esq. Howard's, an exceedingly hospitable, opulent, and polite family."

A recent number of the *Republican* (Maine) *Clarion* mentions the discovery of a gun-barrel, which was found at Arnold's Crossing, on Dead River, and is supposed to have belonged to some one of Arnold's men. It shows marks of long exposure to the weather, and is of an ancient date.

BELFAST, MAINE.

LONGEVITY IN MAINE.—The town of Auburn, in Maine, with a population of less than three thousand, contained, in 1851, forty-nine persons, the youngest of whom was over seventy-three years old. All but eight had been inhabitants of the town for over half of a century. J. W.

BELFAST, MAINE.

RED HOOK, N. Y.—A correspondent of the *Red Hook Advertiser*, speaking of an old resident of that town, says "he moved to Red Hook in 1815. Previous to that time he had spent several summers, whilst a youth, on the place now owned by Johnston Livingston.

"The family resided in the old stone house which formerly belonged to John Reade, Esq., which stood among the locust trees on almost the extremity of his (Reade's) Hook. At this point there was a dock, as good as that afterwards built at the Lower Tivoli Landing, last occupied by the Collyers, and quite a considerable freighting establishment. This stone house was occupied in 1815 by Mons. de Labigarre, who afterwards built, in French style, the Elmendorf house, or Chateau, as he called it, and laid out the city of Tivoli, which, according to his plan, would have adapted itself to the ground and made quite a handsome display.

"This Frenchman united a great deal of prac-

"tical ability and visionary scheming. He went into co-partnership with Chancellor Livingston. His first idea was to make china out of Reade Hoek clay—a failure; then to make paper out of the river weed known as 'frog-spawn.' This, as might be supposed, failed also. His next idea was to make soup cakes for the American Army during the last war (1812-15). This failed also.

"Mr. L.—recollects perfectly the mill in White Clay (now Ham's) Creek, and says that rafts were floated into a saw-mill therein, adjacent to the flouring establishment; that the North Cove was sufficiently deep to afford a favorable sailing ground when he was young. Here Chancellor Livingston built the hull of his first steamboat, the *Clermont*, or *Car of Neptune*, where it is now dry ground. The writer has lived in this neighborhood for twenty-five years, and he has witnessed changes he could hardly have believed possible. His informant, who lives in the only building which the British did not burn when they came up the river in 1777, witnessed almost as great changes between 1815, when he bought, and 1841. Even in 1815, things had altered materially from their original appearance, and centres of trade were beginning to shift their locations. Twenty-five years ago there was no vestige of the old Reade dock or dwelling, and it is doubtful if there are half a dozen persons alive who ever saw either.

"Mr. Reade was a son-in-law of the Gilbert Livingston who owned the Mansion House, which still stands between the two landings at Tivoli. ANCHOR."

#### XVIII.—QUERIES.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.—This distinguished author is said by M. Sandel, in his *Bulogium*, to have been born "at Stockholm, the 29th of January, 1688;" and as an authority for the statement, "a note which he delivered in, himself, to be inserted in the Register of the Nobles" of Sweden, is referred to. Yet, in a letter addressed by Swedenborg himself, in 1769, to his friend Rev. Thomas Hartley, of Winwick, Northamptonshire, it is said, "I was born at Stockholm, in the year 1689, Jan. 29." Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE throw any light on the subject? W.

FORDHAM, N. Y.

HAMILTON AND THE PRESBYTERIANS.—We submit the following to our readers, as we know little on the subject.—ED. HIST. MAG.

HIST MAG., VOL. I. 4

BRIGHTON HEIGHTS, S. I.,  
Jan. 15, 1867. }

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

A few years ago a distinguished Presbyterian minister made the remark in public, that Alexander Hamilton gave form to the Federal Constitution, and derived his *Republican* ideas of government from the Form of Government adopted by the Presbyterian Church. It is generally conceded that the Confession of Faith contains a very pure type of Republicanism. Now, it is certainly an important question, as to the extent of Hamilton's influence in the framing of this noble instrument, and a matter of interest to the Presbyterian family of churches as to how far our civil institutions were moulded by their systems of government. My own personal investigations do not convince me that the claim for Hamilton can be fully sustained, nor have I been able to find any authority for asserting the indebtedness of the Constitution to the Confession of Faith. Will you be so good as to give me your opinion upon these matters?

Truly your friend,

HEMAN R. TIMLOW.

BUFF AND BLUE.—What is the origin of the colors generally supposed to have been those which constituted the Continental uniform? Were they ever acknowledged as the uniform of the Continental or United States Army? If so, at what date were they adopted, and how? What regiments wore them? Had these colors anything to do with the English and Scotch Union, after the Revolution of 1688? Was BLUE recognized as the national color of Scotland, and was it united with Buff, as a substitute for Orange, the representative color of the House of Orange, as a memorial of the restoration of law, liberty and right in England, by WILLIAM III.? Why did Fox wear these colors? Did the Colonists adopt them from him, as one of their champions? An answer to these questions, or any of them, will much oblige a constant reader, who has devoted much attention to the subject without success. ANCHOR.

TIVOLI, N. Y.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENSIGN.—Can any of your correspondents inform me when and how this flag, which appears to be identical with the Grand Union Flag raised by Washington at Cambridge, January 1st, 1776, originated, and by what authority it was adopted? It is certain that a flag of alternate red and white stripes, having an English Union or Jack in its upper corner next the staff, was the established ensign of the British East India Company as long as it



held sovereign possession in the Eastern Seas. It waved over the Company's forts, and was carried over the ocean by its vessels, and on land by its armies.

Your correspondent ANCHOR (Vol. viii. p. 395) mentions having a drawing of one of these flags, published in 1704, which has thirteen stripes. Your correspondent DELTA (Vol. ix. p. 35) has a drawing of one published in 1707, which has only *ten* stripes. In a chart of Flags in my possession, published in 1808 by Gio Antonio Lasso-Isnova, there is one with thirteen stripes and a white Union with the red cross of St. George. *The London Encyclopedia*, Vol. ix., 1832, gives, as the East India Company's, a flag of *thirteen* stripes, with the English Union, as at present composed, of the bleuded crosses of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick, and has, in addition, adjoining the right-hand side of the Union, a red perpendicular stripe of the same width as the horizontal stripes, thus forming a St. George's cross across the whole flag. The latest edition of Webster's *Dictionary*, having the imprint 1867, has a drawing of an East India Colony flag precisely like the one in *The London Encyclopedia*. The evidence seems to favor the correctness of thirteen stripes. A striped flag with the British Union is at present the national flag of the Hawaiian Kingdom or Sandwich Islands. A similar flag was given to the New Zealanders before they were recognized as a British Colony. The flag of Liberia is like our own, only it has but a single star in the Union. It would be interesting to ascertain how and when those flags were assumed. G. H. P.

CHARLESTOWN, Mass., Nov. 20, 1866.

### XIX.—REPLIES.

ZARAH.—In Drake's valuable edition of HUBBARD'S *Indian Wars* (Vol. ii. p. 71), his note refers this name to "a city of Moab." The true reference should be to Genesis xxxviii. 28-30, where Hubbard's allusion to "the Scarlet Thred" receives its explanation. B.

BUNSWICK, Me.

SEVERAL INQUIRIES (Vol. x. p. 291).—A complete history of Concert Hall can be found in Drake's *History of Boston*, 641.

The section of the town westerly of Beacon Hill, was called New Boston.

The ferry was from the foot of Hanover Street to Winnisimmet, now called Chelsea.

For a sketch of the life of John Morrison see Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, ii. 108.

Hugh Dalrymple was the commander of the *Cerberus* frigate from 1773 to 1776. W. K. NEW YORK.

GEORGE EACKER (Vol. x. p. 292).—There is a copy of the oration referred to, in the Library of the New York Historical Society.

An Oration, delivered at the request of the Officers of the Brigade of the City and County of New York, and of the County of Richmond, before them, and the Mechanic, Tammany, and Coopers' Societies, On the Fourth of July, 1801, in commemoration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of American Independence. By George J. Eacker. New York: Printed for William Durell, No. 106 Maiden Lane, 1801. 8vo, pp. 23. W. K.

DOWNING—WARE.—The following, from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1862-3, p. 415, is an answer to the query signed PRENDERGAST (HIST. MAG., x., p. 378):

"The President read a passage from a newly-discovered letter of Emanuel Downing to his brother-in-law, Gov. Winthrop, which will be printed in the forthcoming volume of the Society's *Collections*, and which furnished some new information in regard to Downing's family history. It speaks of his father-in-law, Sir James Ware, as having recently died, etc., [1632]. "Sir James Ware, whose second daughter, Ann, was the first wife of Emanuel Downing, was a highly distinguished person in Ireland, a member of the Irish Parliament in 1613, and knighted by James I. He was the father of that Sir James Ware whose works on Ireland had secured him the title of the Irish Camden, and of whom an interesting account, with a portrait, will be found in Thane's *British Autography*, Vol. ii., p. 38. A fine copy of the *Works Concerning Ireland*, in two folio volumes, is in the Boston Public Library; and in the second part of the second volume, p. 148, there is an account of the family of Sir James Ware, with a notice of his sister's marriage to Emanuel Downing."

The letter referred to will be found in the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, Fourth series, Vol. vi. A

BOSTON.

### XX.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

#### 1.—NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

Boston, November 7.—The monthly meeting of this Society was held this day, Dr. Winslow Lewis in the chair. The librarian reported donations during the last month of 27 volumes, 23

pamphlets, a file of the *Evening Gazette* for the year 1828, and four beautiful medallions exemplifying the rewards of merit in the Humane Society. The medallions were presented by Hon. Geo. B. Upton, Vice President of the Society.

The Historiographer read a biographical sketch of Edward Bush of Boston, a resident member, who died January 21, 1866.

A very able essay was then read by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., on "Method in the study of history, especially in schools."

Dr. Clarke began by describing the old-fashioned histories, read in our childhood, as a task and directly forgotten, and the romantic histories of Shakspeare and Scott, perfectly and always remembered. He asked how history was to be made as real and as interesting as romance? To a child, fable is not so interesting as reality, for the child always asks, when you tell him a story:—Is it true? Truth is really more interesting than mere fiction. Dr. Clarke suggested that:—1st. There should be more *local color* in the history taught in schools, more picturesqueness and painting out in detail, and illustrated his meaning by a reference to Hawthorne's *Stories for Children*. 2d. That the only thing committed to memory should be the pivotal dates around which history turns,—the dates from which others may be inferred, and suggested such a study as Mental Chronology. 3d. That history should be studied in classes, each person studying out of a separate book, and reading by topics, so that the recitation should be made more instructive and interesting. Dr. Clarke related a very interesting fact of the present Princess of Prussia. A lady who saw her at the palace some years since, when small children, told him that she noticed hung on the side of their room, well worn, and in apparently constant use, some of Hawthorne's books for children, such as *Grandfather's Chair*, &c., and, said Dr. Clarke, who knows but an essential element in the training by which they have been able to guide so victoriously the late contest with Austria, was by the inspiration received from the study of these and other works of a kindred character?

The paper of Dr. Clarke was philosophical and practical, touching upon the distinctive objects of the Society. The study of history in this new way called out strong expressions of approval from several prominent members. On motion of Mr. Sheppard, the Librarian, the thanks of the Society were presented to Dr. Clarke for his very instructive paper, and a copy was requested.

Rev. William Tyler of Newton gave an interesting account of his visit to the birthplace of Sir David Ochterlony, corner of North Centre and North-streets in this city, within a few days, making, by his research, the locality another

historical landmark in the northern part of Boston. Sir David Ochterlony was son of David Ochterlony, and was born Feb. 12, 1758. For his military services in India, he was created a baronet in 1816. He died 15th July, 1825; and was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalf Ochterlony, who is now living in England in the enjoyment of that title.

The meeting was then dissolved.

[The minutes of the meeting in December, if one was held, have been miscarried or mislaid.—  
ED. HIST. MAG.]

## 2.—BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

*Boston*, November 1.—The monthly meeting of this Society was held this afternoon. After the usual introductory business, the Secretary called the attention of the members to an early description of the bronze medal of Washington, exhibited at the last meeting. From the list of "Memorial Medals," lately prepared by W. Elliot Woodward, Esq., it appears that the *Weekly Museum* of July 24, 1802, notices the purchase by a traveller at Birmingham of the medal, with the inscription "Emancipator of America;" probably it had just appeared. Dr. Fowle exhibited a small parcel of coins, among which was a scarce medal of Washington.

The Secretary showed something of the results of his travels in Europe. The most remarkable piece is a gold medal of size 36; on one side is the crowned bust of Louis XII., of France, in a robe ornamented with fleurs-de-lis, and wearing the order of St. Michael. On the reverse is the crowned bust of his Queen, Anne of Brittany, in a long veil and a dress covered with ermine spots, the arms of her Duchy. A collection of about one hundred coin and medals, purchased by the Secretary at Munich, was much admired. Most of the pieces are European, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there are a few American rarities. Among the latter are the large "Libertas America," in silver; the smaller medal, with the reverse "Communi Consensu," the large inaugural medal of John Quincy Adams, in silver, and the pattern dollar of 1839; also two rare bronze medals of Franklin; one of these is Masonic, of French origin. The other has on the reverse a globe, an electric battery, a pile of books, and a broken chain and sceptre, with the inscription "Fulminis Tyrannidis Domitor."

Among the foreign are the beautiful medal on the marriage of Maximilian of Austria to Mary of Burgundy, 1479, a large medal on the great victory of Lepanto, 1571, another on the destruction of the Spanish Armada, 1588, a crown of Frederic, Elector Palatine, as King of Bohemia.

mia, 1621, and several medals of Martin Luther. The moderate cost of the whole collection was cause of surprise. The Secretary spoke of the ease with which fine coins could be found and bought in most parts of Europe; American pieces, in particular, seem to be very highly valued on the other side of the Atlantic.

### 3.—RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society was held at its Hall, in Providence, on the evening of the fourth of December, 1866, Governor Arnold occupying the chair.

A paper was read before the Society, by Professor Diman, on *Sir Harry Vane, the Younger, in his relation especially to Rhode Island*.

The paper began with a reference to the fact, that while Rhode Island was more indebted to Vane than to any other, after Roger Williams, for her existence as a distinct political community, his name had hardly found mention in her history, and had almost wholly faded from her traditions. While the veneration felt for Williams was attested by the splendid edition of his works, now in course of publication, there existed no memorial of one, through whose influence with the Long Parliament the first "free and absolute Charter of Civil Government" was granted to Rhode Island, and of whom Williams himself declared, "Under God, the sheet anchor of our ship is Sir Harry." A striking extract was quoted from the records of the Town of Providence, to prove the veneration and gratitude felt for Vane by the first settlers, and on all these grounds Professor Diman claimed that, although Vane had never set his foot within her narrow territory, he might still be justly regarded as one of the founders of the State.

Claiming, further, that in Rhode Island, if nowhere else, Vane should be fairly judged, Professor Diman proceeded to give a brief outline of Vane's early career, referred to his election as Governor of Massachusetts, and then considered, somewhat fully, the reason why Massachusetts writers, with the exception of Upham, had so much underrated him. The state of parties in the Massachusetts Colony was considered, and a comparison instituted between Vane and Winthrop, the representatives of the liberal and the conservative elements. The reverence felt for Winthrop, as a wise and judicious magistrate, had unfavorably affected the view taken of his opponent. Winthrop had always in view the interest of the Colony, while to Vane, Massachusetts was a means, and not an end. He came to this country in search of an ideal State, such as, at that time, existed only in his own sublime imagination; his fervid faith picturing in New

England a spring of liberty, pure and perennial as that fount of immortal youth which the Spanish explorers sought amid the everglades of Florida. While to Winthrop may belong the ample space in the annals of Massachusetts; on the page of that more inspiring history which concerns itself with universal man, the higher place must be assigned to Vane.

The career of Vane was next traced after his return to England; and his character was vindicated from the misrepresentations of English writers. Carlyle was particularly noticed in this connection; and his inadequate estimation of Vane was traced to his extravagant admiration for Cromwell, to whose policy Vane was steadfastly opposed. It was shown that the terms applied by Carlyle to Vane, "a man of light fibre," "a very pretty man," did not accurately describe one who managed the harsh affairs of England during the Dutch War, who conducted the different negotiations with the Scotch, who stood in the front rank of the debaters in the Long Parliament, and who earned the magnificent eulogium of Milton. Vane was not, as his enemies represented, a heated political enthusiast, not one disposed to hold to the time-honored traditions of English liberty.

The closing scenes in Vane's career were then described; and a parallel was traced between him and Sir Thomas More—one the noblest victim of the great political, as the other was the noblest victim of the great religious, revolution in England. Though in a different way, yet both laid down their lives, out of devotion to ideal truth, to a duty higher than any civil obligations.

The religious opinions of Vane were then passed in brief review, the speaker quoting the remark of Hume, that Vane's writings were absolutely unintelligible, with no traces of eloquence, or even of common sense; and showing that the views of Vane had been held by the early Christians, and by many distinguished men in our time. The theological writings of Vane were pervaded throughout with a depth of spiritual insight, and marked by a simplicity and nobleness of diction, which placed them in the front rank of the religious literature of the 17th century.

In conclusion, Prof. Diman expressed the hope that to the Gallery of Historical Portraits, in which were already gathered the faces of so many connected with Rhode Island, where were seen Channing and Berkeley, the features of the second Charles, the massive lineaments of Cromwell, there might be next added the noble countenance of one who combined the acuteness of Berkeley with the elevation of Channing, and to whom history accords a purer fame than to Cromwell, and to whom Rhode Island owes a far deeper debt than to Charles II.

4.—NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

December Fourth, 1866.—The Society held its regular meeting at its hall this evening, President De Peyster and a quorum of members being present.

The Librarian reported donations, during the past month, from several persons.

Mr. Augustus Schell, from the Executive Committee, reported favorably on the nomination of Hon. George W. Clinton, of Buffalo, N. Y., for corresponding membership, and on those of James Pott, Henry Hopkins, Colonel William H. Sidell, George W. T. Lord, Robert Stuyvesant, William W. Niles, Christian S. Delevan, and Edward Hasler, for Resident Membership; and the Society duly admitted the gentlemen referred to.

Mr. Schell, from the same Committee, gave notice of a proposed amendment of Article V. of the By-Laws of the Society, under which all persons hereafter elected to membership shall pay Twenty Dollars as an admission fee, and Ten Dollars yearly as dues, instead of the present rates.

Twelve gentlemen were proposed for Resident Membership of the Society, and the nominations were referred, under the rule, to the Executive Committee.

The paper of the evening was read by JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D., on "*The Administration of Sir Edmund Andros in New England in 1688-89.*" As this paper is printed, *in extenso*, in another part of this number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, our readers will need no synopsis in this place.

On its conclusion, Mr. Erastus C. Benedict offered a resolution of thanks, with a request for a copy for the archives of the Society, which was unanimously adopted.

Doctor A. K. Gardner submitted a Preamble and Resolution on the death of Horace Green, M.D., LL.D., which, inasmuch as they involved the merits of Doctor Green's peculiar theory of practice in his own profession, were referred to the Executive Committee.

The Society then adjourned.

5.—THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Society held its meeting on Wednesday evening, October 10th, 1866, at the residence of Dr. F. N. Otis, the Second Vice-president, Dr. John Torrey, being in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. W. H. Thomson, read a translation of a letter written in Arabic, and received from General Otman Hashem, of Tunis, North Africa, acknowledging his election as a Corresponding Member, and expressing much satisfaction with his recent visit to America:

"TO GOD ONLY BE THE PRAISE!

"Unto the men illustrious among the sons of eminence; awake to subjects of great thought; the foremost riders on the race-course of perfection and knowledge, viz.:—Their Excellencies, the President and Secretary of the American Ethnological Society: May God watch over them!

"After the completest salaam and most special salutations, we would state that we have been honored with that which both gratified and rejoiced us—a distinguished writing informing us of our election as Corresponding Member of your Society, celebrated for its ways, and praised for its record. This we received at the hands of him who is dignified with the dignity of your great Government, Signor Amos Perry, Consul-General of America to the Court of Tunis. We express our thanks and obligations for your thinking of us in this connection, although we are not of those qualified for such things. We do not cease to remember, with all thanks, the kind manner of our reception during our journey to your great country—may God ever cause it to be well built and fortunate! We no longer wonder at your enterprising investigations, as you are citizens of such an honorable land; and we ask God that he will perpetuate and increase the communication and friendship between our country and yours. And may there ever remain to you the help of the Almighty.

"Written by him who stands in need of the mercy of the Exalted,

"OTMAN HASHEM,

"*Amir hira*, (Brigadier-General.)

"Second day of Rabur,

"Year of the Hegira, 1283."\*

The Recording Secretary, Mr. Dwight, after making his report [which was one of unusual interest and proved to be his last], read letters from the Hon. George Folsom; Dr. E. Berchon of Paris; Rt. Rev. John Payne; S. C. Roldan; Rev. A. Bushnell, D.D., of Gaboon, Equit. Africa on races, languages and customs of Central Africa; Capt. Nicholas Pike; Henry McGuier, relative to High Rock Spring, at Saratoga, N. Y. Waldo M. Potter, and Mrs. M. E. Francis.

A letter was also received from Amos Perry Esq., U. S. Consul-General at Tunis, accepting his election as Corresponding Member, and promising to co-operate with the Society.

Dr. Otis exhibited one of the curious gold relics from the Chiriqui, upon which remarks were made by General Herran, Dr. Torrey, M. Dwight, and others.

Dr. Thomson stated that the subject of stone implements and relics has been shown, recently

\* 18th of May, 1866.



to have an important connection with Asiatic, no less than with European and American Archaeology, as the first use of bronze and iron, in Asia, is not of so remote a period as heretofore generally supposed.

Interesting cave discoveries in Belgium were reported by Mr. C. Rau, as described in the *Leipziger Novellen-Zeitung*, of August, 1866; and he also made remarks concerning a collection of flint implements from Rügen, at present in this city.

The following gentlemen were elected Corresponding Members of the Society:

Dr. J. Broca, Member of the Academy of Medicine, of Paris, and General Secretary of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bishop Williams, of the Prot. Epis. Mission in China; Edward L. Asher, of Punjaub, India; and Daniel G. Brinton, M.D., of Westchester, Penn.

The Librarian, Mr. Drowne, reported several books received from various sources; and (through the courtesy of Mr. George T. Paine) exhibited to the Society the proof-sheets of "Roger Williams' *Key into the Languages of America*," etc., which is being elegantly reprinted from the original edition, by the Narragansett Club, of Providence, R. I., with valuable annotations by J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford, Conn., and a biographical memoir by R. A. Guild, Esq., Librarian of Brown University.

A special meeting was held on Tuesday, October 30th, 1866, at the house of the first Vice-president, Thomas Ewbank, Esq., who introduced the proceedings of the evening with the following remarks:

"We are called together by the sudden death, under distressing circumstances, of our Recording Secretary, to pay that respect to his memory which is due to his character as a man, and to his services as an officer of the Society. The presence of so many friends and members, some from a neighboring city, in this inclement weather, is a pleasing proof of the general respect in which he was held. Kind, courteous and sincere, none knew him who did not respect him, and the better he was known the more he was esteemed; indeed, he possessed, in no small degree, the highest attribute of humanity, that without which no talents or attainments can confer true and enduring honor. He was a good man through life, remarkable for virtue and virtuous labors from youth to age, and as such was always prepared for the next stage of our existence. As long as these gross bodies hold us to this little place of our birth we cannot so much as exchange thoughts with occupants of even adjoining planets, to which this of ours is so closely related, but death has released the spirit of our friend, who leaving a record

"of enlightened thought, and of active and untentative benevolence here, has passed on before us to a higher school of Ethnology, one in which the real nature, the attributes and destinies of our species can alone be realized; and our relative position, as a class of intelligence in the intellectual universe, be made known. It has justly been said of him, that he devoted his life to literary and philanthropic pursuits, but the love of his species was the predominant feature of his character. It reached out to every race. He sought to extend knowledge to the ignorant, and freedom and happiness to the oppressed of every country. His yearnings and his prayers were for the social and political, the moral and religious advancement of mankind.

"He was quiveringly sensitive of the varnished evils of caste, still cherished in Europe, where Royal dynasties, landed aristocracies, and privileged orders are maintained by the impoverishment and degradation of those who supply the necessities, the conveniences, the elegancies, and the luxuries of life, and without whom there could be no commerce—classes, the fruits of whose industry are largely absorbed by institutions and standing armies to keep them at the foot of the social ladder. And few persons are more buoyant than was our late friend when contemplating, in the rising hopes of the world, manifestations of that law which is ordained to overthrow, in the order of Providence, everything opposed to it—the cardinal law of Progress.

"How warmly he received and how zealously he labored and wrote for patriotic refugees is widely known. His *Life of Garibaldi* and *The Roman Republic*, two small volumes, were contributions to the cause of Italy. His other writings will probably be brought to our notice this evening.

"His exertions in behalf of the Ethnological Society were above all praise. He was among its early supporters. I had the honor of attending one or two meetings in Mr. Galatin's house; and, if I mistake not, he was present. Whatever may be its future fate, its past history is inseparably associated with the name and labors of Theodore Dwight. He gave to it his best energies through a long series of years, and often under circumstances as discouraging as open opposition. I have thought that but for him it had ceased to exist. It may be doubted if the records of any association can furnish an example of an unpaid officer more actively and perseveringly devoted to its interests in all seasons, in sickness as in health, and often involving pecuniary outlays he could ill afford. Among other acquisitions, his knowledge of ancient and modern languages

"was ever at our service; and through his correspondence with missionaries, he enlarged, to the marked advantage of the Society, the list of its foreign associates. He was—but I forbear, since there are those present vastly more competent to speak of the public and private worth of him whose loss we deplore.

"On this occasion, we have also to refer to the recent decease of another early and distinguished member of the Society, in whose study it met after the death of Mr. Gallatin—the Rev. Dr. Hawks. Without anticipating remarks that await us on his life and writings, and of respect to his memory, it may not be improper to express, in behalf of the Society, the hope that an important contribution to Aboriginal history, on which he was long engaged, will not be lost to the world. He frequently alluded to it in conversation, and he speaks of it in the Preface and notes to his translation of *Rivers and Von Tschudi's Antiquities of Peru.*"

Several distinguished members of various scientific and literary societies were present.

Mr. Ewbank, being in feeble health, then requested Dr. John Torrey, the Second Vice-president, to take the chair; when the Hon. E. George Squier (on behalf of the Committee) submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That in the death of THEODORE DWIGHT, Esq., this Society has sustained a loss of no ordinary character, for in him were centered not only the most varied qualifications of mind and education which peculiarly fitted him for his position as Secretary of this Society; but also his whole connection with this Society has been marked with the most earnest and self-denying interest and effort for its welfare.

*Resolved*, That his simplicity and purity of character, earnestness of purpose, self-abnegation, large sympathies, industry and unwearied philanthropy merit the respect of his fellow-citizens, and especially the gratitude of his associates.

Upon motion of the Rev. Mr. Syle, it was further

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be requested to communicate to the family of the deceased the preceding resolutions.

These resolutions elicited exceedingly appropriate and eulogistic remarks, respecting Mr. DWIGHT, from Professor C. E. West, Mr. E. G. Squier, Dr. Peter Wilson (chief Sachem of the Iroquois), Dr. Otis, and the Hon. Judge Daly.

Letters of condolence were received from Professor Henry, of Washington, John Russell Bartlett, of Rhode Island, Rev. Dr. Osgood, and William L. Stone, of New York.

The Rev. Dr. J. A. Spencer afterwards offered

the following Preamble and Resolutions, relative to the Rev. Dr. HAWKS, all of which were unanimously adopted.

*Whereas*, On the 27th day of September, 1866, it pleased Almighty God, in his wise Providence, to remove from all earthly labors the Rev. FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D., Rector of the Church of the Holy Saviour, New York, in the sixty-ninth year of his age;

*And Whereas*, Dr. HAWKS was for a number of years Vice-president of the American Ethnological Society, and one of its most active, zealous and useful members; therefore,

*Resolved*, That in view of the great loss sustained, as well by science and literature as by religion, in the death of the Rev. Dr. HAWKS, the American Ethnological Society hereby gives expression to its deep sense of the rare and varied powers, and the noble and manly qualities of head and heart of its former Vice-president.

*Resolved*, That, recognizing in Dr. HAWKS one distinguished alike as a brilliant pulpit orator, a learned and eloquent writer, and a lover and promoter of science, this Society joins heartily in its sympathy with the Church and community at large, in the removal by death of its late eminent associate.

*Resolved*, That these resolutions be entered on the minutes of the Society; and also that a copy be sent to the family of the deceased.

Mr. Duyckinck, Judge Daly, Rev. Mr. Syle, and others supported the resolutions by paying interesting and affectionate tributes of respect to the memory of the Rev. Dr. HAWKS, and the Society then adjourned.

#### 6.—LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

December 6, 1866.—The regular meeting of this Society was held this evening, Hon. John Greenwood in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

All the names proposed for membership at the last meeting of the Society were then unanimously elected. The following are the names:

Rufus Crook, H. E. Morrill, M.D., E. J. Ovington, Alex. Seabury, Thos. T. Ovington, Fritz Brosé, Charles F. Blake, Pickering Clark, John A. Spencer, Albert Jewett, Anthony F. Campbell Geo. A. Haines, William H. Otis, Edwin C. Litchfield, Harlow Roys, Col. Wm. H. de Bevoise, Henry S. Manning, Edward R. Mellvaine, D. Witt C. Kellinger, Frederick W. Kalbfleisch, Thomas C. Fanning, Oliver G. Gordon, Lt.-Governor Stewart L. Woodford, Edwin Bulkley, W. Reeve.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. WILLIAM A. LAWRENCE, Superintendent of the Child

Aid Society, of Brooklyn, who read a paper on *Sherman's March from Atlanta to the Sea*.

The value of the paper lay in the fact that it gave nothing at second hand, but was fresh from the actual experience of an eye-witness to scenes in the war for the Republic, that History "will not willingly let die." We have room for only the following synopsis:

1.—*The Preliminary Steps to the March.*

(1) The sifting of the *Generals*, giving us Sherman:

(2) The training of the *men* to forage, march, and cook.

2.—*The Objects of the March.*

(1) To cut off all Railroad communication between the Rebels, East and West.

(2) To destroy the Rebel Granary of Supplies in Central Georgia.

(3) To convince the Rebels that, if they preferred extermination to submission, they were likely to be accommodated in the matter.

(4) To relieve our blockading fleet of at least one such troublesome port as Charleston, Savannah, or Mobile.

(5) A flank movement on Richmond.

3.—*The Progress of the March.*

(1) Breaking up Railroads, and the fight at Griswoldville.

(2) "Foraging liberally on the country," as per Sherman's Order, No. 120.

(3) Marching through swamps.

(4) Opening communication with the Fleet by the taking of Fort McAllister.

4.—*The Results of the March.*

(1) The Rebellion cut in two.

(2) The supplies of the Rebel Army of the West destroyed.

(3) "The war carried into Africa" to some purpose at last.

(4) Blockading vessels relieved of Savannah.

(5) Thirty-seven thousand bales of cotton, much needed at the North.

(6) The whole South shown to be at our mercy.

(7) Sherman needing no base, Richmond was known to be flanked already, and the Rebellion hopeless.

5.—*A parting tribute to the Memory of an otherwise unknown soldier*, who lies buried on the banks of the Ogeechee, near Savannah—Samuel Strangham, of the Fifty-third Indiana Volunteers.

The paper at the outset sketched rapidly the various failures of the "Proclamation Generals," Fremont and Pope, the "Neutral Generals," Halleck, Buell and McClellan, the "Limited Generals," Burnside and Hooker, until, at last,

on the twelfth of March, 1864, the "Unfailing Grant" was put in command of the whole line. Grant gave us Sherman over the immense Military Division of the Mississippi, and Sherman, untrammelled, gave us the Great March to the Sea.

The army under the command of General Sherman, after the fall of Atlanta, was composed of nearly one hundred thousand picked men—men who had fought and marched, side by side, till they had acquired the most enthusiastic "*esprit du corps*," and the most unbounded confidence both in themselves and in their Generals, especially in "Billy Sherman."

Out of one hundred thousand such men as these, Sherman picked again some seventy thousand, including the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Twentieth Corps, and Kilpatrick's Cavalry. Hood had taken the remains of his shattered army Northward, against Nashville, quite out of Sherman's path to the sea, and left him on the eleventh of November, 1864, with the Seventeenth Corps at Gaylesville, the Fifteenth at Rome, the Fourteenth at Kingston and below, Kilpatrick at Marietta, and the Twentieth Corps in Atlanta.

The march commenced on the eleventh, from Rome, Gaylesville, Kingston, and Marietta; and the four Corps, with Kilpatrick on the Right Flank, left Atlanta on the Fifteenth and Sixteenth of November, each Corps taking its own road, and to rendezvous in seven days near Milledgeville. The feint on Macon, on the twenty-second, the fight at Griswoldville, and the slaughter of the Georgia militia by Walcott's Brigade, of the Fifteenth Corps; the tearing up of the great lines of railroad between Augusta and Atlanta, and Savannah and Macon; and the taking of Fort McAllister and fall of Savannah, were described in detail, under the "Progress of the March." The speaker's estimate of the character of General Sherman, based upon nearly two years' experience in the army, was somewhat different from the popular notion of the great General. He was described as not at all "dashing," and hardly even *bold*, but, on the contrary, extremely *cautious*, *watchful*, and untiring in his attentions to all the conditions of ultimate success, getting every little thing in perfect trim, so that at last the blow came as bold and sudden as the lightning, but Sherman, perhaps, for months previous had been carefully forging the thunderbolt. Then those who saw the flash, but had not seen the slow brewing of the storm, thought Sherman simply brilliant, instead of the careful, far-seeing, thoroughly *reliable* man that he is.

Mr. Lawrence was listened to with great attention by a crowded audience, who testified their satisfaction by frequent applause.

At the conclusion, a resolution of thanks was

unanimously adopted, and the speaker was requested to deposit with the Society a copy of his exceedingly interesting paper.

The meeting then adjourned.

A. COOKE HULL,  
*Recording Secretary.*

*December 20th, 1866.*—The regular semi-monthly meeting of this Society was held this evening, Hon. John Greenwood in the chair.

After the reading of the minutes, the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:

James Myers, Alfred E. Myers, F. Rawdon Myers, James G. Weld, Charles C. Mudge, John H. Prentice, W. W. Huse, Rev. Samuel H. Hall, D.D., Henry Hosford, Coddington Billings, Nathan Lane, Crawford C. Smith, John S. Bagley, Wm. W. Thomas, Wm. E. Bailey, Samuel McElroy, E. R. Squibb, M.D., George W. Dow, D. Wadsworth, Cyrus Pyle, Rev. J. M. Buckley, Capt. P. A. Spearwater, Edward H. Arnold.

Twenty-five new nominations for membership were then offered, after which, General STEWART L. WOODFORD, Lieutenant-Governor elect of the State of New York, read a lecture on *Fort Sumter*.

He detailed, clearly and most eloquently, its history, from the time of the first firing upon it by the rebels, to the period when the authority of the United States Government was fully re-established. The lecture, though on a subject so familiar to all, was so ably prepared, and contained so many fresh facts and illustrations, drawn from documents not easily accessible, and was, besides, so gracefully delivered, that the interest of the large audience present was held enchained to the close.

A resolution of thanks was adopted, amid applause, and the meeting adjourned.

A. COOKE HULL,  
*Recording Secretary.*

#### 7.—HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The regular monthly meeting of this Society was held on Monday evening, the tenth of December, 1866, at the Society's hall, in the Athenæum Building.

A large number of members and others were in attendance, and William Bartram Snyder, Esq., read a paper on *The Life of the late Colonel Robert Carr*, who, some time previous to his death, concluded that the Historical Society was the proper depository for manuscripts and other matter relating to the war of 1812. In accordance with his wishes, his various commissions, and also his valuable and interesting manuscript journal of the war of 1812, were presented to the Society.

The commissions are four in number, viz.: One as Captain in the Eighty-fourth Militia, from Governor McKean, of Pennsylvania, dated the first of May, 1803; one as Major of the same regiment, from the same, dated the third of August, 1807; and two from President Madison—one as Major of the Sixteenth Regiment U. S. Infantry, dated the third of July, 1812, and one as Lieutenant-colonel of the Fifteenth Regiment U. S. Infantry, dated the twentieth of April, 1815. We give a brief synopsis of Mr. Snyder's address:

Colonel Robert Carr, at the time of his death, was the most aged member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He was born near Belfast, Ireland, in 1778, and came to Philadelphia with his parents in 1784. His father was a merchant, and died a few years after his settlement in the New World. In his early youth, Robert Carr made the acquaintance of Doctor Franklin, and was apprenticed to the printing business in 1792, in the office of Benjamin F. Bache, a grandson of Doctor Franklin. He was quick of apprehension, and attained to such proficiency in the art of printing, that he was appointed foreman of the office before his term of apprenticeship had expired. In this office was printed the *Aurora*, a prominent newspaper of the day.

In 1801, at the age of twenty-three, he commenced business on his own account; and in 1804, received from the American Association of Booksellers, assembled in New York, "the first gold medal for general excellence in printing" which had been offered by their Society. This compliment was occasioned by an edition of the Bible in four volumes, octavo. He also printed an edition of Rees' *Encyclopædia*, and one of Moore's *Poems*. As a printer, he was acknowledged to be a complete master of his profession; he was enterprising, and always on the alert to introduce improvements; he was among the first to use rollers instead of the old balls, and was the very first to use Johnson's printing ink, and to certify to its superiority. The discipline of the printing-office was manifest in his after life, in his habits of order, accuracy and punctuality.

He was a frequent contributor to the press, and his articles bore the impress of his intelligent and well-informed mind, and were remarkable for the accuracy of their composition. During his entire life, his manuscript, which was in the Italian style, was remarkable for its beauty and legibility.

From an early period, he took an active interest in military matters, and served as a Major of the Eighty-fourth Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia; he was also a member of the celebrated "Macpherson's Blues."

Upon the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, in 1812, Robert



Carr tendered his services to the Secretary of War, and was appointed as a Major of the regular service, and assigned to the Sixteenth Infantry. During the war, he was stationed at various posts on the northern frontier, at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, and Sackett's Harbor, Oswego, and other posts on Lake Ontario.

In June, 1813, Major Carr was assigned to the command of the important post of Oswego, a prominent depot of military stores on Lake Ontario. Four days after assuming command of this post, it was attacked by the British fleet cruising on the lake, but they were signally repulsed by the greatly inferior number of troops under Major Carr, and for his gallant and stubborn defense of Oswego he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel, and assigned to the Fifteenth Infantry. During the war, he kept a diary, which contains much interesting matter relating to the campaigns on the Northern frontier.

Upon the re-organization of the regular army under the general order of May seventeenth, 1815, he retired from the military service of the United States. In 1820 he was elected to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and in 1822 was appointed Adjutant General of the State. During his term of office he prepared a "Manual for the Instruction of Riflemen and Light Infantry." In March, 1809, Colonel Carr was married to Ann, the second daughter of John Bartram, and granddaughter of the founder of the first botanic garden in America.

In 1815, after the close of the war, Colonel Carr took up his residence at the Bartram Botanic Garden, on the Schuylkill, below Philadelphia, the property having come into the possession of Mrs. Carr, at the death of her father, during the war. This place had been established in 1728 by John Bartram, who was the first American to conceive and execute the design of a botanic garden for the reception and cultivation of native and exotic plants. He stocked this plantation of three hundred acres with a great variety of specimens of the vegetable kingdom, collected during his various journeys, from Canada to the Southern Colonies and the Mississippi river, in which he was accompanied by his son, William Bartram, who afterwards became known as the traveler, naturalist and author.

The venerable mansion on the hill, in the midst of the garden, was built by John Bartram in 1731, and is still preserved in its primitive style by Mr. Eastwick, who purchased the estate in 1850. On the northern limit of the property is located the well-known Eastwick Skating Park. This delightful Arcadian retreat was the favorite resort of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and the early members of the Philosophical Society.

Colonel Carr numbered among his guests, Wilson, the ornithologist; Nuttall, the botanist; Rafinesque, the voluminous writer on medical botany, and others well known in the scientific world.

It is believed that the Bartram garden contains the largest variety of native trees found in any one collection in America. Downing considered this the most interesting garden in America to every lover of trees. Mr. Meehan, in his *Hand-book of Ornamental Trees*, has accurately described the leading specimens of native trees in this collection. In his vocation as horticulturist, Colonel Carr displays the same degree of intelligence and spirit of enterprise that characterized him in other walks of life. He originated a system of international exchange of vegetable products, the idea of which has been extensively carried out by the agricultural bureau of the Patent Office.

In 1822, he succeeded in raising cotton in the open air. He cultivated rice, the opium poppy, the castor-oil plant and madder, tobacco and the pea plant. He had the largest variety of camellias and dahlias in any one collection, and devoted particular attention to magnolias, roses and fruit trees. He planted a vineyard and received a premium from the Philadelphia Agricultural Society for the best American wine. He was one of the earliest members of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, and for a number of years was one of its vice-presidents. He was among those who organized the association of Defenders of the Country in the war of 1812, and at their regular meetings he was almost invariably called upon to read Washington's Farewell Address and the Declaration of Independence, which he did up to the month preceding his death, without the aid of glasses.

One of the most interesting events towards the close of his life, was his visit to New York, in May, 1863, as one of the delegates from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the celebration of the "two hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the middle colonies of North America." During a period of thirty-eight years he held the office of justice of the peace for the townships of Kingessing and Blockley.

Colonel Carr was of medium stature; his temperament was the vital-motive, and his physical health remarkable throughout his entire life, and was confined to his bed but a few days previous to his death. He was quick in perception and possessed a remarkably retentive memory. There was a deep vein of humor in his composition; he was keenly alive to criticism, extremely independent in spirit, and generous a fault; his integrity was undoubted, and no man could gain say his word. His death occur-

red on the fifteenth of March, 1866, in his eighty-ninth year, and with him departed the last surviving field-officer from Pennsylvania of the regular army of 1812-1815.

Colonel Carr was a member of the following societies: Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, New York Horticultural Society, Philadelphia Typographical, Academy of Natural Sciences of Bucks County, Massachusetts Horticultural, Pennsylvania Horticultural, Columbia Horticultural of Washington, American Institute of New York, Society of Soldiers of the War of 1812, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

#### 8.—THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

The Stated Meeting of this Society was held at Madison, on the eighteenth of December, 1866.

Present, Messrs. Delaplaine, Fairchild, Butler, Benedict, W. S. Smith, Tibbits, Gurnee, Skinner, Carr, Atwood, Rublee, Pinney, Mills, Shipman, Vilas, Hobbs, Ross, Durrie, and Draper; General G. P. Delaplaine in the Chair.

The Secretary reported sixty-one letters received; among them, one from Mrs. Ann J. Hathaway, of Milwaukee, presenting portraits of her late husband, Hon. Joshua Hathaway, and Bishop Henni, as formerly requested by the Society; from Gen. C. C. Washburn, Gen. H. C. Hobart, and Gen. H. E. Paine, promising their portraits for the Picture Gallery.

The Librarian reported as additions to the library three hundred and twenty-six volumes by donation; one hundred and five by purchase: pamphlets, three hundred and thirty-seven by donation; one thousand one hundred and eighty-two by purchase—total additions, one thousand five hundred and nineteen. Of the pamphlets, one hundred and twenty-two relate to the war, and valuable, from Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati. Several interesting additions to the Cabinet were also reported.

Several accounts were presented, and referred to the Auditing Committee, who recommended their allowance, which was adopted.

The Library Committee reported upon the offer of the Tank library to the Society, and recommended its acceptance, with a vote of thanks to the generous donor, Mrs. Otto Tank; also recommending that efforts be made to secure the British Patent Office Reports. Adopted. Whereupon, Messrs. Prof. Butler, Fairchild, and Gen. Atwood were appointed a Committee to communicate to Mrs. Tank the action of this Society with reference to her munificent gift.

Voted, to hold the annual meeting on Thursday evening, January third ensuing; and that Messrs. Draper, Durrie, and Conover prepare the annual report.

Gen. J. K. Proudfit and Major John C. Spooner were elected Active Members; Hon. Ezra Cornell, of Ithica, N. Y., an Honorary Member, and several corresponding members. Adjourned.

## XXI.—BOOKS.

### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Record of the Trial of Joshua Hett Smith, Esq., for Alleged Complicity in the Treason of Benedict Arnold, 1780.* Edited by Henry B. Dawson. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1866. Octavo, viii., 116.

Our readers will recollect the interest which attached to this Record, as it appeared, month after month, in our pages, and unfolded some of the least-known features of Arnold's treason in 1780. We have taken that Record, thus presented, and brought it together in a handsomely-printed volume, from the Bradstreet Press; and fifteen copies have been assigned as the first of a series of volumes, entitled *The Magazine Miscellany*, while thirty-five copies, as independent volumes, and without the title-page of *The Miscellany*, are offered to those who shall desire the work in that form. The fifty copies, thus disposed of, constitute the entire edition.

2. *Dies Irae.* New York: Privately Printed, 1866. Octavo, pp. 9.

We have here a most exquisite little reprint of Mr. H. M. Bright's version of this ancient Monkish Song, the high merit of which has attracted some attention.

It is chiefly interesting to us as a specimen of fine printing, for private circulation. The edition numbered just thirty copies.

3. *Dies Irae.* New York: Privately Printed, 1866. Octavo, pp. 9.

The little volume last referred to has been produced in this form, the entire text being in *black letter*, with the title and numbers of the verses in *red*.

It is a choice specimen of printing from the Bradstreet Press; was intended only for private circulation; and numbered only 40 copies.

4. "A Happy New Year!" *An Offering to the Owls.* From Nonpar-il Quadrat. X. P. D. January 1, 1867. "Animis 'opibusque parati.'" Owlman Motto. Yonkers: Printed at the office of "The Gazette," for J. G. P. Holden, exclusively for private circulation, 1867. Octavo, pp. 21.

There is a club, in Yonkers, which seems to delight in the title of "The Owls of Yonkers;" but we are entirely unacquainted with its objects and, with one exception, its members.

The volume before us is a very neatly printed tract, muslin-bound, with gilt edges, which has been prepared by the Secretary of the Club—our Assistant while Editor of *The Gazette*—for New Year's Gifts to his fellow members, and to a few personal friends. It contains, beside a Roster of the Club, a Poem, entitled "The Christening of 'the Owls,'" by R. Franklin Hughes, A.M.; "An 'Essa onto Owls,'" by "Josh Billings," and a series of letters.

As a literary performance it is beneath notice; as a specimen of "private-printing" from a country newspaper-office, it is highly creditable—we only regret that the labor and material were not spent on a more worthy object. We may mention, in this connection, that the practice is not common to place the Dedication of a volume *before* the Title-page, as the printer has done in this instance.

5. *Additional Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts.* Since loco, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 16.

In this form and under this title we have a private reprint of "Mr. Moore's Reply to his 'Boston Critics,'" which appeared in the December number of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

Of the merits of this work we need only repeat what was said of it by one of the leading dailies in Boston, in a review of the Magazine: "It disposes of Mr. Moore's Boston critics, whoever they are, in a very summary and unanswerable manner."

It has been printed in this form, by the Author, for private distribution only.

6. *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special references to Ministers and Students.* By John Peter Lange. Vol. IV. of the New Testament, containing Acts of the Apostles. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. x., 480.

This very elaborate Commentary seems to be steadily progressing through the Press; and we are glad to learn that it has been received throughout the Churches with general favor.

We are not quite sure that any work which professes to be without sectarian bias is of much value; but in the case before us, if in any, we are inclined to admit its general usefulness, while we disapprove, as in the case of the Baptism of the Eunuch, its evident dislike of whatever in the Scriptures tells against the sectarian notions of its authors and editors.

7. *Lee and his Generals.* By Capt. Wm. P. Snow. New York: Richardson & Co., 1867. Octavo pp. 500.

A series of biographical sketches, mostly illustrated with portraits of the subjects, forms the contents of this volume. The title indicates the persons of whom these sketches treat; and it re-

mains only for us to say that they appear to have been carefully written and from the Southern standpoint.

But for the very inferior quality of the paper on which it is printed, the volume would be a neat one; as it is, the printer has not had a fair chance to do justice to himself.

8. *The Life and Times of Sa-go-yew-ha, or Red Jacket,* by the late William L. Stone. With a Memoir of the Author, by his Son. Albany: J. Munsell, 1866. Octavo, pp. 510.

The early edition of this volume is so well known to all who have taken any interest in American History, that further description is needless; in this new edition, we are told, the entire work has been revised and made more complete, from certain manuscripts collected by the author, after the work had originally gone to press. An elaborate Memoir of Colonel Stone, also, has been prefixed to it.

It has been carefully printed by Mr. Munsell; and it will be welcomed by all who are interested in either the history of the Iroquois, or that of the State of New York.

9. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By James Anthony Froude. Reign of Elizabeth, Volumes I. II. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp., Vol. I., xvi., 354; Vol. II., xii., 496.

Our readers have been already informed of the peculiarities of this new History of England, and the claims to their favor which it presents.

The two volumes now before us extend from the death of Mary until 1567, embracing the intrigues of Spain and France for the marriage of Elizabeth, the coquetry of Elizabeth, and her troubles with Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, the War with France, the Irish troubles, etc.; and in the discussion of the various complicated questions which have been presented for his consideration, Mr. Froude has displayed, again, the great ability, untiring industry, and unflinching courage, which made his earlier volumes so interesting and so trustworthy.

10. *Philip II. of Spain.* By Charles Gayarré. With an Introductory Letter by George Bancroft. New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1866. Octavo, pp. viii., iv., 386.

Mr. Gayarré is widely known as one of our most careful historians; and his *History of Louisiana*, also published, we believe, by Mr. Widdleton, has become an authority in our history.

In the volume before us, he has discussed the life and character of the husband of "Bloody Mary" of England—the wretch who was styled "The Demon of the South;" not a merely dry detail of births and deaths, of plots and counterplots, of murders, wars and persecutions, but an elaborate essay on the character and conduct of

the tyrant and of those by whom he was surrounded. The condition of Spain, also, as seen in its Cortes, its literature and its industry, is also noticed; and there has been no false delicacy in its author, in failing to tell distinctly just what he means.

Mr. Gayerre seems to entertain the same opinion of Philip that we do of John Winthrop—that he honestly supposed that the outrages which he committed were required of him by God, and that he was only discharging a simple duty when he so grossly violated the rights of others, and outraged humanity, almost without a parallel.

Mr. Bancroft's letter seems to have little connection with the work, and would serve better as an introduction to Rives's *Life and Times of James Madison* than to Gayerre's *Philip II. of Spain*.

The work has been handsomely printed by Jenkins, on laid paper, and, with Froude's *Life of Mary*, should find a place in every well-appointed library.

11. *The Works of The Right Honorable Edmund Burke*. Revised Edition. Volumes IX. and X. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. ix, iv, 493; x, iv, 451.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this elegant edition of Burke, that we need only announce the appearance of its ninth and tenth volumes, which are devoted entirely to the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

Two volumes more will complete the work.

12. *The Abnakis and their History*; or, Historical Notices on the Aborigines of Acadia. By Rev. Eugene Vetromile. New York: Jas. B. Kirker, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 171.

This volume, which is neatly printed and elaborately illustrated, was written by Father Vetromile, the Missionary of the Etchemins, and is sold for the benefit of the Indians.

The history of the Roman Catholic Missions among the Eastern Indians is, indeed, an interesting one; "for," in the language of Father Vetromile, "before Lord Baltimore, in the *Ark* and *Dove*, entered Chesapeake Bay and planted the Catholic religion on the shores of the Potomac in Maryland, the Mission of St. Saviour had been established by Father Peter Biard, at Mount Desert, where a Catholic chapel was erected; and the Catholic religion acquired the right of first occupation in the State of Maine—a right which was sealed with the blood of Bro. Du Thet. From the Indian villages of Mount Desert, the Etchemins saluted the Catholic Missionaries, seven years before Samoset, from the rock of Plymouth, welcomed the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*. Before George Popham stepped on an Island of the Kennebeck river, the shores of that river and the St. Croix had been dedicated to the Catholic religion by Father Biard

and other missionaries from France, and by French settlements, under De Monts, on Boon Island." The history of those Indians, among whom the Missionaries have been so long employed, must, therefore, possess a great deal of interest.

In the volume before us, the author has first noticed the great body of Indians in America, and their divisions and subdivisions into families and nations. He has then described the Abnakis as an original and distinct nation; their manners and language; and their handwriting. He has also described Acadia; told of the sites of the aboriginal settlements; separated the Etchemins and the Meemacs from the Abnakis; and narrated with much care the peculiarities of the Indian religion and superstitions, their public life, their knowledge of astronomy and divisions of time, their domestic life, and their present condition, partisan divisions, traits of character, etc. All this he has done with much particularity and precision; but we confess that the *History* of the nation has not received much attention—indeed, it is only incidentally alluded to, just as the recent war is alluded to among other and distant subjects.

Of the engravings, one is certainly incorrect—we refer to that of the *prostrate* monument to Father Rales; and several of the others might have been dispensed with.

13. *War Poetry of the South*. Edited by William Gilmore Simms, LL.D. New York: Richardson & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 482.

This elegant volume, from the press of Rand & Avery, Boston, contains a selection of "War Poetry," selected from the works of Southern writers, by the veteran Historian of South Carolina; and, as he insists in his preface, it may properly be considered a part of the standard Literature of the Republic.

The material is said to have been collected from every State in the South, and arranged chronologically—that is, the pieces which were composed or related to the early incidents of the War find precedence in this volume over those which were composed later or relate to the closing scenes of the contest.

As may be expected, the pieces are of unequal merit; but the collection must find a place in every well-appointed library, as an important contribution to the History of the most eventful struggle since the close of the War of the Revolution.

14. *Hopefully Waiting, and other Verses*. By Anson D. F. Randolph. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. 16mo, pp. 101.

In this extremely neat little volume, written by one of "the Trade," and inscribed to another—

—both among our personal friends—we have found some of the most exquisite little gems of poetry which we have ever read—just such verses and just such teachings, indeed, as will come home to the most secret recesses of the heart of many a parent and husband, who has been called from his combat with the world of business, and the hidden, cankering cares of every-day life, to yield his household treasures to death.

The leading piece, which furnishes the title to the volume, is a chaste rebuke of Stilling's Blessing on the Home-sick—a rebuke which marks its author as one of the few who are not chafing in the harness, and longing impatiently for relief—as one of those who, on the contrary, are constantly inquiring, "What wouldst thou have me do?" patiently performing the work which has been placed before them, and "hopefully "waiting" its completion.

15. *History and Resources of Dakota, Montana, and Idaho.* To which is appended a Map of the Northwest. By M. R. Armstrong, Secretary of Dakota Historical Society. Yankton, D. T. Geo. W. Kingsbury, 1866. Duodecimo. pp. 22.

We are indebted to the author for this very interesting little volume; and we take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it, as one which will interest them.

Commencing with the Indian traditions of discovery, the author traces the early explorations in the Northwest, and its early Fur trade, narrates the history of the Territory of Dakota, and the subsequent organization of Montana and Idaho, discusses the future of the vast regions embraced in the three Territories referred to, describes their climate, resources, etc., and tells his reader concerning the routes to be taken to reach them. It is illustrated with a good map; and it will undoubtedly prove serviceable to all who shall desire any knowledge concerning that portion of the mighty West.

16. *Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, for the year 1865.* Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly. Ottawa, 1866. Octavo. pp. 75.

In this elaborate report we have the records of the Educational Department of the Government of Lower Canada, for the year 1865, from which it appears that there were 3,706 institutions, affording an education to 202,648 pupils, at a cost to the people of \$597,448—an increase during the preceding ten years of 838 institutions, 75,590 pupils, and \$348,312 of assessments. The relative increase of cost indicates an improved grade of accommodation, or teachers, or both; and the same cheering improvement is seen in the number of pupils "able to read well," in 1865, 96,491 against 43,407, in 1855, and in those who can write, in 1865, 107,161, against 58,033, in 1855.

The prosperity of which we have spoken, we understand, is largely the result of the intelligent labors of Hon. Pierre J. O. Chauveau, the Superintendent of Education; and we shall be glad to notice, in any of our own States, a more encouraging state of affairs.

17. *Annals of the City of Trenton, with Random Remarks and Historic Reminiscences,* by C. C. Haven. Trenton, N. J., 1866. Octavo. pp. 31.

Four articles which originally appeared in *The State Gazette*, over the signature of "SENEX," have been collected into this pamphlet, with some additions. It is a very interesting little affair, describing the city and its vicinity, recounting its "past," and speculating, here and there, on its future.

The events of the early days of the Republic are, also, referred to; and the historical student will find it useful concerning the localities, in that vicinity, as known to the present generation, which were notable places, in the days which tried men's souls.

18. *Mysteries of the People; or, the Story of a Plebeian Family for 2,000 Years.* By Eugene Sue. Translated by Mary L. Booth. New York: Clark, 1867. Octavo, pp. viii., 177.

This is the great work of Eugene Sue, which has been interdicted in France, because of its Republican tendencies. It is, in brief, a history of the French people, from the period when it was engulfed in despotism, until, under the Republic, it was supposed to have regained its original and rightful sovereignty; and such a history, told in a series of tales, which would find ready readers everywhere, may well have alarmed Louis Napoleon, when offered in French, and encouraged the able translatress to reproduce it in English.

The part before us is the first, ending with A.D. 10; and it is to be followed by seven other volumes, each similar to this, continuing the narrative until A.D. 1851. We commend it to such of our readers as are interested in the history of France, as well as to those political philosophers who take notice of the Rise and Fall of Nations.

19. *The Democratic Almanac for 1867.* New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co. Octavo. pp. 80.

A compend, similar in character to the *Evening Journal* and the *Tribune Almanac*, save in its political complexion. It will be found very useful for reference by every one who desires information concerning the Election Returns, for several years past, the Statistics of the Republic and of the different States, the leading Acts of the Congress of 1865-6, and the Articles of Faith of the present Democratic Party.

**THE MAGAZINES.**—We continue from the November number our notices of some of our contemporaries:

—*The Old Guard*: A Monthly Magazine, devoted to Literature, Science and Art, and the Political Principles of 1776 and 1787. New York: Van Nostrand, Horton & Co. \$3 per year.

This work may be considered the organ of those who are the extremists concerning the non-manhood of the Negro, as well as an earnest and intelligent champion of the doctrines set forth in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1797-8. Among its stated contributors are W. Gilmore Simms, John Esten Cooke, and John R. Thompson, Esqrs.; and the fearlessness of the Editor is refreshing in these days of non-committalism, even when we cannot concur in his conclusions; and we have no doubt that it receives, what it deserves, a liberal support at the hands of its friends.

—*The Catholic World*: A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science. New York: Lawrence Kehoe. \$5 per year.

This neatly-printed work contains, monthly, original articles from the pens of the best Roman Catholic writers, at home and abroad, as well as the choicest selections from foreign periodicals.

It is ably edited by Father I. T. Hecker, Superior of the Congregation of St. Paul, in New York; and we believe it is intended to introduce into its columns articles illustrative of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in America, a subject in which many of our readers are interested.

—*The New York Medical Journal*. New York: Bailliere Brothers. \$5 per year.

This well-known work is about closing its fourth volume, and we take pleasure in inviting the attention of our medical friends to its merits.

—*The New England Historical and Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal*. Boston: N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society. \$3 per annum.

This exceedingly valuable quarterly has issued the first part of its Twenty-first volume, under the editorial control of Rev. Elias Nason.

"The design of the work is to gather up and place in a permanent form the scattered and decaying records of the domestic, civil, literary, religious and political life of the people of New England; to rescue from oblivion the illustrious deeds and virtues of our ancestors; to perpetuate their honored names, and to trace out and preserve the genealogy and pedigree of their families."

It is well printed, generally illustrated, and each number invariably contains an original and varied mass of information, historical, archæo-

logical, genealogical and æsthetic, invaluable to the student of history, the man of letters, the lover of his country, and of the honored names of those who founded it.

## 2.—BOOKS WANTED.

*Sermons* before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Revs. Calvin Chapin, 1815; Joseph Lyman, 1819; Eliphalet Nott, 1820; E. D. Griffin, 1826; John H. Rice, 1828; A. Alexander, 1829; Thomas De Witt, 1830; Wm. Allen, 1832; Thomas McAuley, 1839.

*Portraits*, octavo size, of Rev. Drs. James Richards, Calvin Chapin, Henry Davis, Samuel Spring, Joseph Lyman, Eliphalet Nott, Jedediah Morse, Alexander Proudfit, Jeremiah Day, Samuel Austin, E. D. Griffin, John H. Rice, Archibald Alexander, Thomas De Witt, William Allen, William Murray, Samuel Miller, John McDowell, Heman Humphrey.

*Particulars of the Capture of the ship Olive Branch*. By Ira Allen. In two volumes. Either volume, or both.

*Oracles of Reason*. By Ethan Allen.

Address Rev. Pliny H. White, Coventry, Vt.

## XXII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

**OBITUARY.**—Died, at Willimantic, Conn., on the eighth of December, 1866, WILLIAM L. WEAVER, editor of the *Willimantic Journal*, aged fifty-one years.

To that village, of which he was a native, his death is a serious loss, for few men have, in this generation, done more to maintain beyond its own borders the ancient and honorable reputation of Windham County, or to make Willimantic worthily known abroad.

From boyhood he had been a sufferer from abscesses and the hip-joint disease, which confined him, for many years past, almost entirely to his own house and grounds; yet he was a man of rare fortitude and courage, enduring many bodily ills and domestic afflictions with admirable patience and cheerfulness.

He was a public-spirited man, sparing no word or effort which could benefit his town. Frank, straightforward and courteous by nature, he took decided positions in politics and religion; and though of a modest and kindly disposition, yet, when liberty, temperance or righteousness were likely to suffer by his silence, he spoke fearlessly in their behalf.

It is, however, as a genealogist and local historian that Mr. Weaver has a claim upon the remembrance of our readers. He was an enthusiast in genealogical pursuits, and his memory

was an inexhaustible storehouse of facts, dates, etc., relating to the old families and history of "Old Windham" County. In 1862, he commenced the publication, in the *Willimantic Journal*, of a series of Genealogies of Windham Families, of which the first portion (A to C) was subsequently issued in pamphlet form in 1864. This series, at the time when they were suspended by his death, had reached well into the letter F, and had won for Mr. Weaver an enviable reputation as an industrious and accurate genealogist—indeed, as the highest authority in Windham history. Yet, great as were his labors, he always seemed to undervalue them, and, with rare modesty, even deprecated them in comparison with the labors of others in the same field. Industry, patience and modesty were the prominent traits of his mind; and his life—when we consider the sufferings and afflictions which surrounded him from early boyhood, and the results which he was enabled to accomplish—may not inaptly be termed *heroic*. H.

**REMARKABLE HISTORICAL DISCOVERY.**—Samuel de Champlain, the noble founder of Canada, was buried at Quebec, two hundred and thirty years ago, and the place of his interment has remained a mystery, though it appears by the records of the time that a tomb was constructed for him in a chapel which was known by his name. This mystery has just been solved by the indefatigable research of two ecclesiastics of Quebec, the Abbés Laverdiere and Casgrain, both of whom are well known as accomplished and able investigators of Canadian history. A most patient and persistent sifting of ancient records brought them to the conclusion that the chapel and tomb must have been in the lower town of Quebec, at a certain point immediately under the precipice on which the upper town is built. Accordingly, they went to the spot in question, and found that the aqueduct, constructed some ten years ago, had apparently destroyed all traces of the supposed tomb, the chapel which contained it having long since disappeared.

Those familiar with Quebec will remember the long stairway which descends from Mountain street to Champlain street. Near the foot of these stairs was the spot which the two archaeologists had been led to believe was the site of the tomb. It only remained to inquire of those engaged in building the aqueduct whether any such remains had been discovered in the progress of the work. They went to Mr. O'Donnell, Assistant Engineer of the Water Works, who had superintended this part of the structure. He replied promptly that an ancient vaulted tomb had been found at the place in question, containing a coffin of human bones, and that he was so much

struck with the character of the discovery that he had included a section of the vault with measurements and other indications concerning it, in one of his plans. This plan he found and produced. He conducted MM. Laverdiere and Casgrain to the place, and showed them what was still to be seen of the old vault, within which a new one, for the purposes of the aqueduct, had been made, nearly obliterating the inscription on the wall, where, however, some of the letters of Champlain's name may still be distinguished.

The bones had been removed immediately after the vault was discovered, and Mr. O'Donnell could not tell what had become of them. It appeared, on further inquiry, that they had been given to the Abbé Langevin, the priest of a neighboring parish, well known in Canada as the author of several antiquarian and historical publications. He had placed them in a box and kept them for some time, but afterwards caused them to be buried, still in the box, in the Roman Catholic Cemetery for unbaptized infants. He directed the spot to be marked, but this it seems was neglected, for when we last heard from Quebec, the box had not yet been found, though an attempt to that end had been made. There can be no doubt that the bones will soon be recovered, and that the remains of the founder of Canada will be honored with a monument worthy of him.—*Boston Transcript*, Dec. 21.

—THE DECENNIAL ANNIVERSARY of the North Dutch Church of Newark, N. J., Rev. C. E. Hart, pastor, was celebrated on the thirtieth ult. Mr. J. P. Bradley read an historical sketch, and Mr. P. S. Duryee read the financial report, which showed the church to be out of debt and in possession of a property valued at one hundred and sixteen thousand five hundred dollars. Among others, Senator Frelinghuysen delivered an address. He referred, in the course of his remarks, to the organization of this church, ten years ago, by a little band whose motives were as pure and disinterested as any which ever existed in this sin-corrupted atmosphere. He dwelt upon the value of a single immortal soul, and said that the benefit of a church was to be calculated by multiplying this value by the number of those saved by all its ministrations.

—THE Concord *Statesman* says that in the one hundred and thirty-six years of the existence of the North Church in that city, there have been but four pastors—Rev. Timothy Walker, who remained nearly fifty-two years; Rev. Israel Evans, seven years; Rev. Asa McFarland, twenty-seven; and Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, D.D., who has just been released, forty-two years.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. SECOND SERIES.]

FEBRUARY, 1867.

[No. 2

I.—MR. LAURENS IN CONGRESS.\*

IN CONGRESS, *Friday, May 14, 1779*.—After reading the Journal, Mr. M. Smith arose, and in his place informed the House, that he saw printed in a Newspaper, entitled *The Royal Gazette*, published in New York, by James Kivington, a Letter written by Henry Laurens, and directed to Gov. Houston, of Georgia, which contained matter derogatory to the honour of Congress, injurious to the interest of the United States, and tending to destroy that confidence which the States should repose in this body; and, therefore, he moved, as a matter of privilege, that the said Letter be read, and that Mr. Laurens be called on to declare whether he wrote that Letter.

A division being called for by Mr. Duane,

On the question, is the motion of Mr. Smith, for reading the Letter referred to in his information, in order?

The Yeas and Nays being required by Mr. Laurens, it was decided in the negative, by Yeas and Nays.

On the question, is that part of Mr. Smith's motion, "that Mr. Laurens be called on to declare whether he wrote that Letter," in order?

The Yeas and Nays being required by Mr. Laurens, it passed in the Negative, every member present answering No.

*Saturday, May 15, 1779*.—After reading the Journal, Mr. Laurens arose, and, with the leave of the House, read in his place a Paper, which he delivered in, and which being read at the Table, was ordered to be entered on the Journal, and is as follows:

"Mr. President, the motion which was made yesterday, by one of the honourable Delegates from Virginia, for reading a presumed copy of a Letter, said to have been written by me, and printed in the *Garrison* of the enemy, on New-

York Island, and for calling upon me to declare whether I had written such a Letter, appeared to me to be irregular, unprecedented, and full of dangerous consequences, derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States; thence arose those cautions and admonitions which a sense of duty prompted me to offer to the House, while the subject was under debate, and I rejoice in that wisdom; which was displayed by the House in overruling the attempt.

"Sir, had the gentleman who made the Motion called on me, and in proper terms enquired whether the printed Letter was a copy of an original addressed from me to Gov. Houston, I would have given him all the satisfaction that could have been desired by any man of true honour.

"And now, Sir, as, if I have been guilty of aught criminal, or have inadvertently expressed anything amiss in my correspondence as a private citizen with Mr. Houston, I would rather receive a censure or a reproof from Congress, than be charged with a want of candour, or commit my conduct to the whispers of malice. I take the liberty of informing Congress that I did, on the 27th of August last, write a private Letter to Governour Houston.

"If the House shall judge it proper to determine by a vote that they may of right demand a Copy of that private letter, and shall, in consequence of such vote, call on me, or if Congress shall be pleased by a vote to direct their President in writing to request me to lay before them a copy of that Letter, I will, in either case, produce a genuine and true Copy, reserving to myself, in the meantime the privilege of voting, as I certainly should vote, if I were not a party concerned.

"I confide in the candour of the House to order this address to be entered on the Journal, and if the House shall be pleased to call for, or request a copy of my Letter, I shall expect that will also be entered on the Journal. *May 15, 1779.*"

On the question for entering the above on the

\* We are indebted for this article to our venerable friend, General PARRIS FOSCO, of Washington, D. C.

We are sure our readers will welcome him as heartily as we do, on his re-appearance in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and the more so, since we have reason to hope that this will be followed, from time to time, with other articles from his well-tried pen.—H. B. D.



Journal, the Yeas and Nays being required by Mr. Laurens, it was resolved in the affirmative; every member present answering *Ay*.

Mr. Smith, then moved, seconded by Mr. Penn, "That the sense of the House be expressed, 'whether the motion he made yesterday was an attempt irregular, unprecedented, and full of dangerous consequences, derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States.'"

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Griffin, as a substitute to the foregoing, in the words following:

"That by the vote for entering on the Journal the paper delivered in by Mr. Laurens, Congress did not mean to give any opinion on the suggestion therein contained, that the motion made by Mr. Smith was unprecedented and full of dangerous consequences, derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States."

On the question, Shall this be received as a substitute?

The Yeas and Nays being required by Mr. Laurens, it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the substitute as a Resolution, Resolved in the affirmative.

[*Copy of a Letter from Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, to Governor Houston, the late Rebel Governor of Georgia, referred to in the foregoing.*]

PHILADELPHIA, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1778.

Dear Sir,

I should not have remained so long in arrear for your Excellency's obliging letter of the 9th June, had I not flattered myself with hopes that long before this day the circumstances of Georgia would have been introduced as a subject demanding the consideration of Congress—but it has happened otherwise; to account for the probable reasons would be extremely unpleasant, and perhaps at this time equally improper; nevertheless it is my duty Sir, as a fellow citizen to suggest to you in that as well as in the character of supreme magistrate of a State, that in my humble opinion we cannot fairly ascribe the dormancy of this and of many other momentous concerns to want of leisure.

I see with grief the return of our troops from East Florida without that success which your Excellency had hoped for; this unhappy circumstance will add to the distresses of Georgia, and increase her cries for relief.

While St. Augustine remains in possession of the enemy, Georgia will be unhappy, and her existence as a free and independent State ren-

dered very doubtful: South Carolina too will be continually galled by rovers and cruizers from that pestiferous nest.—Another expedition must therefore be undertaken at a season of the year which will not outvie the bullets and bayonets of the enemy in the destruction of our men.

I have before me a plan for reducing East Florida, which I will have the honor of communicating to your Excellency very soon. In the mean time I am constrained to say, that unless the several States will keep their representation in Congress filled by men of competent abilities, unshaken integrity, and unremitting diligence, a plan which I very much fear is laid for the subduction of our confederal independence, will by the operations of mask'd enemies be completely executed, so far I mean as relates to all the sea-coast, and possibly to the present generation. Were I to unfold to you Sir, scenes of venality, speculation and fraud which I have discovered, the disclosure would astonish you, nor would you Sir, be less astonished were I by a detail which the occasion would require prove to you that he must be a pitiful rogue, who, when detected, or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who in the present corrupt time ought to exert all their powers in defence and support of these friend-plundered, much injured, and I was almost going to say, sinking, States.—Don't apprehend Sir, that I colour too high, or that any part of these intimations are the effect of rash judgment or despondency; I am warranted to say they are not; my opinion, my sentiments, are supported every day by the declaration of individuals, the difficulty lies in bringing men collectively to attack with vigour a proper object. I have said so much to you Sir, as Governor of a State, not intended for public conversation, which sound policy forbids, and at the same time commands deep thinking from every man appointed a guardian of the fortunes and honor of these orphan States.

Colonel M'Lean who will do me the honour to bear this address to your Excellency, is well acquainted with the present state of our arms.—Copies of two letters from General Sullivan which will accompany this, will show that of his particular and important department as it stood eight days ago—every hour I expect further intelligence: had he been successful and as expeditiously so as his sanguine hopes had marked out, I should have received the important tidings the day before yesterday.

Not a word that has been said or printed respecting Count d'Estaing's and Lord Howe's fleets merits confidence; an engagement and a smart one too there has undoubtedly been, but who was victorious, and what losses each party sustained, are unknown in this city—this fact only, that the British fleet have greatly suffered,

and had carried in no prizes four days ago, is ascertained, and from the following paragraph in General Washington's letter of the 21st there is ground to hope that many of Lord Howe's original shew of ships at Rhode-Island have been detained by his rival, or lost in the late storm.

"By advices from an officer of rank and intelligence who is stationed in view of the sea, I am informed that sixteen ships entered the Hook on the 17th, one having a flag, and that on that and the preceding day a heavy cannonade was heard at sea."

This day's packet may afford your Excellency more intelligence—I will trouble you Sir no farther at present but to repeat that I am with very great regard and esteem, Sir, your Excellency's obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

(Private.)

His Excellency  
Governor Houston, Georgia.]

*Tuesday, May 18, 1779.*—Mr. Smith arose, and with the leave of the House, read in his place, a paper in answer to the paper delivered in by Mr. Laurens, in which he repeats his request "that Congress will explicitly declare whether it be their opinion that the motion he made on Friday was full of dangerous consequences, derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States; and hopes that Congress having indulged Mr. Laurens with entering his Address upon the Journal, will do him equal justice, and allow him the same indulgence by entering his Address upon the Journal of Congress."

The motion being seconded by Mr. Penn,  
On question, Shall Mr. Smith's Address be entered on the Journal?

The Yeas and Nays being required by Mr. Smith,

It passed in the negative. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, voted *No*; and New-York, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, voted *Ay*.

Rhode Island and South Carolina were *divided*; and Delaware and Georgia, were *absent*.

[*Mr. Smith's answer to Mr. Laurens, referred to in the foregoing.*

MR. PRESIDENT:

It gives me real concern to find that Mr. Laurens, a Delegate from the State of South Carolina, considered the motion I made on Friday last, as an attempt "irregular, unprecedented and full of dangerous consequences, derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these

"United States." I conceive it to be the duty of every member of Congress to receive information, and to communicate it to Congress, of the venality, speculation and fraud of any of its Members, or of other persons employed in the public service. If the information leads to the investigation of Truth, it is worthy of notice, and should be attended to. The contents of the Letter alluded to in the information I gave, the manner in which it was published, and the probability that a Letter directed to the Governor of Georgia, might have fallen into the hands of the enemy, in Georgia; did in my opinion require the attention of Congress and of all the free and independent citizens of these United States since the honour of the one, and the interest of the other, demanded an enquiry concerning the truth of the contents. The publisher, in *this* instance, could not be called upon to justify the publication, either by Congress or Mr. Laurens, because he was not within the line of their power: But Mr. Laurens might have refuted the publication by a bare denial of the authenticity of the Letter, which justice to Congress, and his own honour required if the Letter published was not genuine. In my opinion, therefore, there was no impropriety in the motion for demanding of Mr. Laurens whether he had written the letter of which that publication was said to be a Copy. I am sure the demanding of a *person* whether he was the *author* of a Letter published in a *Newspaper* was not unprecedented even in this House. But Mr. Laurens could not be compelled to give evidence against himself, or even to answer the question. A regard to truth and his own honour, were the only considerations which could oblige him to answer any question. The motion, therefore, could not be "full of dangerous consequences," nor could it be "alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States," unless Mr. Laurens and the free and independent citizens of these United States should be of opinion that truth and honour ought not to influence the conduct of men. If Mr. Laurens has discovered those scenes of venality, speculation and fraud, which are mentioned in the Letter alluded to, or if he was warranted to say what is therein expressed, he ought *indeed* to have rejoiced that an opportunity was given him to unfold them, and thereby to have been instrumental in bringing to punishment the authors of such mischiefs to the public. But Mr. Laurens has charged me openly in Congress, with having attempted what was "irregular, unprecedented, and full of dangerous consequences—derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent citizens of these United States." And he has said that he rejoices "at the wisdom displayed by Congress in *overruling the attempt*." This charge is contained in

a written paper, which he read in his place and desired might be entered upon the Journal of Congress. It hath been received and is entered upon the Journal by order of Congress.

Without calling upon Congress for that protection against *personal* insult, to which every Member is entitled whilst he is performing his duty in this House, and a consequent reparation of the breach of privilege, I demanded of Congress the justice due to my honour—that the sense of Congress might be expressed, whether the motion I had made was of such a nature as Mr. Laurens had declared, and I thought myself entitled to satisfaction on this point, as Congress had received the *implied* thanks of Mr. Laurens, for the wisdom displayed in overruling the *attempt*.

Congress has not been pleased to answer the question; but hath adopted a Resolution, which, in my opinion, countenances the charge; as it apologises for having admitted the declaration to record, and leaves it in full force against me—a mode of proceeding which, if it shall be conclusive in this case, I fear, will impeach the candour, if not the justice of Congress. I therefore, as well out of regard to the dignity of Congress as to my own honour, repeat my request, that Congress will explicitly declare, whether it be their opinion that the motion which I made, on Friday last, was “full of dangerous consequences—“derogatory to the honour and dignity of Congress, and alarming to the free and independent “citizens of these United States,” and having *indulged* Mr. Laurens with entering his Address upon the Journals of Congress I hope Congress will do me equal justice, and allow me the same indulgence, by entering this Address upon the Journal of Congress.

MERIWETHER SMITH.]

## II.—PETITION TO THE KING, FOR A REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES IN NEW YORK.

*From the original draft, among the family papers of Harry M. Morris, Esqr., of New York.*

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MTIE IN COUNCILL.

The Humble Petition and Memorial of Lewis Morris in behalfe of the Inhabitants of Your Majesties City and Province of New York—

Most humbly Sets forth.

That Your Mties Petitioner Pursuant to the Prayer of the Peticon (herewith delivered unto Your Majestie) from Some of the Members of Your Majesties Council, for the Province of New

York, the Aldermen and Common Council and many of the most Considerable inhabitants of the City of New York from the Countie of Queens Countie from the County of Ulster & from the City of Albany Humbly begs leave to lay before your Majestie the State and Condition of that Your City and Province with Respect to the Administration of the Government there by his Excellency William Cosby Esq' Your Mties Govern' of that Province.

The Inhabitants of that Your Majesties Province have Severall times by their Representatives in Generall Assembly Endeavour'd to get a Law pass'd to Name, Appoint, and pay, Such person as they the Said Generall Assembly (Exclusive of the Said Govern' and Your Majesties Council there) Should think fit to name and Appoint to be their Agent at Your Majesties court of great Britain from time to time to make their wants and desires known unto Your Majestie: but bills pass'd by them for that Purpose have by the Governours influence upon your Majesties Council there (the Members of w<sup>ch</sup> the said Governour has the power of Suspending) been deny'd the Assent of the Said Council and by that means hindred from Passing into Laws.

Your Majesties Memorialist and Petitioner begs leave to informe Your Majestie that the gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly of that Province believing A bill which they Concieved So reasonable in its Selfe would meet with no Obstruction did by Letters desire Samuel Baker Roderigo Pachego George Stratfield Richard Janeway Joseph Low & Samuel Stork Merchants of this Your city of London trading to those parts to recomment to the Said generall Assembly Some person here whom they Judg'd capable for such an employ to be their Agent the purport of w<sup>ch</sup> letter being known to Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby Your Majesties Governour there he wrote to the Said Merchants informing them that if they Reccomended to the Said General Assembly any other person than one whom he (the Said Governour) had named and Appointd to be the Agent for the Said Collony Such Other person so named and recommended by them Should Receive no money or Reward for his Services; nor be Repaid the Expenses he was at during his the Said Cosby's continuance in the Government of New York; or words to that effect. This may fully and clearly Appeare by the Examination of the Said Merchants should there be any doubt concerning the truth of what is herein Related.

Your Majesties Subjects inhabitants of the Province of New York do concieve that by Virtue of Your Majesties high and Kingly office and the Relation they Stand in of being your Subjects they have A right in Common with others of your Majesties Subjects to Apply to Your Majesty the fountain of Justice and head of

your people in any case where they or any of them think themselves Agrieved either in their own Proper persons or (where that is impracticable) by Such Agent and Such only on whose fidelity they can most confide & that the using any Endeavours under pretext of power or otherwise (except those of rectifying the mistakes intended to be complained of) to prevent Such complaints from coming to Your Majesties Eares is not only greatly injurious to your Subjects but highly affrontive to Your Majesty as tending to create an Opinion in Your Subjects derogatory from Your Majesties innate Goodness and known love of Justice.

As Your Majesties Subjects in that Province could have no other motive or end in Appointing an Agent in England but to lay before Your Majesty and your Ministers of State Such Accounts of men and things there as they Should Judge Necessary for Your Majesties information And Service and for the publick utility of that Province So it is conceiv'd that his Excellency or the governours for the time being could have no other End or View in Obstructing a bill of that kind than to prevent as much as they could your Majesties Recieving any other knowledge or information of things at so great distance than Such as they thought fit to transmit in Such manner as they Judg'd most conducive to promote their own private Views & to Prevent their conduct from being made known to Your Majesty.

This being (as is conceiv'd) both inconsistent with Your Majesties Service and such an Agent A great (if not Necessary) check upon Governours And A means to prevent them from doing of things lyable to be complained of; or, (if hardly Enough (as they too often are) to do such things) to give your Majesties Subjects there an Opportunity of having Recourse to Your Majesty for Such Relief as Your Majestie in Your Royall wisdom Justice and Goodnesse should Judge most Suitable for them. Your Majesties Petitioner therefore most Humbly prays that Your Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to Order Your Governour of New York to Assent to A bill or bills to be passed to Enable the Generall Assembly of that Your Province of New York to Nominate & Appoint without the Consent or Approbation of the Governour & councill or Either of them Such person or persons as they Shall think proper to be their Agent or Agents at Y<sup>r</sup> Mties Court of Great Britain to lay from time to time before Your Majestie Such state & condition of Your Majesties Province & the inhabitants thereof as the Said generall assembly Shall Judge necessary for your Majesties Service & most Conducive to the benefit of Your Subjects there.

Your Majesties Memorialist & Petitioner begs

leave to Suggest that an Act of that kind being by the constitution of that Government probationary untill it has Reciev'd your Majesties Royall Assent (Should it contain Matter improper for such assent). it may by your Majesty be either rejected or (as the case may be) your Majesties Assent Suspended until an Act be formed in Such manner as Your Majesty shall Judge most Suitable for your Service & most conducive to promote the good Ends and purposes that should be intended by it.

Your Majesties Memorialist and Petitioner begs leave farther to Suggest to Your Mtie that your Governour there being Oblig'd by your Majesties instructions to him to transmit from time to time to one of Your Majesties Principall Secretaries of State & to the Right hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lords commissioners for Trade and Plantations the State and condition of y<sup>r</sup> Your Majesties Province the Appointing Such Agent as it cannot hinder the Govern<sup>r</sup> from the performance of his duty in Every Respect in Sending over Such Accounts as are Required of him & as he thinks proper to give, So such Agent Seemes to make it necessary for the Governour to deem no Accounts proper to be transmitted but what are true, & to conceal nothing that is so, least A discovery Should be made: by w<sup>ch</sup> meanes there is great likelihood that your Majestie will not only be inform'd of the truth but the whole truth of any transaction there.

By the Constitution of that Government the Legislature consists of three parts Viz. Your Mties Governour who Represents your Royall person, twelve councillors Named and Appointed by your Majestie resembling y<sup>e</sup> House of Lords, & the Generall Assembly or house of Representatives chosen by the Inhabitants. & Any bill Agreed to by the Councill and General Assembly and afterwards Assented to by the Governour obtains the force of A Law untill disallow'd by your Majestie here: and that no Law may be Enacted Destructive of Your Majesties Prerogative, or of the trade and commerce of Great Britain, Your Mtie, has been graciously pleased to give your Governour A negative Voice in the passing of all Laws: w<sup>ch</sup> negative Voice given by Your Majestie to the Governour has been there formerly understood & as your Memorialist & petitioner has been inform'd is still understood in Your Majesties other Plantations to give the Governour only A power to Assent or dissent to any bill Agreed to by both the other branches of the Legislature & not otherwise & by that Assent Enact such bill into A law or by such dissent wholly to reject the Same for that time but not A power to Sit and Act with the Councill as A Councill<sup>r</sup> & vote as Such in the Passing of bills prepare them for his own Assent, or to prevent them from being prepared for his dissent

and afterwards as Governour to Assent or dissent unto Such bills—but may it Please your Majesty to be inform'd that both Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby your Present Governour & the other Governours of that Province for Some time pass'd have allwayes Sat in that Branch of the legislature consisting of the councill during the time of their Preparing of bills and Acted and Voted as councillors in the passing of them for the governours assent and afterwards as Governours have Assented to those bills w<sup>ch</sup> it cannot appeare by the Minutes of Councill but y<sup>t</sup> their own Casting Vote as councillors made to be so.

This conduct of Your Majesties Governours in A manner excludes the Councill from any share of legislation, & renders that branch of the legislature uselesse, if not contemptible; takes from y<sup>m</sup> that weight and influence, w<sup>ch</sup> your Majesties Seemes to intend they should have by making them Apart of the Legislature; and (as Such) A check both upon the Governour & generall assembly (an independance in their legislative Capacity highly necessary as is conceived for your Majesties Service) may Render all Laws So made disputable; as being made only by two parts of the Legislature to wit the Governour and generall assembly; gives too much room for A clandestine correspondance between the Governours and assemblies to pass acts in Consideration of rewards given to the govern<sup>r</sup> (by Votes of Assembly only as is usuall) prejudiciall to the British Trade and which may have in Some cases their Effects tho' they Should be afterwards disallowed of by Your Majestie. An instance of this is the Striking and issuing paper bills of credit to pass instead of money w<sup>ch</sup> when done Renders Such disallowance inconvenient and may be attended with consequences prejudiciall to the publick credit. for the Reasons herein Set forth Your Majesties Memorialist & Petitioner humbly Prays that Your Majestie would be graciously pleas'd to direct and Order that Your Councill for that Province do in Preparing bills Sit and Act by themselves As A distinct part of the legislature & that the Governours for the time being be not admitted on Any pretence whatsoever either to Sit or Vote among them in Preparing or passing any bills to which afterwards he is to Assent or dissent by Vertue of the negative Voice Reserved to him by Your Majestie: and that under Such penalties (to be Strictly Exacted) as your Majestie in your great wisdom will think most Suitable to deterre & prevent them from doing so.

Your Maj:sties Memorialist & Petitioner begs leave farther to informe Your Majestie that for the Calling and Electing of the Generall Assembly of that Province writs are issued in Your Maties Name Sealed with the Seale of that Province & tested by the Governours for the time being: but, Sometimes before they have met and

allwaies after they have met by Virtue of your Maj:sties legall writs, the Said Generall Assembly have been farther prorogued or adjourn'd from time to time not by your Majesties legall writs but by Proclamations in the Name of the Governour and under his Private Seale at Armes, without any meeting of the Assembly or any Quorum of them at the time of Such Adjournment or Prorogation: and tho the Said Assembly might Perhaps be prorogued antecedent to their meeting by Virtue of your Majesties writs Issuing in Your Majesties name under Y<sup>r</sup> Seale of that Province yet it is doubtfull whether the Said assembly can b: So prorogued before their Meeting or Adjourned afterwards w<sup>out</sup> meeting by Virtue of Proclamations in the name of the Governour & under his private Seale at Arms; that being an authority (if any) much less than Your Maj:sties Royall writs under the great Seale of that your Province by which the Said Assembly is called together & seemes to inferre that no Such assembly So prorogued or Adjourned by the Governour in his own name under his own private Seale at Arms can legally Exist or be in being and consequently A nullity of all Laws pretended to be Enacted by them. Seemes to be greatly derogatory from your Majesties Just & legall authority and introductory of Consequences dangerous to the publick peace. Your Majesties Memorialist & Petitioner doth therefore humbly pray that if Your Matie Shall by your Most honourable Councill be advised that Such Adjournment or prorogation under the Governours Private Seale is unwarrantable and Contrary to Law: that Your Matie in Order to prevent those disputes that may otherwise Possibly happen will Graciously be pleas'd to Order that the Present Generall Assembly w<sup>ch</sup> Subsists only by Virtue of such Adjournments & prorogations as afforesaid in the Governours name and under his private Seale be as soon as may be dissolved & a new one elected by Virtue of Your Majesties writs And that for the future the Governours of N York for the time being be directed not to call adjourn or prorogue any generall Assembly but in Your Majesties Name and under the Seale of that Your Majesties Province.

Your Majestie has been pleased to direct in your Instructions to your Govern<sup>r</sup> of New York that no publick money Shall be disposed of but by A Warrant under the Governours hand by ADVICE and CONSENT of COUNCILL but that the Assembly might View and examine the Accounts of money disposed of by virtue of Laws made by them. This instruction Seemes to Lodge the power of direction of the disposall of the publick money in your Majesties councill both with respect to the Quantity or Summs disposed of, the Services for which & the persons to whom it is given; & without their ADVICE and Consent pre-

viously had not to be disposed of by the Governour: this mak's the persons your majestie has been pleas'd to intrust with the administration of the Government, the Sole Judges of the Merriits of the Officers of the Government; and of w<sup>t</sup> rewards are Suitable to be paid for their Services; & renders those officers dependant on that government; as in the nature of things they ought to be: but of late the generall Assembly of that Province Conceiving that as they gave the money they had A right of disposing of it as they thought Proper & were the most competent Judges of the merriits of the Sev: rall officers of the government finding the Governours for the time being would not consent to any Act whereby the Summs rais'd by them Should be appropriated to particular uses & for paying the Sallaries of the officers in Such manner as they thought fit took upon themselves to direct Such disposition by the Votes and Resolves of their house curtailing and altering Some Salaries & wholly abating others as they thought Most convenient & in Some cases where money arising by duty or impost on Negroes has been disposed of by Particular Acts and Raised & paid into the hands of the proper officer appointed to relieve the Same for & towards the Support of the Government they hav: by the Vot:s and Resolv:s of their house orderd the Same to be refunded & it has been refunded by the officer in Obedience to their Votes without any Act made for that Purpose or without addressing the Governour and Council in whose power it only was to remit that Sum or part of it.

The Governours of that your Majesties Province in Order to ingratiate themselves w<sup>th</sup> the Assembly and promote their own private Views have for the most part governed themselves in drawing warrants for the disposition of the publick money pursuant to these Resolves of the Assembly: and whereas Your Majesties Instructions w<sup>th</sup> Makes y<sup>e</sup> Advice of y<sup>e</sup> Council as well as their Consent Necessary in the disposition of the publick moneys presupposes at least that in Any new Case Such as the increasing or Abating any of the Salaries of the officers of the Government the Said Council Should be consulted and Advised w<sup>th</sup> whether Such Reduction or Augmentation of Salary in compliance w<sup>th</sup> the Votes & resolves of an Assembly be necessary, fit, or convenient, for your Majesties Service, or the Support and maintenance of your Just Prerogatives Antecedent to the drawing any warrant in Compliance w<sup>th</sup> the Said Resolves or Votes but, instead of that The Said Governours to Evade and Elude the force of that your Majesties wise instruction cause warrants Ready drawn to be brought into Council Summond perhaps for y<sup>e</sup> Purpose of suitable members and being hastily read asks whether Such warrant Shall be Sign'd

to which (it appearing to them to be y<sup>e</sup> governours intention & y<sup>e</sup> the clerk durst not draw Such warrants without his Speciall direction) no body being bold enough to object; Such warrants are Signed accordingly; and this is called the Consent of the Council: tho the Subject matter of them was never Submitted to their debate, nor their advice asked: which Should have been done (by what Seemes the genuine meaning of Your Majesties instructions) antecedent to the drawing of any Such Warrant.

This Compliance of the Governours as your Majesties Memorialist and Petitioner conceives deprives the Council of that necessary authority your Majestie has been pleas'd to give them Renders all the officers of the Government (even the Gouvernour himselfe) Almost solely dependant upon the Assembly who by this compliance are Encouraged in the use of a Power to dispenze by their Votes w<sup>th</sup> the Acts of the whole Legislature is greatly destructive of Your Majesties Royall and Just Prerogatives & tends to abate their dependance on the British Crown. Your Majesties Memorialist dos therefore humbly Submit it to Your Majestie whether it may not be for Your Majesties Service that in case of any Such resolv:s for abating or augmenting any of the Salaries of the Officers of Your Majesties government there, or for any alteration in the usual disposition of your Majesties Revenue there, or for any new and unusuall warrant to be drawn on Your Majesties Reciev: General or the treasurer of that Collony that the Governour [be] in Verry expresse Termes Prohibited from drawing any such Warrant untill the matter be fully debated in Your Majesties Council there in full Council & the Advice of the Majority of that Council be given with the reasons for the doing of it to be entred n the Council book: of that Province. & that Particulary no warrant be drawn Pursuant to any Resolve of the Assembly for A gift or Present to the Governour untill an Account of y<sup>e</sup> Same Shall be transmitted to Your Majestie in Your most hon<sup>ble</sup> privy Council & your Majesties leave and lycence for drawing the Said Warrant be given under Your Majesties Signet & Signe Manual to be produced to your Majesties Council for the Province of New York & Entred in the council book: there.

Your Matie for y<sup>e</sup> Prevention of the Severall inconveniences that had been observ'd to have arisen to the Governments in the Plantations by gifts and Presents made to Your Majesties Governours by the generall assembly, was pleas'd in Your instructions to Your governour of New York to declare it to be Your Expresse will and pleasure that neither the Said Governour or any Governour lieutenant Governour or any Commander in Chief or President of the Council of

the Province of New York Should Give his or their Consent to the passing of any Act or Law for any present to be made to him or them by the Assembly & your Majestie was farther Pleased to declare order and command in Verry Expreste termes that neither he Your Governour nor they the lieutenant Governour President &c Should Recieve any GIFT or Present from the Assembly OR OTHERS ON ANY ACCOUNT OR IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER upon pain of your Majesties HIGHEST DISPLEASURE and of being RECALLED from that Your Government.

And that Your Majesties Royall will and pleasure in this matter might be made known to the inhabitants of that Your Government Your Majestie was pleas'd to direct & REQUIRE that the declaration of it in the foregoing Articles Should by Your Governour be communicated to the Assembly at their first meeting after his arrivall in that Province and entred in the Register of the Councill and Assembly that all persons whom it might concerne might govern themselves accordingly.

Your Majesties Memorialist & Petitioner humbly begs leave to inform your Majestie y<sup>e</sup> his Excelley Collo William Cosby your Majesties Present governour over Your Majesties Province of New Yorke & new Jersie did not only not communicate your Majesties beforementioned instructions or directions to the genll assembly at their first meeting after his Arivall or at any time after nor cause them to be entred in the Register of the Councill and Assembly as he was by your Majestie Strictly Commanded to do w<sup>ch</sup> made it doubtfull to y<sup>e</sup> said Generall assembly and the rest of your Majesties Subjects inhabiting that your Majesties province of New York whether he had any Such instruction or not: but depending as is suppos'd on the great interest and power of his friends & believing he might disobey that or any other of your Majesties instructions or commands with impunity he the Said Govern<sup>r</sup> Cosby did (not in the least Regarding your Majesties Commands to the contrary) take from the Said Generall assembly of New York the sum of one thousand pounds money of that Province on pretence that he and (by his meanes) his noble Relations (as he made the Said assembly believe) had prevented the bill made in favour of the Sugar Collonies from passing into a law whereas in truth before the time of making the Said present the Said bill had Recieved your Majesties Royall assent and had pass'd into a Law.

Your Majesties Memorialist and Petitioner begs leave farther to inform your Majestie y<sup>e</sup> the Resolve or Vote of the Generall Assembly made y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1732 by which this present was made directed that a warrant or warrants Should issue in Councill for the Sum of 1000

pounds payable to his Excellency out of the first money that might Arise by Virtue of an Act in the Said resolve mentioned and was A giving & disposing of the Said Sum of one thousand pound not only by the Vote of the generall assembly (which is but one part of the legislature) but ordered to be paid out of moneys Raised by vertue of an Act of the whole Legislature and by them Appropriated as A fund to be apply'd to the sinking of the bills of credit made current in that collony and & given to your Majestie for the Support of Your government there: which (as your Mties memorialist concieves) was in the Said Assembly A taking upon themselves by their Votes or Resolves to direct what warrents Should be drawn in Councill, and a power to dispenche with an Act of the whole legislature & to make A disposition of the monies arising by it to Other uses and Purposes y<sup>e</sup> in and by the Said Act was express'd meant and intended.

The Said Generall Assembly by their Vote & resolve directing the said warrant should passe in Councill made it with A proviso that such Warrant or warrants Should not Issue untill the bills of credit mentioned in the Act referr'd to Should be sunk & destroy'd: but Your Majestie Governor Wm Cosby Esq<sup>r</sup> did not only Recieve from the Said Assembly the said Guift or present of one thousand pounds contrary to your majesties instructions Strictly forbidding the same in cleare and exprise termes under the penalty of Your majesties highest displeasure and of being RECALLED from that your Government and by drawing Such Warrant so resolved or Voted to be done as afforesaid Encourage & confirme the Said Assembly in the Exercise of Such a dispensing power; but the Said Sum of one thousand pounds was taken and reciev'd by the Said Governour Cosby contrary to even the directions in the Said Resolve, and he drew A warrant for the Said Money And reciev'd it before the bills mentioned were Surk; and was paid it out of the money Rais'd to Sink and destroy them: and by Such Misapplication prevented the Said bills from being call'd in and destroy'd: So that they Still remain uncall'd in; and pass in payment tho the time limited for their currency Expired so long since as y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1733: and there is no fund to Sink and destroy them. this as your Majesties memorialist concieves, is, and will be of dangerous consequence to the trade, and publick credit of that your majesties Province: and as the taking of such guift or present was in itselfe pernicious, and A direct breach, both of the Exprise letter, and plain meaning of your Majesties instruction to him; Your Majesties Petitioner therefore humbly prays: that your Majestie will be graciously pleas'd to Recall the Said Governour from that your Government (that being the penalty Expressly annexed by your

Majestie, to the breache of your Royall instruction in that case) and inflict Such other marks of your displeasure for such A conduct, as your Majestie in Your Great Wisdome Shall think most Propper to prevent any future Governour from doing the like.

Collonel Cosby your Majesties Governour of New Yorke gave great uneasyness to Your Subjects there by Permitting [a] french Sloop from Louisbourg a new Settleme<sup>t</sup> under the Dominion of the french King to trade in N[ew] York and too easily giving credit to A letter Said to be wrote to him by the french [Go]vernour pretending A great Scarcity & want of provisions in that Place; when it Appeard by the Confessions and affidavits of Some of the Mariners on board of the Said Sloop, that there was no Such necessity but on the contrary Rather a great plenty there having been but little before they left that place three Vessells laden with provisions there, and two more going into the harbour when they came Away and more dayly expected. That there was on board the Said Sloop besides the ordinary company that belonged to her Several officers and Soldiers an Engineer & Sup<sup>er</sup>numerary Pilots in the pay of the french King. That they had curiously taken all the depths, Shouldings, Courses, landmarks, makings and Views of land from ten leagues distance at Sea unto the City of New York and platted or mark'd them down on A map or chart they had for that purpose. their being permitted freely to walk the Streets and enter and View without Controll the fort and other places then & still in A ruinous & defenceless condition (a liberty never indulg'd the Subjects of your Majestie by the french in any of their Settlements in North America) and afterwards Suffered to returne back Some of the officers by land to Canada & the others in the Sloop thro the Sound the other way of accesse to the Port of New York, where, it is not to be doubted they were Equally curious in making of propper discoveries: And their having left with the Governour considerable presents in wine, brandy and Oyle, Render'd the Governours Conduct in this case very much Suspected by the inhabitants who could not be easily induced to believe that the Governour could be ignorant (without blame) of what was known to most of the inhabit<sup>ants</sup> or that the french King would be at the expence of Engin<sup>ers</sup> Sold<sup>iers</sup> & Super<sup>numerary</sup> pilots to purchase provisions (had there been any want of th<sup>em</sup> which th<sup>ere</sup> was not) but that they were Sent for those purposes m<sup>ost</sup> suitable to their Employments which they had so well perform'd. — how far this Conduct of the Governours was blameable is humbly Submitted to Your Majestie but the knowledge the french had acquired on this Occasion filled the inhabitants with terrible Apprehensions of

the dangerous consequences of it and gave rise to an Act Since pass'd for the fortifying the City of New York Entitled an Act to Strike and make Currant bills of Credit to the Vallue of £12000 on the fonds and for the uses therein mentioned.

Tho all agreed to the necessity of fortifying the city of New York yet there being no Engineer upon the Spot nor any person suppos'd to be sufficiently Skill'd in the Erecting of fortifications; the Assembly did not so generally agree, either in the plans or drafts layd before them, or in the places proposed to Erect them on. Many thinking the Schemes Proposed were calculated for the benefit of Private persons who had Lands lying Adjacent to them & unsuitable both with regard to their forms and Scituation to Answer the ends proposed. So that many matters relating to the Above bill in the manner it is now pass'd were carried but by A bare majority the Rest seeming to be indifferent whether it was pass'd or not: but the Governour, whose conduct with Relation to the french Sloop, and taking the gift or present above mentioned contrary to the intent of the givers out of the fond appropriated to Sink their Publick bills of credit which now pass without any fond to Support them; and with Relation to other matters in the Sequell of this to be layd before your Majesty, having procured to himself almost the Universall dislike of your Majesties Subjects inhabiting those parts, had often Recourse to the common methods made use of by Governours of getting Addresses made to y<sup>r</sup>selves (which for the most part are fill'd with undeserv'd panegyricks on their conduct and transmitted hither in order to decieve their Superiors) and made the passing of this Verry bill (in A most extraordinary manner) a pretext for his procuring Such an addresse from the generall Assembly of that Province; and it is believ'd was the true Reason which induced Him to pass it. for, after the bill had pass'd the house and was Sent up to the Councill then consisting of five members & w<sup>th</sup> five are generally Summoned and others of the Councill (tho in town) omitted, he communicated to them your Majesties 17<sup>th</sup> instruction by w<sup>ch</sup> the Governour is Expressly Comanded not to give his Assent to any Act whereby bills of credit may be issued in lieu of money without A clause to be incerted in Such Act declaring the Same Shall not take Effect untill the Said Act Shall be approv'd of by your Majestie &c.—The Hon<sup>ble</sup> councill instead of Adding that clause to the bill then before them (as they might, And on that Occasion was most naturall and fit for them to have done) Sent to the Assembly to let them know that they had Appointed A committee to meet A committee of the Assembly to consider of A Joint Addresse to be made by them to the Governour to desire him to passe



the bill, it appearing to them to be against Your majesties 17<sup>th</sup> instruction communicated by the Governour unto them and therefore could not advise him to pass it UNLESS the immediate use & necessity of it was Set forth and Shewn to him in A more particular manner.—this being allso Desired by the Governour himselfe in A message from him by the Speaker the Address desired was with much ado Obtain'd by Surprise at the close of the Session (an agreement then Subsisting Amongst them Not to admit of any new motion of an extraordinary nature) when some of the members were departed to their homes not in the least Suspecting any Such matt.r and was Carried by the Votes of thirteen members (the halfe of twenty Six of which that Assembly Consists) who at that time by Reason of the Absentees became the majority; the rest objecting to it as a thing never before done and of ill consequence and urging that the bill itselfe being pass'd by them Sufficiently Shewd their desire of having it pass'd by the other branches of y<sup>e</sup> legislature and the Reasons for doing of it and was all the Address that was needfull or fit for them to Make. but they being out voted the Address desired was presented and the governour on Recieving it thank'd them for (what he call'd) the Justice they had done him; & told them he would give his Assent to the bill notwithstanding it was Against Your Mties 17<sup>th</sup> Instruction. and did afterwards give his assent to it contrary to your majesties Instruction And Such Assent acknowledg'd both by himselfe and the hon<sup>ble</sup> council to be so; and by Such assent and his taking the before mention'd guift or present contrary to Another of your Majesties Instructions expressly. forbidding the Same, has created in the minds of your Subjects there an Opinion that notwithstanding your Majesties instructions in the most Strong and Expresse termes Commanding or forbidding any thing there is a discretionary power lodg'd in the Governour to comply with them or not as he shall Judge fit.

As in all cases of issuing bills of credit in lieu of money in New York, Your Majestie by prohibiting your governour to assent to any bill for that purpose unless with the additionall clause before mentioned did reserve to Your Selfe the judging and determining whether y<sup>e</sup> Reasons or Suppos'd necessity were Sufficient and Such as ought to induce your Majestie to permit them to issue; So in the present case, the Clause directed by your Majestie might have been incerted; and your Majesties Approbation (had you Judg'd it proper to have given it) might have been had and timely Enough transmitted to have answered all the good purposes Supposed to be intended by the Said bill.

Your Majesties Memorialist Begg leave to Suggest that the issuing of paper bills in lieu of

money having prov'd Very inconvenient and destructive of the trade of most or all of the Plantations where they have been Admitted to be currant if Governours are permitted to dispence with your Majesties instructions with impunity there never will be wanting Specious Pretexes for the Making of Such bills unless some way be found to prevent it more Effectually than any hitherto Attempted has as yet Prov'd.

The discovery made by the french Sloop above mentioned into the port of N York and the weak and defenceless condition of that City of w<sup>ch</sup> the french when on the Spot were imprudent enough to boast with what Ease it might be destroy'd, Justly alarmed the inhabitants and put them upon enquiries into the State & condition of the foure independant Companies then in that Province by whose assistance they hoped a tollerable defence might be made against any Sudden attack but upon Enquiry it was discovered by the Oath of Hugh Monro one of the lieutenants of the Said companies (ready to be layd before Your Majestie when You will please to call for the Same) that instead of one hundred men in each of these independant companies there was not fourty; & these for the greatest part Roman Catholicks and transported convicts, made uneasie by being poorly and ill clothed, [and] tho Coll<sup>le</sup> Cosby Receives about £1300 Sterling for the Yearly cloathing of those companies that he g<sup>ives</sup> the<sup>m</sup> only about one hundred and Sixty blue duffals coates or Surtouts (of the Vallue of about f<sup>ifty</sup> Pounds New York currency being about 40 Such coates to a Company for one Yeares cloathing; That for one other Year: cloat<sup>ing</sup> he gave them about the like number of Red coats both bad in their kind also old & moth eaten; that he had heard that the Captain: had Signed Reciets to the Captaines\* for two full mountings of cloathing but that he is well assured that no more Cloathing was then Really delivered than what is above mentioned; w<sup>ch</sup> he says is not neare the halfe of one Mounting. That before the time of his taking the affidavit w<sup>ch</sup> was on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of december 1733 there had been but one muster w<sup>ch</sup> was made in the month the Governour arriv'd Viz August 1732 but that notwithstanding there were no other musters made Muster Rolls Sign'd w<sup>ch</sup> the name of Francis Harrison (one of your Majesties council there) have been offered to the Said Monro to Signe w<sup>ch</sup> he Refus'd to do, he not knowing of any Reall muster made to warrant his doing so.

Your Majesties Memorialist has long known this lieutenant Monro and believes him to be an honest man, heard him affirm the sevrall par-

\* Thus in the original Manuscript; but evidently a clerical error.—ED. HIST. MAG.

ticulars Above and Saw him make Oath to them: he has since that time been Confin'd by Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby to his house in which he Remaind A long time A prisoner, and (as your Memorialist Believes) doth Still so Remains on pretence of his having Refus'd Obedience to the Governours Orders, commanding him to Oswego, a frontier garrison on the lakes about four hundred miles distant from New York at that time not his turne to go to; and, by reason of his age, infirmities, & ill state of health, incapable of Performing so long a Journy, great part of *which is through an* uninhabited Wilderness: whereas the true Reason of confining that Old and *honorable man is believ'd* to be owing to the discovery he had made of the ill cond[ition and] ill usage of your Majesties troops in that Province: of w<sup>ch</sup> your Majestie may be fully inform'd; would you graciously please to direct Enquiries to be made on the Spot, when Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby Your Governour there, is depriv'd of that influence his power whil't he possesies it will naturally have to conceale it: Your Majesties Memorialist humbly begs leave farther to Suggest, that while the Governours of that Province have any thing to do with the payment and Cloathing of those troops, there is little Reason to hope that Your Soldiers there will be Justly dealt with, or prove of that use and defence to the Province as Your Majestie Graciously intended they Should be.

Your Majestie and Your Royall Predecessors have been Graciously Pleased by the Generall tenor of Your instructions to your Governours to make the laws of England the Standard rule and Measure by which your Subjects inhabiting the Province of New York should be Governed as nearly as the Circumstances of dominions So distant would admit And as courts and offices of Judicature are the channells through w<sup>ch</sup> those laws Should flow & the benefit of them be communicated to your Mts Subjects Your Govern<sup>rs</sup> have been by Such instructions directed or commanded not to Erect any court or Office of Judicature not before Erect'd nor to dissolve any already Erected or Established without Your Majesties especiall order for that Purpose. This has been construed by some Governours to imply A power solely lodged in themselves to Erect or dissolve courts at their pleasure but that they were Restrain'd in the use of that Power to previous Especiall orders from y<sup>e</sup> Crown for that Purpose & had they kept themselves within the limits of those directions (had they been Realy Vested with Such a power) there had been little Reason of Complaint. But the Laws of England being generally understood to be in the main the Scheme and pattern by w<sup>ch</sup> the Plantations in America Should be Governed and the Earliest Governours and Governed both deeming that

courts of Generall Jurisdiction Especially courts of Equity were agreeable to those Laws (as the interpretation of them had been long settled) only to be settled and Established by the Govern<sup>r</sup> by Acts of the whole Legislature (in whatsoever forme that legislature Existed) And not by the Govern<sup>r</sup> Solely or any one or more distinct part or parts of it exclusively of the Rest Coll<sup>o</sup> Dongan (afterwards Earle of Lymerick) when Govern<sup>r</sup> of New York under the Duke of York (afterwards King James the Second) did, in the yeare 1683 by Act of the whole Legislature Erect, Settle, and Establish the severall courts of y<sup>e</sup> Province and by the Said Act A court of Chancery was Erect'd to determine all matters of Equity & to consist of the Governour & councill (but not of the Govern<sup>r</sup> Solely as hath been lately practised) & by the Said Act the Governour was impowred to make and Constitute A chancell<sup>r</sup> in his Stead to be Assisted with Such other Councill<sup>r</sup> as he Should think fit and Convenient. this was a perpetuall Act & remains Still unrepealed by any Act of Parliament or Act of the Legislature or by any other legall way known to the people there and the Said Govern<sup>r</sup> Dongan did afterwards in the following Year 1684 by Act of the Legislature Dissolve and take Away A court of Generall Jurisdiction both in Law and equity then existing known by the name of the generall Court of Assises & this method of settling or altering of Courts by Acts of the whole legislature continued to be put in use by temporary Acts till some time in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare 1698 or 1699 when the last of those temporary Acts being suffred to Exire by its owne limitation the Earle of Bellomont then Governour of that Province conceiving that the power of Erecting courts was solely lodged in the Governour and Councill he took upon himselfe to Establish them by an Ordinance in Councill: but as he kept pretty nigh to the Same methods that had been directed by the Acts of Assembly and did not meddle with the Court of Equity or Chancery but Suffred it to continue upon its Antient footing, his Settlement of the Courts in that manner Seem'd rather A necessary provision for the Administration of Justice than any innovation and for that reason gave no great uneasiness to the inhabitants: but when the Administration of that Government came into the hands of the Lord Cornbury (afterward Earle of Clarendon) in the begining of the reigne of Queen Anne tho' at first he followed the method us'd by his Predecessor M<sup>r</sup> Nanfan Lieutenant Govern<sup>r</sup> of that Province and took to his Assistance in the Court of Chancery Such of the Councill as he Judged most Suitable for his Purpose and with them made decrees and they Jointly Sign'd them yet in a little time finding the men even chosen by himselfe would not go all the

lengths Required and decree as he would have them but contrary to his Opinion he insisted that the councill had no Judiciall authority to decree at all, but were ministeriall and only named to give him their Opinion and Advice in the case w<sup>ch</sup> he might take or Refuse as he Judg'd best & accordingly gave decrees against the Majority or all their Opinions without any Regard had to them & Sign'd them himselfe on pretence of his being Sole Chancell<sup>r</sup> Exclusive of the Councill. He had before or about that time by proclamation or Act of Councill Suspended the Court of Chancery & after that by An Ordinance in Councill declared that Suspension Void & either by that or another ordinance in Councill Erected A court of Chancery & lodged the Sole power of Judging in the Govern<sup>r</sup> Exclusive of the Councill. This proceeding gave the utmost uneasiness to the inhabitants who conceived that the Governour Singly or Governour and Councill Jointly taking upon him or themselves to Erect or alter Courts of Equity Exclusive of the Assembly & Evn Contrary to A known Act of the whole legislature then in force was the taking upon him or themselves A power to Repeale by an Ordinance in Councill an Act of the whole Legislature which was neither Warranted by the Royall instructions nor Consistant with the Laws & therefore the generall assemblies of that Province both of that time and Since have often come into warme Resolves against it declaring that the Setting up of A Court of Equity in that Collony without Consent in Generall Assembly was an innovation without President, and contrary to the English Law & the then Assembly farther declared & resolved that the Said court of Chancery as then lately Erected & managed there was and is unwarrantable, A great Oppression to the Subject, of pernicious Example & consequence & y<sup>e</sup> all proceedings orders and decrees are and of right ought to be declared null & Void & ordered a bill to be brought in Accordingly but without Effect: tha' Governour's Assent to a bill of that kind w<sup>ch</sup> condem'd his own Conduct being not to be Expected: but the generall dissatisfaction grew so great that the Government for some Yeares during part of the time of that noble Lord & his Success<sup>or</sup> *contin*u'd without any Support & the great difference between the Governours and Assemblies and A generall *dissatisfaction* verry prejudiciall to y<sup>e</sup> Service of the Crown Still Subsists on that head and hath been often [ ] the Conduct of the Govern<sup>rs</sup> for the time being Some of whom would hold no Such Cour<sup>ts</sup> & others] of them but rarely Just as they deem'd themselves Equall or unfit for the task, or as they hapned to be influenced by y<sup>e</sup> party or persons into whose hands they had put themselves and this caus'd either a totall Stagnation or A great delay of the

Justice Sued for in that Court to the great and irreparable damage of the Suitors So that had the Court been legally Established (as that has been allwayes denied by one branch of the legislature) yet as it hath been and is now managed und<sup>r</sup> the Sole direction of A govern<sup>r</sup> not Compellable (by any known method) to hold it and who may if he pleases Alltogether decline it, it is far from being a benefit to your Majesties Subjects or answering the Good Ends that Should be intended by it As this court of Chancery under the Governour as A Chancell<sup>r</sup> or Sole Judge had Subsisted for some time contrary to the Said Act of Assembly purely by the Supposed Authority of an Ordinance in Councill Erecting the Same, So in time it became Matt<sup>r</sup> of doubt to the Governours themselves whether it could be so Erected or not & upon Enquiry of Mr Mompesson then chief Justice of that Province by Mr Hunter how the Chancell<sup>r</sup> was made in England being told it was done by the Delivery of the Great Seale A committee of Council of y<sup>e</sup> Province *who* had that Matter under their consideration were of Opinion & so reported that the *delivery* of the Seale of the Province of New York to the Governour Constituted him A ch<sup>ancellor</sup> accordingly he Opened the Court of Chancery by Proclamation [ ] has continued ever Since but the Generall assembly of that time conceiving [ ] tradition of the Seale in England might constitute A chancell<sup>r</sup> or Judge of A court in being long before the memory of man yet the Seale of the Province of New York not being given with that intent but for other purposes could not Extend to make the Govern<sup>r</sup> a Sole chancell<sup>r</sup> or Judge in New York contrary to the Express words of an Act in force there w<sup>ch</sup> had made a different Provision; and therefore persisted in their Resolves & this has prov'd from time to time A bone of Contention between the Governours & the People of no Service to the Governours nor (as your Memorialist conceives) of any benefit to your Majestie. And tho perhaps this matter might hav<sup>e</sup> been in A tract of time Settled and the uneasiness Occasioned by it Calmed by A governour of temper not too much under the government of his Passions Yet Such has been the Conduct of y<sup>e</sup> Present Govern<sup>r</sup> Cosby that As matters have been and are now Managed by him he has given Greater cause of disquiet and uneasiness than any thing heretofore done by any former Governour and may be productive of consequences dangerous to the publick peace unless your Majestie in your great goodness and commiseration of your Subjects there give Such timely Salutary directions as may prevent the ill effects of so unprisedented A conduct. for upon the Death of John Mongomerie Esq<sup>r</sup> your Majesties Governour of New York the Government there devolved upon Rip Van Dam

Esq<sup>r</sup> president of your Majesties councill there who as he bore the burden of it deem'd himselfe intituled to all the Sallary profits and Emoluments of it & by the Advice of your Majesties Councill there took them to himselfe as both the Said Councill & himselfe conceiv'd he had a right to do: but upon the Arivall of Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby he the said Cosby produced an Instruction in Councill Said to be under Your Majesties Signat and Signe manuall whereby was given to him the one halfe of all the Sallary perquisites and Emmoluments of that Government from the death of the Said Montgomerie; w<sup>ch</sup> hapned long before the date of your Majesties letters Patent constituting the Said Cosby to be governour of that province and the councill upon this made an Order to the said Van Dam to pay back the Said Moyetie (not to Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby to whom it was given; but) into the treasury as being your Majesties money and upon Refusall of Payment A suit was commenced by y<sup>e</sup> Said Govern<sup>r</sup> Cosby against the Said Van Dam in Your Majesties Name by English bill in the Supream Court of that Province w<sup>ch</sup> Court from the Commencement of it till that time (being about fifty years) was never known to have had any Jurisdiction in Equity and upon A plea to the Jurisdiction the Chief Justice was of Opinion that it had no Such Jurisdiction nor could have any Such given it According to the Laws of England (w<sup>ch</sup> by his Commission were to be the rules he was to Judge by) by any ordinance of the Govern<sup>r</sup> and Councill (tho no Such ordinance was then in being) without Assent of the Legislature and after the giving of this Opinion the Said Chief Justice was by Govern<sup>r</sup> Cosby Removd from his office w<sup>thout</sup> any Reason then given for his doing so & for no cause then known but his having given that Opinion. the two Junior Judges were of Opinion Against the Chief Justice that the Said Supream Court was Vested with a Jurisdiction in Equity and that by the Common law to w<sup>ch</sup> the Subjects there they Said were intituled the Said Subjects were intituled (not to Similar or like Courts; but) to the Same courts that as the Same Laws Extended the Same courts must Extend & that the Supream court in New York had all the Jurisdiction of (and was) the Court of King's bench, Common pleas, & Excheq<sup>r</sup> in Your Majesties Kingdom of England. and at another day the Youngest of the two Junior Judges before whom was Argued an Exception to the bill brought in Y<sup>r</sup> Maties name against Van Dam for want of Equity Alleging that where your M<sup>tie</sup> Could have Relief at Common law Equity was not to be had recourse to the Said Judge did not dismiss the bill for the want of Equity (on all hands confess'd) but overruled the Exception and declared it for Law that in any case where Your majesty might have Reliefe at common law, your majesty

might Apply for it in A course of Equity. how far the Points above with Respect to the Courts & your majesties Suing for Relief in A course of Equity b: law is most humbly Submitted to Your Majestie and Your Most hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Councill as is the making use of your Majesties name in so Extraordinary A case where it Appeard by your Majesties instruction (nothing of that nature having been ever before known in that Province) that Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby your Governour was Solely concern'd in interest in the Event of the Suit. but be that as it will the Proceedings in that case gave the Greatest uneasiness to your Majesties Subjects there who could not conceive that the Supream Court of New York was either the Kings bench Common Pleas or Excheq<sup>r</sup> in England, or all of them together or had Equall powers & tho they were generally unacquainted w<sup>th</sup> arguments in Law they knew in fact that y<sup>e</sup> Supream Court had never Exercised any Jurisdiction in Equity from its first Erect, till that time and believ'd the whole proceedings a Strain to force a Sum of money from Van Dam w<sup>ch</sup> as they believ'd he justly was intituled to & had Reciev'd & could not be taken from him & given to Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby by any Instruction whatsoever whether Regularly Obtained or not. They Saw their Judge displaced who had long serv'd with Reputation and as they conceiv'd for daring to give an Opinion that he thought to be Law: this they deem'd rendred the Judges more dependant on A Govern<sup>r</sup> than Your Majestie intended they Should be and inconsistent with the Secure enjoyment of their liberties and properties w<sup>ch</sup> they were Sure your Majestie was far from intending. these Proceedings gave rise to Sev:all petitions from the City of N Y & many of the most considerable counties in that Your Majesties Province to the Assembly to bring in A bill to Settle y<sup>e</sup> Sev:all Courts of that Province by Act of the Legislature as the only Solid foundation on w<sup>ch</sup> they could be Erected to the Generall Satisfaction and the not doing So has rais'd Such A generall ferment and dissatisfaction Among Your Subjects there with your Governour as is difficult to describe & not Easie to quiet. Things do not rest here but the future conduct of the Said Cosby by one of the highest Invasions of property under the Umbrage of Your Majesties Authority Joynd to his other conduct but too plainly shewd the Inhabitants what they were to Expect from the man. The City of [Albany had] been intituled by A grant under the Seale of the Province of New Yorke to A tract of land of Co [ ] in the Mohawks country and had for a long time payd A yearly Quitrent of one beav: Skin to [so] r the Same but not having made A purchase of it from the Indians they Some tim[e since th]ought it necessary to make A purchase of the Rev:rsion of it & a deed was executed accordingly & lodged in the hands of their Mayor but Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby being

at Albany did for Reasons best known to himself desire the Mayor to let him have A sight of the Said deed w<sup>ch</sup> being done under confidence of being Safely Returnd your Majesties Governour instead of returning it as was Justly Expect'd Ordered it to be destroyd & it was by the s<sup>d</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup>s order destroyd Accordingly (as may appeare by the Petition from y<sup>e</sup> Said People to Your Majestie and the Affidavits Anexd to it herewith deliver'd at their desire to Your Majestie at whose Royall feet they lay their Complaints against so Extraordinary and (as they Concieve) unjust and illegall A proceeding.

[That t]he Court of Chancery under the Governour there as Sole Judge did Exist by Virtue of [an Ordin]ance in Councill (contrary to An Act in force) was allwaies matter of debate and Seemed to determined by the opinion of the board [of T]rade in the time of Queen Anne in their letter to M<sup>r</sup> Hunter then Govern<sup>r</sup> of that province in favour of the Governour but that Opinion being given without hearing argument & on A matter not Judicially before them was deemed only the private Opinion of the writers and had not that weight [with the in]habitants, as their Lps possibly might Expect it Should but the Assemblies Sti[ ] their declarations and Resolves of its being illegale and of dangerous consequence [ ] Establishd or not no person brought before it Ever pleaded to the Jurisdiction [ ] by way of Appeale to be Judg'd of by a competent auth[ority] sent of parties was Suppos'd to be sufficient to Justifie any decree given Even if that court were admitted not otherwise to have had Jurisdiction in the Case. thus matters concerning that court hav: Stood for Some time passd but y<sup>e</sup> late conduct of Governour Cosby gave the inhabitants Apprehensions of consequences from it the most dangerous to their properties and that nothing lesse is intended by him than the resumption of all the lands Granted by Your Majestie and your Royall predecessors to the inhabitants of that collony or the forcing them to A composition for them on Such trms as he will please to impose. for the Said Governour Cosby has directed informations to be filed in your Majesties name in the Said Court of Chancery (of w<sup>ch</sup> he is the Sole Judge) Against Severall of Your Subjects. there in order to Set aside A patent or Grant of Land made in Your Majesties name by John Montgomerie the next immediate predecessor of Coll<sup>o</sup> Cosby to Severall persons therein Named and when A plea was put in w<sup>th</sup> Exceptions to the Jurisdiction of th[is] Cou[rt] as to its Establishment alleging that there was A known law then unrepealed by w<sup>ch</sup> the Judges of the [Cou]rt of Chancery were to be the Governour and Councill and not the Governour Solely to that [he w]as being concerned in [the suit] he being to Re-

cieve large Summs of money for the [

]hose lands; to the method of proceeding in A course of Equity w<sup>ch</sup> (as they were advis'd) the Law and practice of this Kingdom are utter Strangers to.—this plea was overruled without hearing any argument on it tho A day was Set for that purpose. Two Short points w<sup>re</sup> by the inhabitants Expect'd to have been discussed on these Exceptions had the Governour suffred them to hav: been Argued Viz 1<sup>st</sup> whether the administration of Justice According to the course of Equity Should be Subj:cted to the rule and direction of A known Act of Assembly by w<sup>ch</sup> the Governour and the whole councill were appointed to be Judges? or whether the Gov:ernour allone should be the Judge without any warrant or authority from any known Law whatsoever— 2<sup>d</sup> the Govern<sup>r</sup> having by Virtue of Your Majesties Letters Patent A power of granting the lands of the Crown and by the usage of his predecessors taking large Rewards under the name of fees for Granting of them; may grant them to persons in trust for himselfe; (as Governours hav: frequently done) and Consequently has a large interest in all such matters, whether Such Governour in A case of this kind is A propper and indifferent Judge and hath (or ought to have) the Sole Power According to, or in A course of Equity to Resume and take back Such lands as he or his Predecessors had Granted?

The allegations in this Plea being not deny'd nor anything Said by way of replication to avoid them the facts alleged in the plea are (as is said) to be taken as confessed to be true; and y<sup>e</sup> governours over ruling it without Argument is understood by the inhabitants to be his own determination in his own favour; an asserting that he was not bound by the Laws of the province; a taking upon himselfe to Act In Opposition to them; and an Open & avow'd declaration that he is A competent Judge tho greatly concern'd in interest in the Event of all Suits of that kind that come before him: and (what they think worse) that he has the Sole power according to or in A course of Equity to Resume and take back Such lands as he or his Predecessors had granted.

This Your Majesties Subjects there see with Horrour and dread the consequences of. there are but too many legall imperfections in their Antient grants made in the infancy of times, and but too many Seeming inconsistencies in their new ones which will at all times give collour for Suites of this nature; and were they to be tryed before Your Majestie in Councill your Subjects there would have ground to hope that notwithstanding any Reall or imaginary defects in their Grants whether Old or new your Majesties Royall bounty and goodness would rather Supply those defects by new Grants for what was intended to be granted, than Resume those lands to your

Selfe and dispossess the antient owners of them, who had been at great expence and labour in the cultivating and improvment of them; thinking themselves safe in the Enjoyment of the fruits of their Labour under Your Majesties Protection and that of the Laws made in Order to Secure them: but with unspeakable concerne they find themselves under the directions of A Governour Superior to the controll of any person there in the use of any power he will please to Say he is Vested with and from whom they have no Reason to hope the least Clemency or his declining any meanes to Enrich himselfe that is attended with the least prospect of Gain A person who when formerly Governour of Minorca is said to have Rendred himselfe most hatefull to your Subject there by many Acts of Violence arbitrary and despotick Government & if the case of Bonaventura Capeda Villa concerning Some Snuff Seisd by y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Cosby heard before A committee of his late Majesties most honourable privy Councill is to be Rely'd on for truth he ventur'd to tell y<sup>e</sup> Judges there y<sup>e</sup> he had his Majesties Orders to Command and Require them on pain of his Royall displeasure to Condemn the Said Snuff when upon the most diligent Search in the proper offices here no Such Order was (as is Said) to be found but rather the Contrary his conduct whilest Govern<sup>r</sup> of New Yorke has prov'd but too Agreeable to [accounts] given of him from other places where he had the honour of any Comand\* the [inhabit]ants beheld w<sup>th</sup> astonishment his getting possession of the Albany deed and then destroyi[ng] of it: and tho this was done on a feign'd pretence y<sup>e</sup> the Said deed was fraudulently [obta]ined by the persons claiming by it yet had there been any process against the Said corporation on that head (even in a course of Equity) Setting forth the frauds used in Obtaining of it had they been on timely notice heard in their defence or any Opportunity given them to controvert the Suggestions alleged and Defend the methods us'd in Obtaining of it what the Govern<sup>r</sup> did might possibly beare to hav: Something Said at least in alleviation of his Conduct: but for Your Majesties Representative and the Governour of a Province who is above controll to gain this deed (of so great consequence to them) by Surprise in order to destroy it, to detain it against the owners consent notwithstanding Repeated Requests and intreaties to Redeliver it and after that to order it to be destroy'd and then Avow the doing of it on the feign'd pretence y<sup>e</sup> it was illegally obtained when no such pretence or complaint was known to be made by the indians nor anything of that kind came Ju-

dicially be[fore him the] said corporation & the generallity of the inhabitants conceives an instance of [ ] unbecoming one who has the honour to Represent your Majestie and [hav- ing un]paralleled in any government of Laws where the Subjects have any thi[ng they can ca]ll their Own\* these & other instances of absolute and despotick government; th[is] ought and acting directly against your Majesties positive instructions but too plainly Shows the inhabitants what [the]y are to expect from A Governour of that Disposition cloathed with So unbounded [a power] they therefore humbly throw themselves at Your Majesties feet imploring A relief [ ] jency Suitable to your Majesties Goodness and Justice and the manifest hard[ship of] their case & Your Majesties Memorialist and petitioner doth in his own and [

### III.—THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM BEATTY, OF THE MARYLAND LINE, 1776 TO 1780.

[From the original Manuscript belonging to the Maryland Historical Society.]

June 25th, 1776.—I was appt<sup>d</sup> an Ensign in ye flying Camp raised in the State of Md the 3d July I reced my Warrant in Seven days recruited my Quota of Men March'd for Philadelphia the 13th august Where the Comp<sup>t</sup> Joined the Regt to Which it belonged after Some few days Which it took to Equip We proceeded to New York Where We arrivd the 5th of September & Continued in it a Week When the Whole army Except a Small body Moved up the Island Within One Mile of Fort Washington On the 15th of this month the Enemy Landed On the Island near Hell Gate & forced the Whole of our advanced troops to retire to the main body Which lay Encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort Washington, The 16th in the forenoon some of our troops met With the Enemies Van Which brought on a brisk Engagement Which lasted Some time, When the Enemy gave Way, Some few days after this Happened a New England Captain Was Dressed in Woman's apparel arm'd With a Wooden gun & Sword & Drum'd out of the army for Cowardice, Sometime in October the Whole army Except a Garrison in Fort Washington Left York Island the Same day that this hap-

\* Another marginal reference, in a different hand-writing, indicates that something was to be inserted here.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† In the margin opposite these words was a list of those "other instances" which the memorialist referred to; but the greater part of it has been destroyed. The only legible words are "his Snatching &c."

\* Reference is made, in this place, to a memorandum in the margin, in another hand-writing, relative to additional matter to be here inserted; but the new matter has not been found.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

pened I being very unwell Crossed the North river for the purpose of going in the Country to recover my health after laying two Weeks at a Dutchmans at Scrawnburg Church Which lays nine Miles from fort Lee & five from Hackensack Town I proceeded to join our Regt, Which during this time had been on their Way from Kings Bridge to Peaks-kill Where I met it in the beginning of November after laying here two or three days, We Went on board of Boats Which transported us down the North river to Kings ferry Where We landed and Encamped One night the next morning We began Our march towards the Jerseys by the Way of Tappan, Hackinsack Bridge & the Town about 10, o'clock the night after passing the last place Our Brigade Were Ordered to Fort Lee Where We arrived some little time before day. On this March We crossed a ferry on the Hackensack, about five miles below the Bridge Which we crossed the day before, the day after our arrival at Fort Lee being the day the Enemy attacked Fort Washington, Which Surrendered to them in the afternoon, The Enemies next object being Fort Lee Our army began to prepare for a retreat But before this Could be accomplished the Enemy landed above us Which Obligated Our army to make a quick retreat leaving all our Heavy Cannon & Stores & Baggage of all kinds behind, the Whole of Which fell into the Hands of the Enemy, We now began our retreat through the Jersey by the way of Aquackanack Bridge Which Was tore up after Our troops had pass'd it, from this We retreated down the 2nd river to a little village by the Same name at this place With Some more Officers I quartered at a Gentlemans house Who treated us With a great deal of politeness & Hospitality From here I march'd With a Piquet by the Way of New ark to One Pecke, about four miles from New ark towards the mountain the Whole of this march being in the night the darkness of Which together With the Intolerable bad roads made this tour of duty very hard this Was the last time I mounted Guard While in the flying Camp, from New ark Our army retreated in two Collums One by the Way of Wood bridge to Brunswick & the Other by the New-ark mountain Springfields, Scotch-Plains Quibbletown & to Brunswick, While Our army lay in the neighbourhood of New ark the Sick Were Sent to Morristown; Two or three days after Our arrival at Brunswick being the first of December & the Expiration of the flying Camp troops time Our Brigade March'd to Philadelphia leaving Our Brave General With a very Weak army who in a little time after Was obliged to retreat across the Delaware river notwithstanding the few troops that were left With <sup>t</sup> Our Hero it is Well known that he in less than <sup>o</sup> month killed & took upward of 2000 of the <sup>w</sup>la

Enemy & Obligated a very Superior force to retreat to Brunswick the Consequence of Which Was they Were obliged in the Spring to abandon the Jersey intirely, after the flying Camps arrival to Philadelphia, I was employed in assisting to Pay & Discharge Compys until the 10th of December When I set out for Home Where I arrived the 14th following.

*January 1<sup>st</sup> 1777.* I accepted of a first Lts Commission in the Contl Service & immediately began to recruit On Which Service I Continued until some time in June When I march'd from Home With a party to join'd the Regt in Which I was to Serve I found the Regt With the army Which lay at Lincolns Gap, the 29th June. In two or 3 days after Our Division March'd towards the north river by the Way of Morristown, Pumpton Smiths Cove & newbern Where We Crossed the 7th of July and march'd to Fishkills. On the foregoing March at Pumpton, I went On the first Genl Court Martial I ever Sat, on the 18th, 19th & 20th We lay at Fishkills. Monday the 21st March'd to Peekskills 22d March'd five Miles towards Crowtan Bridge, The 23d We March'd 4 Miles farther & Encamped On a Hill Called Mount Pleasant It lies in Cortland's manor, The 24th a detachment of 500 Men Were Ordered out of the Division to hold themselves in readiness to March at the shortest notice, however they never Were detached, the 25th the troops Were drawn Out for the Execution of two Soldiers for House breaking. The men were rerieved. Saturday 26th of July Our Division being Ordered to return to the Jersey again We March'd from mount Pleasant to Kings Ferry; Sonday 27th in the forenoon the 2nd Brigade Crossed the Ferry & in the afternoon the first Brigade Cross'd likewise The Whole Division Encamped on the West Bank of the river, Monday 28th We march'd to Kakaa Which is 8 Miles from Kings Ferry, The next day We march'd to Paramas which is about 13 miles, Wednesday 30th We began our march very early this morning & made a halt about 10, o'clock at the Pasayac river about a Mile below the falls. Curiosity led me to see them they are a Curious Worth Seeing the Water Some Small distance before it falls passes between two rocks about six feet from each Other then falls about 30 feet & passes between the same rocks for about 30 yards Which Widen gradually till they are near 30 feet apart at the end of these rocks the Water makes a very large pond, What makes the place of halting this day more remarkable happening in a House near Where the troops Halted, the owners of which had a child they said was 23 years of age; the Head of this Child Was Larger than a Half Bushell; the body about the Size of a Child 7 or 8 years Old its Hands & feet Were useless to it the Skin as White as Milk not-

withstanding it had Never been able to Walk Or set its Parents have taut it to read & it Would answer almost any Scriptural Quotations that Were ask'd it. The neighbours told me that the Father & Mother Were fonder of this child than any they had, altho they had Several beside that were not Deform'd. About 2, o'clock We proceeded On Our march about 3 Miles below acquackanack Bridge on the 2d river. The Whole of this days March Was about 19 miles, Thursday 31st This morning about the time the troops began to March One of the Inhabitants Were taken up for assisting some of our Deserters over the Second River about a mile after passing through New-ark the troops Halted a Court Martial being immediately Ordered for the tryal of the Tory taken in the Morning, The Court passed Sentence of Death on him which Genl Debore Ordered to be put in Execution by Hanging the poor fellow On the limb a Sycamore Bush close on the side of the road, the troops march'd to Springfield this Evening. Fryday august 1st 77, We march'd to Quibbletown & 2d to Middle Brook the 3d by the Way of Pluckemin to Viettown, a Shower of rain this afternoon gave me a Compleat Soaking as I passed Pluckemin I Call'd & Din'd at Mr Pawlsons this days march 17 miles.

Monday the 4th March through Morristown to Hanover Which is 9 miles from Viel town, at this place We lay encamped untill the 21st of august Only changing Our ground of Encampment a little, the 9th While at this place a Soldier was shot for Desertion to the Enemy, Thursday 21st the Division leaving their tents & Baggage With a small guard, began their march by the Way of Elizabeth Town & Crossed the Sound next morning about 2, o'clock after the Whole of the Division being Safely on Staten Island We began to Penetrate it two Ways the first Br. upwards & the 2d Brigade Downwards, about 10, O,cl the Whole of our forces on the Island began to move towards the Old Blazing Star ferry to recross But the want of a Sufficient N° of Boats made that business go on so slow that the Enemy had time to Cut off about 230 of our Rear, We took & brought off 9 officers & about 100 Men of the Enemy's new levies, most of the troops that got off the Island Went to Spunktown this Evening, Saturday the 23d We march'd to Springfield Where we lay the next day, Monday 25th The army & Fleet of the Enemy being now in the Chesapeak Bay the Whole of our troops began to Move that Way this day We reach'd Brunswick, 26th Princetown Where we lay untill the 28th than proceeded to Trenton & Crossed the Ferry, 30th We march'd five miles past Bristol, Saturday 31st March'd past Philadelphia & Encamped On the West Bank of Skuykill Where we Continued On Sunday, Monday Sept: 2nd 1777

March'd to Chester & the next day to Wilmington Where We lay untill the Sixth this day the troops being drawn up to march a musquet unluckily Went off and Broke a soldiers leg Which Was cut off Soon after, We march'd to Ridlick Creek & Encamped, Sondag 7th as the approach of the Enemy gave reason to apprehend an attack the Whole of the troops were ordered to throw up Breast works in front of their respective Camps We began this Work to day & Completed it On Monday the 8th about 10, O'clock, The Enemy not thinking Proper to Continue their march On the Road by Wilmington & new-Port But Push'd to Cross the Brandewine at Shadsford Obligated Our army to Move that Way the 9th We began this march about 2, O'clock in the morning, Wednesday 10th Sept the alarm guns Were fir'd & the Whole army got under arms, However the Enemy did not approach the army extended its Right Higher up the Brandewine at the Same time a Battery Was began by the Park of artillery Opposite Shads Ford, Our Division being On the Right of the Army, We extended to to large stone Mill about One Mile above the Ford in this Position We lay all night, Thursday 11th Sept the Enemy appearing about 10, o'clock the alarm Guns Were fired & troops drew up in Order of Battle from this time till about two in the afternoon there Was a pretty Constant Cannonade at Shads Ford there Was likewise Some Skirmishing between parties of our people & the Enemy some time about the middle of this afternoon Intelligence was received that a very strong Body of the Enemy had Cross'd above Our army and Were in full march to outflank us this Obligated Our Right Wing to change their front to the right, But before this Could be fully put in execution the Enemy appear'd & made a very Briak attack Which put the Whole of our Right Wing to flight, However I believe this Was not done Without some Considerable loss on their Side as Some of the Right Wing behaved Gallantly at the Same time the attack Was made On the Right the British began to Cross Shads Ford Which made the fire almost general on all quarters about Sun down the Whole of our army gave Way and retreated to Chester We lost Eight Field Pieces I Immagin about 500 Men killed, Wounded & Prisoners as to the Enemies loss I cant pretend to Say but I immagin it must have been Considerable as there Was a great deal of very Heavy firing Fryday 12th We Continued Our Retreat to Skuykill & the next day Passed by Philadelphia to German Town Where We Encamped, Sondag Sept 14th the Whole army Recross'd the Skuykill at the Spring Mills and on the 16th Drew up in Order of Battle in the Neighbourhood of the White Horse But a very heavy rain Coming up prevented the Enemie attacking us about 2, o'clock in the afternoon We began to march to-



wards the Yellow Springs where we arrived about 2, O'clock, the next morning all the Small Branches that We Were obliged to Cross On this march Were so rais'd by the Hard rain that they took us to the Waiste & under the arms When We Waded them, none of our men preserved a Single round of ammunition that did not get thoroughly Wet the rain left off falling the morning of the 17 about break of day, In the afternoon We began our march towards the valley Forge near Which We again Waded the Schuylkill On the 18, & Continued Our march untill We got Opposite the Enemy at Sweeds Ford, after laying in this position a day or two the Enemy put themselves in motion to Cross the Schuylkill & our army leaving the Passes clear at the same time march'd up the Country to a Place called New Hanover Where We lay Some days during our stay at this place a Detachment Was sent to Mud Island below Philadelphia from this place We March'd to Perkeomen Mills, While at this Place We Were join'd by the Maryland Militia here Were fired 13 Pieces of Cannon for our Successes to the northward, about the beginning of October We march'd from the Mills towards the Enemy & On the 3d in the Evening our Whole army began their march to attack the Enemy Who lay at German town and on the morning of the 4th about Sun rise the attack Was made With such Briskness that We had the pleasure to pursue the Enemy Intirely through German town When Cornwallis Coming With a reinforcement & Some bad management on our side obliged us to retreat this Was about 9, o'clock many of our troops Reached Penny-beckers Mills On the Perkeoman this Evening, the next day our Wounded Were sent to Reading & the army Encamped after laying at this place a few days the army mov'd towards the delaware River to the next main road between Perkeomen & that river While at this place We had the satisfaction of firing the second feu de Joy for our nothern armys Success against Burgoin from this place the army movd to the Encampment We occupied the Evening before the Battle of German-town Here we reced the glorious news of the Captivity of Burgoin & his army On this Occasion was fired a Feu De Joy of Small arms & Cannon from this Encampment We movd Within three Or four miles of White marsh Bridge this being some time in November the next move was to the Hights near the Bridge before mentioned Where We remained until some time in December, Some few days before our army left this Encampment the Enemy Came out as far as Chesnut hill about one mile & a half in our front during their Stay We lay Continually on our arms there happened some skirmishing between our advanced Parties & the Enemies the third night the Brittish thought proper to retreat Which they did With precipitation our army in two days after the Enemy re-

treated began their march for Winter Quarters' Genl Sullivans Division in front Who after they had Crossed the Schuylkill On a foot Bridge near the gulf Mills Were obliged to recross by the appearance of a Body of the Enemy that Were on the West Side of the river here We lay till near night then march'd as high as Sweeds ford Where We lay a day & night then march'd to the Gulf Hills from Which place all the army except the Md Division march'd to the Valley Forge Where they built huts to pass the Winter in the Md Division Went to Q<sup>r</sup> in Wilmington Where they fared very well as to Quarters but the duty Was very hard & the troops very bare of Clothing However in a few days after our arrival there We had the good fortune to take a valuable Prize of cloathing &c from the Enemy Which had ran ashore in the Delaware Some time in February 1778 the Garrison Was alarmed by some boats coming down the river full of Men after this Was over We pass'd the remainder of our stay in quietness Which was till Some time in may When the Division mrohed and Joind the army at the Valley Forge, While We lay in Wilmington a certain John Dewick was Executed for Desertion & Piracy his Execution was on the 29th of April 1778, Some time before the division left Wilmington I Went on a Detachment Under the Command of Col P Down to Bombay Hook Island & Dover in Kent County Delaware While on this Detachment We took two British navy officers 11 marines, 60 or 70 Tories.

Early in June the detachment returned to Wilmington, June 5th about 9, o'clock at night We march'd from Wilmington & reached Del-worthtown, next morning about 2, o'clock, Where We Stay'd till some time after day than March'd and joind'd the 2d Brigade Which lay near Shadsford, in the afternoon We began our march for the Valley Forge this night We Encamped near One Mattocks, June 7 we march'd to the Warren On the Lancaster Road & quartered in that neighbourhood in Barns & Houses it being rainy Weather, June 8th We march'd & Joind the army at the Valley Forge Where We continued untill the 18th When part of the army began to march towards the Jersey this Was in consequence of the Enemies leaving Philadelphia, June 19th the remainder of the army left the Valley Forge and reach'd Credells Ferry the 21st next day we Cross'd & Joind that part of the army that march'd from the Valley forge the day before We did, June 23<sup>rd</sup> the army left the Whole of their Tents & Baggage & March'd to Hopewell, the next day Our Tents & Baggage came up & the army Encamped from this place, a strong detachment Was Sent Out towards the Enemy June 25th the army left their Tents standing & Proceeded towards the Enemy Who

Was retreating With all Possible Dispatch this day We March'd as far as Rockey Hill Where We lay till Sun down then Continued Our march till about 1' o'clock next morning this day While We lay at Rockey Hill a Second detachment Was Sent out in pursuit of the Enemy June 26th We march'd about 5 miles this day in the afternoon We had a very great gust of rain, June 27th the army began to March about Sun rise then halted & Completed Our men with 40 rounds of Cartridges, June 28th 1778, about 8, o'clock We began Our march towards English town, Which Was about 5 Miles in Our front We had not March'd far before a Cannonade Was heard Which happened between Our advance & the Enemies rear, near monmouth Court house about a mile before We reach'd English Town We Were Ordered to leave Our Knapsack & Blankets then resumed Our March passing by English Town to a Church about two miles nearer monmouth, By this time our advanced troops had retreated nearly to this place Which Occasioned a very Sharp Cannonade between our front line & the Enemy this had not lasted long before the our front line of Infantry & the Enemy Which obliged the Enemy to give up the field With the loss of upwards of 300 killed Which Were left, this Was about 6' o'clock in the Evening Our rear line then advanced and took the ground On Which the front had been, the Whole of our army lay On their arms all night, The Enemy took the advantage of Moon Shine about 1' o'clock the Morning of the 29th and retreated to avoid the attack Intended to be made on them by day break they left a number of their Wounded Officers & Men at Monmouth Court house & Some prisoners they had taken about 5, in the afternoon of y<sup>e</sup> 29, We march'd from the field of Battle to Where We had left our Packs Where We continued the 30th, July 1st 1778, about 1, o'clock in the Morning We began Our March Which Was Continued to Shotswood forge, Where We arrived about 8, o'clock and Halted till next morning about 1, o'clock then proceeded by Brunswick to Raraton landing Where the Whole army Encamped on the different Banks of the river; July 3d the troops took to clean & refresh themselves July 4th I obtained permission to go to Caecl County in Maryland after Some of my Baggage I Went as far as Trenton this day, July 5th 1778 I Went to Philadelphia the 6th in the afternoon I set Sail for Wilmington Where I arrived the 7th in the Evening, the next day I stay'd at this place, July 9th after Sun down I Went to Newark the next day to Ocotara Where my Baggage Was & did My Business—July 11,th I returned as far as Newark & the 12th to Wilmington, the 13th after Sun down I went On Board a boat for Philadelphia Where I arrived the 14th, July 15th about 2' o'clock

in the afternoon I left the City on foot but after going about 10 miles a gentleman overtook me Who gave Me a Seat in a chaise to Bristol Where I Stay'd all night, the next morning I proceeded again on foot to Trenton Where I Breakfasted then Continued my Walk towards Princetown, by the good fortune of a Second Seat in a chaise I reach'd that place by 2' o'clock this Evening the Waggon I had with Join'd me, also J. J. J. Fryday July 17th Went as far as the Scoch Plains the next day to a Mr dod's, Sunday July 19th 78, We lay by N B, It Must be Observed I left the army near Brunswick but on my return they had left that place & march'd to wards the White Plains, Monday July 20th I left Mr Dods & Went to Kackaett, the 21st I cross'd the North river at Kings Ferry & Went 4 miles past Peekskills, the 22d I overtook the troops about 6 Miles from White Plains, here We continued untill the 24, then march'd to the White Plains, Thursday July 30th I rode to the Saw pits & din'd on Osters afterwards I rode into Connecticut & Crack'd Some good Wine Saturday 1st august 1778 Our Brigade Mov'd their Encampment a little to the left, the 2d the Whole army struck tents & prepar'd to march in about 3 hours they Were ordered to Pitch their tents on the same ground, Thursday august 4th, about 5 in the afternoon I went on a three days Command towards the lines under Genl Mullenberg We march'd to Tuckahoe Heights & Encamped the next day we March'd Within four miles of Kings Bridge from here Col Morgan Was Sent forward With two Battalions the remaining two With the Genl Encamped 2 Miles Back, Thursday august 6th 1778 this Morning Our detachment March'd from their Encampment towards the lines by a Right Hand road about 2 Miles then We turned to the left to the ground We lay on the day before here We lay untill the evening then returned to our last Nights Encampment Fryday august 7th We returned to the White Plains Sunday august 8th Some time in the night We had a very heavy rain Which made the remainder of the night disagreeable, Monday august 17th a Soldier Was Shot for Desertion Tuesday august 18th I Went On the Provost Guard from Which I was releived the next day, Wednesday august 26 the tents of the Whole army Were Struck & the Whole of the Baggage loaded in Order it Was Expected to march about two Hours after we Ordered to sweep the Encampment & Pitch the tents On the Same Ground, Wednesday Sept 16th 1780\* the Whole army Struck their tents & Sent them off Early in the morning, the Troops Were Continued On their Ground Untill 3, o'clock

\* This is evidently a clerical error, since the *Journal* subsequently relates in the same connection, what occurred later in 1778.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

in the afternoon, then March'd about 5 miles from the plains Where they Halted Without their tents Some time in the night a very heavy rain began to fall Which lasted all night the Want of our tents made our Situation very disagreeable When the army left the White plains the Right Wing March'd the road leading by Crotans Bridge & the left Wing a road to the right of it, this Morning the Enemy surprised Col N Gists Regt of light Infantry Which lay about 8 Miles below the White Plains Thursday Sept 17 We March'd about two miles above Crotans Bridge Where We got our Regt in a Barn & halted till our tents Came up When We Encamped, Fryday Sept- 18, about 2, o'clock in the afternoon we March'd about two miles, the next day we march'd about 8 miles Higher up the Country, Sunday Sept 20th 1778 We March'd about 4 miles past Fredericksburg Where We lay until the 22nd On Which day Our Division march'd 12 miles toward Fishkills at this place We lay untill the 28th When We march'd to Fishkills Saturday Oct 3d A Soldier of our Regt Was Shot by accident, Tuesday Oct 13 We march'd to new Hackensack there We lay untill the 26th on Which day We returned to Fishkills the 30th a Soldier Was Executed for House Breaking, Monday Nov 2d I Went to new Hackensack & returned the next day, Fryday Nov 6th a detachment of 600 Men Were Ordered from the division to Escort the Convention prisoners through the Jersey Monday Nov 23d our B march'd from Fishkills & cross'd North river the next day I Went forward With a Party to repair the roads about 5 miles from the Ferry, this night I was kindly Entertained by a Mr Bellnap, the next day I proceeded With my Party as far as a Mr Halls Within a Mile of Chester Thursday Nov, 26th the division arrived at Chester about 1, O'clock here the men Were quartered in the adjacent Barns I lodged at a M Jacksons this night, the next day Brought my men & quartered them in his Barn & Myself With Other Officers in His House Saturday Nov 28th I received Some cloathing Which Were Sent from home to me, Sunday the 29th Several of us went to Meeting at Florida about 3 Miles from Mr Jacksons, Monday Nov 30 a Smart Snow fell in the fore part of the day, Tuesday Dec 1st We Collected the Girls in the neighbourhood and had a kick up, in the Evening, the Fryday following we had the Second, Sunday Dec 6th I walked to Capt Bradner Where I spent the afternoon With the Young Ladies his Daughters, Monday Decr 7 I went with a Guard to Oxford & took my post at a Mr Sealys, the next day I Was Order to Join the division With my Guard, Wednesday Decr 9th We march'd from Chester by the Way of WarWick into Sussex County in the Jersey Our Men lay in Barns in the neighbourhood of a Col Brodericks, I Lodg'd at a Mr Haggis, Thursday

Dec 10th 78, We began Our March this Morning through a rain Which Continued to fall untill the middle of the afternoon then turn'd to Snow Which fell very fast till Some time in the night then held up We Qutr'd our Regt at Sharpsburgh's Works, In company With Several Officers, I Quartered at Mr Browns Who Was Overseer of the Works, here We continued until Sunday the 13th about 2' O'clock When Our Regt alone began to March in the Morning & began to rain Which lasted untill a little time before We halted for Q<sup>r</sup> in the at a Mr Birons On the Road leading to Morristown, the Snow Which had fell two days before & rain Which fell to day made So much Water that all the Small Creeks much Swelled & the Whole of the road so full that but a few places that did not come Over Our Shoe tops, Monday Dec 14th 78, March'd from Biron to Suckeegunny Plains Where We Q<sup>d</sup> our Men in Houses I Quartered at Mr Randolph's, January 5th 79 I traveled from Cummings & cross'd the Ball-Fryer Ferry On the Susquehannah & Put up at Jolleys in Harford, the next day I got near Rogers Mills in Baltimore County & the day after at Westminster in Frederick County, January 8th 1779, I arriv'd at Home Where I remained till the 15th of March When I set out for Camp by the way of York, Lancaster, Wilmington, Philadelphia, Trenton & Princeton I Joined the army the 29th March, in their Huts near Middle Brook, In the Beginning of april I Went on a Detachment to Shawsburg in monmouth County here We continued very peaceable Spending our Spare time With a number of fine Ladies in this neighbourhood untill the 26th of the month in the morning before Sun rise We Were very near being Cut of by a party of British under Major Ferguson But have a little notice of the Enemies approach We retreated about 7 Miles towards Monmouth Court House I lost my Waiter & all my Cloaths except What I had on, Several Other officers Shar'd the same fate Our loss in Men was 22, the Enemy left Shrewsbury 9, o'clock & the next day We took our Post again & Continued in it untill the last of May, then March'd for Middlebrook Where We arrived the 2nd of June about a Week after the army began their march towards Smiths Clove by Morris Town, Pumpton & Ramapough Clove, While the army lay in Smiths Clove On the 16th July before Day Genl Wayn took Stony Point, the 17th we march'd from Smiths Clove & Encamped at Buttermilk Falls the 20th, the 18 august before day Major Lee Surprised & took Paulis-hook We Continued at Buttermilk Falls forwarding the Works about West Point untill the 26th Nov 1779 On Which day We march'd as far as Smiths Clove through a heavy Snow that Was falling on our rout to Winter Qrs, We Continued our march by the Way of Ramapough Clove Pumpton Battle Hill from Where We

march'd the 3rd of December to Weeks Farm Where I Continued to forward my mens Huts till the 26th December then Set out for Maryland On the recruiting Service by the Way of Plackemin, Princeton, Philadelphia Wilmington, Head of Elk, Baltimore annapolis & Rock Creek from Where I Went to Fredrick Where I arriv'd the 20th of January 1780 & continued untill the 23d of august following When I set out for Annapolis here I Continued untill the 22nd of October then march'd for our line Which Was at this time in N Carolina With a Party of recruits, by the Way of alexandria, Richmond, Petersburg, & Hillsborough Where I expected to Join the line but Was disappointed by their Marching to Charlotte, some time before, Fryday, Nov 24th 1780 I march'd from Hillsborough With Genl Stephens Brigade of Virginia Militia to Join the army Our rout Was by Guilford Courthouse, Salisbury from thence to Charlotte Where I arrived & Joind the line the 7th December 1780, Genl Greene had Superseded Genl Gates in his Command of the Southern army a Day or two or before, When I Joind the troops Were Hutting Which they Completed a few days after, Dec 16th two Companies of Lt Infantry being Ordered Out I got Comd of the Compy form'd by the late 7th Regt, Wednesday Dec 20, 80 the army march'd from Charlotte 10 Miles to fords Farm the 21st to Richardsons Creek 18 Miles from Fords the 22nd to Browns Creek, 19 Miles from Richardsons the 23d to Cedar Creek 16 miles from Browns, the 24th Pass'd by anson C-House to Haleys Ferry, 18 Miles from Cedar Creek, the 25 was taken up in Crossing the Ferry the 26th we reach'd Hicks Creek 15 Miles below Halys Ferry in South Carolina this being the place the Genl intended to take post at, We began to build Small Huts the 27th, January 5th 1781 a Soldier Was Shot for Desertion, Jan'y 10th a very Heavy rain fell Which rais'd the river Pee Dee and small Croeks so much that the troops Were Obligated to draw Corn in lieu of Meal On the Eleventh Fryday 12th In the night I went Hunting, 13th I wrote to F—— & P—— Wednesday 24th The army in Consequence of a victory obtain'd by B, Genl Morgan On the 17 instant Over a Superior force of the Enemy Comd by Col Tarleton, near the Cowpens fired a Feu de Joy, I wrote to C—— & G—— Thursday January 25th 81 Genl Stephens Militia left us their times being Expired

#### IV.—LEBANON, CONNECTICUT.

*Extracts from the Records of the South Ecclesiastical Society in Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut.*

1728. "Granted liberty to Dr. Gray to build a

"pew taking up two of the hind seats and about 2 foot out of the men's side, and about so much out of the woman's side upon condition that I give to the Society a good credable cushion to furnish the pulpit withall."

1736. A committee was appointed "to state the places where particular persons may set up Horse Stables and small Sabbath Day Houses upon the edge of the Highway adjoining to Some Lott and also agree with the person unto whose Lott they would adjoin the House."\*

1739. "Voted that the front fore Seat in the gallery be equal to the 3<sup>d</sup> Seat below in the body of the seats; & that the fore Seat in the side gallery from end to end be deemed equal to the 4<sup>th</sup> seat in the body of Seats."

"Voted that the men that are seated in the fore Seats in the gallery shall have suitable pews or Seats for their wives below." [It was it seems, the custom to seat the people in the meeting-house according to their rank in civil life.]

"Voted that all the children under 10 shall sit below in the Meeting House: that all males above 10 to 16, and all females above 10 to 14 years of age shall leave the foreseat and take the 2<sup>d</sup> seat all round the gallery for those that are older."

1740. "Voted to Hire a School Master at the cost and charge of the Society to keep a Grammar School in the Society the whole year, for months at a time in 3 different places."

"Voted that the Society Committee should agree with some person to dig graves at the cost of those persons who should want them."

"Voted to let down the Bell Rope at the South East side of the wheel provided it be done without cost to the Society."

"A committee proposed to read 2 schemes for seating the Meeting House, so far as the front and side fore seats in the galleries, and for the Society to vote for one of them," [*i. e., of two schemes,*] "and the Society voted not to vote any thing about it." They then reconsidered that vote and voted which they would adopt.

1741. "Voted to have the Schools in the Society kept by masters which shall on the whole be equivalent to the Grammar School that is to be kept for the whole year."

"Voted that the committee to be chosen shall appoint School Dames to keep school in the Summer."

\* Some of these buildings were standing within the memory of the writer, but they have all long since been removed. The "Sabbath Day Houses" had chimneys and a fire, where the owners could warm themselves before going into the church in the winter, and where they could remain during the intermission; for, even in the most inclement season, they had their sermons each Sabbath. They had no stoves, except the women's foot-stoves.

1743. "Voted to hire 8 School Mistresses to teach children for 4 months."

1746. "Appointed a committee to divide the Society in suitable districts." [Why this was not done before, does not appear. They must have had similar ones before; and probably this was a new arrangement of them.]

The "Meeting House" spoken of in the above extracts is the one mentioned in the following from *Stuart's Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.*, p. 514, and in which the scene represented there, in an engraving, occurred; which is also described in a note:

"During the war—after divine service on a Sunday, or on a Thanksgiving day—contributions were often taken in church for the benefit of the Continental army. Cash, finger-rings, ear-rings, and other jewelry, coats, jackets, breeches, shirts, stockings, hats, shoes, every article in fact of male attire, besides groceries in great variety, were frequently thus collected, in New England particularly, in large quantities. Upon one such occasion in Lebanon Meeting House, Connecticut, after notice given that a collection would be taken up for the soldiers, Madam Faith Trumbull rose from her seat near her husband, threw off from her shoulders a magnificent scarlet cloak—a present to her, we hear on good authority, from the commander-in-chief of the French Allied Army, Count Rochambeau himself—and advancing near the pulpit, laid it on the altar as her offering to those who, in the midst of every want and suffering, were fighting gallantly the great battle of freedom.

"It was afterwards taken, cut into narrow strips, and employed, as red trimmings to stripe the dress of American soldiers. The act was one of peculiar generosity. It shed an instant luster on her patriotism; and the example was contagious. From all parts of the congregation, donations were at once showered; and many overloaded baskets upon this occasion, as upon many similar ones in the same place, were borne from the church, to have their contents carefully packed up, and sent away to the army."

It was in this same church that Rev. Solomon Williams, D.D., preached fifty-four years in one continued course, and died on the twenty-ninth of February, 1776, not long before the scene above described. His Half-Century Sermon, printed in Norwich, by Green & Spooner, 1773, is in the possession of the writer; also his funeral sermon, by James Cogswell, A.M., preached at Lebanon, in that same church, on the fourth of March, 1776, and printed at Norwich by John Trumbull, near the Meeting House, 1776.\*

In *Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, page 33, it is remarked that "around Lebanon, the focus of Connecticut patriotism and vigilance during the Revolution, cluster associations of the deepest interest."

In the winter of 1780–1, the Legion of Duke de Lauzun were quartered there, "and these were carefully cantoned a little west of the church on the road to Colchester. The spot is known as 'The Barracks,' to this day; and formed a portion of the farm which belonged to Governor Trumbull himself."\*

A little to the south of the same church, in a wide open space which extends North and South along the public road, or rather between two public roads, for a mile and a half, stood the famous brick Academy; which continued till a comparatively recent period, and in which, from first to last, a multitude of young men were prepared for College, or for the active duties of life, without a liberal education.

We learn from *Stuart's Life of Trumbull*, that it began in 1743; "and it was not many years before it acquired a celebrity second hardly to that of any Academy in all New England."

"My native place," wrote the younger son of the Governor, in whose boyhood the Institution seems to have been at the zenith of its reputation, "was long celebrated for having the best school in New England (unless that of Master Moody in Newburyport might, in the judgment of some, have the precedence). It was kept by Nathan Tisdale, a native of the place, from the time when he graduated at Harvard to the day

Williams, of Hatfield, a graduate of Harvard College in 1663, died on the twenty-ninth of August, 1741, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his ministry. His son, Dr. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon, graduated at Harvard in 1719, died on the twenty-ninth of February, 1776, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his ministry. Dr. Eliphalet Williams, of East Hartford, graduated at Yale, died on the twenty-ninth of June, 1803, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and fifty-fifth year of his ministry. His son, Rev. Solomon Williams, of Northampton, a graduate of Yale in 1776, died on the ninth of November, 1839, in the eighty-third year of his age, and the fifty-fifth of his ministry. His son, Deacon Eliphalet Williams, of Northampton, is living, at the age of eighty-six and in the daily discharge of responsible duties as bank director. Each of the four clergymen who died remained in the pastoral office, in the place of his first settlement. They were all men of learning, able preachers, faithful pastors, friends of education, loyal to their country, public-spirited, an honor to their respective colleges, and benefactors of the communities in whose services they spent their lives. The name most numerous on the new triennial catalogue of Harvard University is that of Williams, of whom ninety-one have graduated. The most of them are of the same stock with the above, connected with the earliest settlers of Massachusetts.

\* It is said that the first riding vehicle, called a *Chaise*, introduced into that State, was owned by the first Governor Trumbull. After his death, it passed into the hands of an ancestor of the writer, who has now a small box made by himself, when a boy, from one of the panels of the seat.

It was, we suppose, when riding in this with General Washington, he rather reproved the latter for bowing to a negro man, whom they met; and Washington replied, "Would you not be as polite as a negro?" It is well known that Trumbull and Washington were particular friends through the war—

\* LONGEVITY OF A FAMILY OF CLERGYMEN.—REV. WM. WIL-

"of his death, a period of more than thirty years, "with an assiduity and fidelity of the most exalted character, and became so widely known "that he had scholars from the West India Islands, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, "as well as from New England and Northern Colonies."

In Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, in a communication of Rev. Timothy Stone, in reference to Rev. Solomon Williams, D.D., so long the pastor of the Church in this place, we read that, "Few ministers of his day accomplished so much for the promotion of literature and science among their people as Dr. Williams. "For a long course of years, Lebanon was distinguished for the best Grammar School in any country town in Connecticut. It was taught "by Mr. Nathan Tisdale, a native of Lebanon, "and a graduate of Harvard College in 1749. "So extensively and so favorably known was the "school, that it numbered among its pupils "youth from almost every part of the country; "and such was the confidence placed in Mr. Tisdale's recommendation of his Scholars, by "the authority of Yale College, that it was, in "some instances, accepted in place of an actual examination. This school was established "chiefly by the efforts of Dr. Williams; and the "consequence of it was, that for many years, "Lebanon was not only remarkable for its intelligence, but furnished more ministers of the "Gospel than perhaps any other town of its size "in Connecticut."

In relation to this last remark, we may mention that though the township is scarcely more than eight miles in diameter, and the town of Colchester on the west has had a large Academy, named Bacon Academy, where for a long time tuition was given to all the inhabitants of that township, yet on a visit at Lebanon, a few years ago, we heard reckoned up in that town, from the first settlement of the country, in all denominations, about a thousand preachers that had been born, educated and sent out from there.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON'S COLLEGE, N. C.

#### V.—A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE OF EAST-NEW-JARSEY IN AMERICA. 1683.\*

It is a Matter beyond all Question, that Plantations in America, is a thing of a great Advantage

to the Nations of *Europe*, which hath made each of them, since the discovery of it, seek so earnestly to have Interest there. And since there is hardly any but has some footing, except SCOTLAND (the project of *Nova Scotia* having proved unsuccessful) yet not any to whose advantage it would so much Contribute, without the hazard of those Difficulties, that may befall others by such Colonies.

The chief Reason against Forraign Plantation being the drawing too many Inhabitants out of the Nation, and so leaving the Countries at Home unfurnished of People: This is that which makes some say that *Spain* is rather a losse than a Gainer by their Forraign Plantations. But (besides the bareness of the *Spanish Nation* the extream heat of their Plantations; The Unhealthful Imployment of Working in their Mines add thereunto the just Displeasure of the Almighty at their barbarous and cruell Usage of the Natives, which justly takes away a Blessing from them, without which all Endeavours are vaine and fruitless.) Our Country is in no danger of Hurt that way, for we could spare several thousands every year, without the least prejudice of such as stay at Home, and to the great Advantage of those going Abroad; Yea, were there but a way opened (as by the Providence of GOD there seems one now in a good measure) that such, who however do daily go out of SCOTLAND, upon a certain sort of Necessities to seek their Fortune, might find an Opportunity of a Forraign Plantation, there might in an Age, as large and plentiful a Colony of *Scots-Men*, be abroad as *Scotland* is at home, not inferior to *Scotland* in number, and far exceeding it in Riches, and all other Conveniences. Which, as it would be an Honour to our Nation, so would it give great satisfaction to most of People here, to understand their Friends and Relations were living so plentifully, and it would be a comfortable Receptacle for any here, whose Circumstances made them uneasy at Home.

To make this more manifestly appear, let it be considered what number of People have gone out of *Scotland* since the year 1618, That the Warrs began in *Germany*, since in the *Swedish Armie*, at one time there was said to be 27 *Scots Collonells*: And into *France*, to *Douglas Regiment*, from time to time, We believe it will be granted but a modest Calculation to affirm there hath been many thousands, and yet of that vast Number few have ever returned, or had Success

\* For the privilege of copying this exceedingly rare tract—one of the rarest, it is said relating to the English Colonies in America—we are indebted to Samuel L. M. Barlow, Esqr., of New York.

The original is a small quarto, of fifteen pages, including the title-page; and it is entitled:

A Brief Account of the PROVINCE of EAST-NEW-JARSEY in AMERICA: Published by the SCOTS PROPRIETORS having INTEREST there. For the Information of such, as may have a Desire to Transport them: selves, or their Families thither. WHEREIN The Nature and Advantage of and Interest in a Forraign Plantation to this Country is Demonstrated. EDINBURGH, Printed by JOHN REID, ANNO DOM. 1683.

sion; scarce any Family hath remained Abroad in any Comfortable Settlement. And to be sure, not the 10<sup>th</sup> part hath ever returned, that their Equipping them abroad coast; they all, either dyed, or been killed there, without any benefit to our Country but an empty Fame; Which is now in those parts little or nothing considered.

Yea, it may be well affirmed, that the charge of *James, Marquess of Hamilton* his Expedition in the year 1631. cost four times more than ever all our Souldiers of Fortune brought home to *Scotland*. Now, if these People had gone over to some Forraign Plantation, and had but a Proportionable number of Women with them, which this Country could easily have spared, what a brave and large Collonie would there have been by this time, and very advantageous to *Scotland*, as shall after be made appear.

Both the Gentrie and Commonalitie of our Country being very fruitful, and the Law giving to the Elder Brothers, all their Fathers Estates, and that of the younger being but small, It is known, how they are for most part put upon the Rack for a comfortable Lively-hood, the Session-house is not able to contain the hundred part of them; Where sometimes also the elder Brothers will have their share, and six and or seven Advocats make, for most part the Lives of all the rest, but a miserable and tedious Drudgery, so that they are either forced to go abroad upon their Shifts, whence few or none of them ever return; or otherwise, if they stay at home, hange upon the Laird in a most slavish and sordide manner, which is a great Debasement to the Spirits of many, and a defeating of good Improvements they might make in the Creation, for by Birth and Education being Equal till they come to be Men, then their Spirits are spoiled by so great inequality afterwards.

Now these Younger Brothers having but an 1000. or 500. Acres of Ground in a Forraigne Plantation, with a 100. lib. sterling to stock it, which the most ordinary of their Portions might reach to, might, by a very moderate Industry, live as comfortably as their Elder Brothers at home, and provide their Children better; and each of those would not want enough of the Commonality to go alongst with them, upon the Encouragements they might receive to be their Servants.

And the Voyage to a Plantation here proposed, is become so easie, and the Intercourse so frequent, that a Correspondence would be as ordinar as is betwixt the South and North parts of this Nation: Yea, a great deall more than is usual betwixt the West and Northern-Islands, and the other more frequented parts of the Countrey.

It is also generally known, how hardly the Husbandmen here do live, and with how much

Toil and Difficulty, they are able to pay their Rents, and have any comfortable Lively-hood; The Reason whereof is, That, especially near the Sea-side, and most inhabited places, they are be far overthrong, and one might Maure what two or three have: For by seeking to have so much Corn-Land, they eat out the Substance of it, wearie themselves, and wrongs their Landlords: So that, if there were fewer of them, and each of them had more Land, and lesse in Corn, and more upon Grasse for Bestial, they would have a greater ease, and their Masters would be better paid; But they not knowing how to dispose of themselves otherwise, makes them thus throng one upon another, and render one another miserable.

Now there would be a notable Remedy for this in a Forraign Plantation, for a Husbandman that hath two or three thousand Merks in Stock (as most of them have) might transport himself, his Wife, and his Family, and get a little Plantation at so easie tearms, in a short time so stocked, that he might live more Comfortably, plentifully, and at lesse Labour than many of the Masters do here.

It is also known, that ordinar Servants here, after they have served 6. or 7. years in the pryme of the youth, can hardly, the most Thrifty of them (over what serves them in Cloaths) gather so much together, as when they Marry, and come to have Children, will be the beginning of any Comfortable Lively-hood: But there after 4 years, they may be in a far better Condition, as shall hereafter be demonstrated.

There needs no other, nor more evident proof for this, then the example of most of these, who, being taken at the fights of *Dumbar*, and *Worcester* in the years 1650 and 51, being sent over as Servants to *Barbadoes*, and other places, after they served out their time, have most of them purchased notable Plantations for themselves, both in *Barbadoes* and *Mary-land*, and els-where, and live very plentifully, accounting themselves happy in that providence that brought them there, and extreemly regrating the Condition of many of their friends at home, and wishing them sharers of their prosperitie.

But some, who will readily acknowledge what has been here said, doe think it impracticable for our Countrey-men to have this advantage. Because there is no forraigne plantation in *America* belongs to the Crown of *Scotland*, and all of such, where we could settle, are a part of the *English* Dominions.

It shall not be contended, but it were well there were some belonging to *Scotland*, for that it is not proper to Contradict what might be esteemed honorable to this Crown. But those, who Judge all the advantages above mentioned might not arise to us, from having an interest in a plantation under the protection of the Crown

of *England*, are under great mistakes; yea as things now stands, it is more advantageous to us, if it be Considered.

1. That, tho it be under a different respect, Yet we are still under the same Monarch, as if the Plantation belonged to the Crown of *Scotland*. 2. The protection is much more sure and considerable from *England*, whose interest oblige them, because of the great advantage yearly comes in to them from thence, to see to the Protection of the forraigne plantations, and all of these lying upon the main Continent being contiguous, no encroachment can be made upon part without endangering of the rest: And for the capacite of defence, there is no need of Comparison; *Scotland* having no ships of warre upon the publick accompt, and it's pollicy not lying in that Method. If the scruple be, that any think there are things uneasy in the Laws of *England*, that are better with us, There is thence no occasion of being strained, for, as will after appear, the Plantation here proposed, hes that Latitude in the Patent, that they are not tyed to the Laws of *England* so particularly, but they may let fall what they think inconvenient, and take of *Ours* what seems to contribute more to their advantage.

There would this visible disadvantage besides fall out, if the Plantation were disjoyned from the *English* Dominions, that by the act of Navigation we would be debarred from trade with the other *English* Plantations, which would be a verie great prejudice. But no disadvantage on the other part does come, for we can be allowed to carry over as many people as we please, with their Cloathing, and necessarys, which is the chief thing whereby advantage would come to *Scotland*, in the accomodating of people of several sorts, as We observed before. And the goods which are of most Value, and most necessary there, are such things as our Countrey affords most plentifully, such as all sorts of Wollen and Linnen-Cloath, and the like; so that there is occasion for Export of our Commodities, and the trade of *Scotland* consists much more in that, then in Import; there being not that occasion here for Consumption of forraigne Commodities, and the product of the Plantations there not being Suggar or any Store of Tobacco, is not fit to be imported in *Scotland*: So that the product of the Plantation coming to *England*, according to Law, if the money be from thence remitted to us for the transport of People and our Commodities, it will make a Circulation of Trade as advantageous for us; Yea, more then if returns come straight home, which would not so soon afford money in *Scotland*.

It is true if trade were absolutely as free 'twixt *Scotland* and there, as in *England*, it might be an encouragment to *Scots* Shipping and Sea-

men. But for that, it may be answered, the Ships built in the Plantations (where there is great conveniency for building of Vessels) will be free to come to *Scotland*, as well as any other *English* Ships; and 2, part of the Sea-men being Inhabitants of the Plantation who by dwelling there are *Denizens* of *England*, satisfies the Law. So that, tho the Ship be not a *Scots* Ship, yet it may belong to *Scots-men* dwelling in the Collopie, and sailed with Sea-men belonging thereto.

It is time now to show how some of our Country-men, in order to so advantageous a Project have already purchased an considerable Interest in a Plantation, which is justly esteemed not Inferiour, if not beyond any place, upon the whole continent of *America*, belonging to the *English* Dominions, called *East-New-Jersey*. The deduction of the right of it is thus,

The KING by Patent to the Duke of York granted a great tract of Land lying betwixt *Virginia* and *New-England*, It was formerly in the hand of the *Dutch*, and Considerably improved by them, and called *New-Netherlands*, And by treaty after the first *Dutch* Wars, Surrendered to the King that part of it, lying betwixt *Delaware* and *Hudsons River*, called *New-Cesaria*, or *New Jersey*; which is betwixt the 39 and 41 Degree of Northern Latitude: Was by the Duke of York granted to John, Lord Barkly, and Sir George Cartwright. That part, which belonged to the Lord Barkley, being assigned to Edward Billings. Afterwards by a Deed of Partition betwixt the said Edward Billings and Sir George Cartwright The West Part, lying upon *Delaware River*, was allotted to Edward Billings for his share, and the East part, lying upon *Hudsons River*, nearest to the Province of *New York*, was appointed to Sir George Cartwright for his share. Which part, now called *East-New-Jersey*, is from Sir George Cartwright conveyed to twelve Persons in and about London, who have since conveyed an half to other twelve, so that as well the Right of Government as the Soyl, standeth now in 24 Proprietors in favours of some of whom, the Duke of York has been lately pleased to make a new grant of Confirmation, both of Soyl and Government to the 24 Proprietors, with the same Powers and Priviledges, he has in his Patent from the King, which are as large as any other Plantation hath, for the Words of the Dukes Patent are as followeth;

The Patent from the KING, to JAMES Duke of York, &c.

CHARLES the Second, By the Grace of GOD, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c, To all Men to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting Know ye that WE, for diverse good Causes and Considerations, Us hereunto moving, have by



Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, Given and Granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successours, Do give and grant unto Our dearest Brother JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assignes, All that part of the Maine Land of New-England, beginning at a certain place, called or known by the name of Saint Croix, next adjoyning to New-Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the Coast, unto a certain place called Pemaquin, or Pemaquid, and so up the River thereof, to the farthest Head of the same as it tendeth Northward, and extendeth from the River Kennebec, and so upwards by the shortest course, to the River of Canada Northward; and all that Island or Islands commonly called by the several name or names of Mattawax, or Long-Island, situate and being towards the West of Cape-cod, and the narrow Heggansets, abutting upon the main Land between the two Rivers, there called or known by the several or names of Conectecute and Hudsons River, together also with the said River called Hudsons River, and all the land from the West-side of Conectecute River to the East-side of Delawar Bay; And also all those several Islands, called or known by the name of Martins-Vineyard, and Hantuckes, alias, Hantuckett; together with all the Lands, Islands, Soyls, Rivers, Harbours, Mines, Minerralls, Quarreys, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fishing, Hawkings, Huntings, and Fowlings, and all other Royalties, Profites, Commodities, and Hereditaments to the said several Islands, Lands and Premises belonging and appertaining, with their and every of their Appurtenances; and all Our Estate, Right, Title, and Interest, Benefit, and Advantage, Claime and Demand of, in, or to the said Islands or Premises, or any Part or Parcel thereof, and the Reversion and Reversions, Remainder and Reamainders, together with the Yearly and other Rents, Revenues and Profits of the Premises, and every Part and Parcel thereof; To Have and to Hold all and singular the Lands and Premises, with their, and every of their Appurtenances thereby given and granted, or herein before mentioned to be given or granted, unto Our said Dearest Brother, JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assignes for ever. To be Holden of Us, Our Heirs, and Successours, as of Our Mannour of East-Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite, or by Knights Service, Yeilding and Rendering. And the same JAMES Duke of York, for himself, his Heirs and Assignes, DOTH Covenant and Promise to yield and render unto US, Our Heirs, and Successours, of, and for the same yearly, and every year, Fourty Beaver-skins, when the same shall be demanded, or within ninety dayes after such Demand made. And We do further of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, for Vs, Our Heirs, and Suc-

cessours, give and grant unto Our said Dearest Brother, JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs, Deputes, Agents, Commissioners and Assignies, by these Presents full and absolute Power and Authority, to Correct, Punish, Pardon, Govern and Rule all such the Subjects of VS, Our Heirs and Successours, or any other Person or Persons, as shall for time to time adventure themselves into any the Parts or Places aforesaid; Or that shall or do at any time hereafter Inhabit within the same, according to such Laws, Orders, Ordinances, Directions, and Instructions, as by Our said Dearest Brother, or his Assignes shall be Established, and in defect thereof in cases of necessitie according to the good Directions of his Deputie Commissioners, Officers, or Assignes respectively, as well in cases and matters Capital, and Criminal, as Civil, and others; so always as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings be not contrary to, but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, and Government of this Our Realm of England; AND Saving and Reserving to Us, Our Heirs, and Successours, the Receiving, Hearing, and Determining the Appeale, and Appeals of any Person or Persons, of, in, or belonging to the Territories or Islands aforesaid, or touching any Judgement or Sentence to be there made, or given: And further, that it shal and may be Lawful to and for our said Dearest Brother, his Heirs, and Assignes, by these Presents, from time to time, to Nominate, Make, Constitute, Ordain, and Confirm such Laws, as aforesaid, by such Name, or Names, Stile or Stiles, as to him or them shal seem good: and likewise to Revoke, Discharge, Change, and Alter, as well all and singular Governours: Officers, and Ministers, which hereafter shall be by him or them thought fit and needful to be in, or used within the aforesaid Islands and Parts: and also to Make, Ordain, and Establish all manner of Laws, Orders, Directions, Instructions, Formes, and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy fit and necessarie for, and concerning the Government of Territories, and Islands aforesaid. So always as the same be not contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm of England, but as neer as may be conformable thereunto, and the same at all times hereafter to put in Execution or Abrogate, Revoke, or Change, not only within the precincts of the said Territories or Islands, but also upon the Seas in going and coming to and from the same, as he or they in their good Discretion shal think fittest for the good of the Adventures and Inhabitants. AND We do further of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, Grant, Ordain, and Declare, that such Governours, Deputies, Officers, and Ministers, as from time, to time, shall be Authorized, and appointed in manner and form aforesaid, shal and may have full power, and Authority

*within the Territories aforesaid, to use and exercise Martial Law, in cases of Rebellion, Insurrections, and Mutiny, in as large and ample a manner as our Lieutenants in our Countries within Our Realm of England, have, or ought to have, by force of their Commissions of Lieutenantancy, or any Law, or Statute, of this our Realm. AND We do further, by these presents for us our Heirs and Successors, grant unto our Dearest Brother JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assignes, that it shall and may be Lawful to and for the said James Duke of York, his Heirs and Assignes, in his or their Discretions, from time to time, to admit such and so many person or persons, to Trade and Traffique into and within the Territories and Islands aforesaid, and to every and any part and parcel thereof, and to have, possess, and enjoy any Lands, and Hereditaments in the part and places aforesaid, as they shall think fit, according to the Laws, Orders, Constitutions, and Ordinances, by our said Brother, his Heirs, Deputies, Commissioners, and Assignes, from time to time, to be made and established, by vertue of, and according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, and under such Conditions, Reservations, and Agreements, as our said Dearest Brother, his Heirs and Assignes, shall set down Order, Direct and Appoint; and not otherwise, as aforesaid. AND We do further, of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer motion, for US, Our Heirs, and Successors, Give and Grant, unto Our said Dearest Brother, his Heirs and Assignes, by these presents, that it shall and may be Lawful to, and for him, them, or any of them, at all and every time or times hereafter, out of any of Our Realms, or Dominions whatsoever, to take, load, carry, and transport, in, and unto their Voyages, for and towards the Plantations, of our Territories and Islands aforesaid, all such, and so many of our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers, being not Prohibited or under restraint, that will become our loving subjects, and live under our Allegiance, and shall willingly accompany them in the said Voyages, together with all such Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, or other things usually Transported, and not Prohibited, as shal be necessary for the Inhabitants of the said Islands, and Territories, and for the use and defence thereof, and Managing, and carrying on the Trade, with the People there. Yeelding and paying unto Vs, our Heirs and Successors, the Customes and Duties thereof, due and payable, according to Laws and Customes of this Our Realm. And We do also for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant unto Our said Dearest Brother JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assignes, and to all and every such Governour or Governours, or Deputies, their Officers, or Ministers, as by our said Brother, his Heirs or Assignes shall be appointed, to have*

*Power and Authority of Government, and Command in, and over the Inhabitants of the said Territories, and Islands, that they and every of them, shal, and may lawfully, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, For their several Defence and safty, Encounter, Repulse, Expel, and Resist, by force of Armes, as well by Sea, as by Land, and all wayes, and means whatsoever, all such Person and Persons, as without the special Licence of our Dearest Brother, his Heirs and Assignes, shall attempt to Inhabite within the several Precincts, and Limits, of our said Territories and Islands; and also all, and every such Person, and Persons whatsoever, as shall Enterprize, and Attempt, at any time hereafter, the Destruction, Invasion, Detriment, or Annoyance, to the parts, places, or Islands aforesaid, or any parts thereof. And Lastly, Our will and pleasure is, And We do hereby declare, and grant, that these our Letters Patents, or the Inrollment thereof, shall be good and effectual, in the Law, to all intents, and purposes whatsoever, notwithstanding the not well, and true Reciting, or mentioning of the premisses, or any part thereof, or the Limits, or Bounds thereof: or of any form, or other Letters Patents, or Grants whatsoever made, or Granted of the premisses, or of any part thereof, or the Limits or bounds thereof, or of any former, or other Letters Patents, or Grants, whatsoever made, or granted, of the premisses, or of any part thereof, by US, or any of Our Progenitors, unto any Person, or Persons, whatsoever bodies, Politique, or Corporate, any other Law or other restraint, in certainty, or imperfection, whatsoever, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding, Although, express mention of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants by Us, or by any of our Progenitors heretofore made to the said James Duke of York, in these presents, is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restriction heretofore had, made, enacted, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding: In Witness whereof, We caused these Letters, to be made Patents, Witness, Our Self, at Westminster, the 29. day of June, in the 16. Year of Our Reign.*

The SCOTS Proprietors are, James, Earl of Perth, John Drummond of Lundy, Lord Treasurer Depute, Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Register, Robert Gordon of Cluny, Arent Sonmans (a Dutchman, but interested with the SCOTS Proprietors) Robert Barkley of Vrie, Robert Burnet of Lethenty, Gavine Laurie; Seven parts of the 24. belongs to these Persons, which, by the most modest Calculation, is thought, will be near Five hundred thousand Acres.

This Province or Collony lyes betwixt 39 and 41 Degrees of Latitude, being about 12 Degrees

more to the *South*, than the *City of London*. It is in the same Climate with the Kingdom of *Naples*, and *Montpelier in France*. The Summer is hotter, and longer then in *England*, and the Winter colder and shorter, the days about an hour longer in Winter, and as much shorter in Summer. Is bounded *South-East* with the *Maine Sea*, *East* by that vast Navigable Stream, called *Hudsons River*, which divides this from the Province of *New-York*, *West* by a Line of Division, which separates this Province from *West-Jersey*, and *North* upon the *Main Land*. And Extends it self in length upon the *Sea Coast* and alongst *Hudsons River*, one hundred *English Mylls* and upward.

The Scituation of this Countrey is just, as it were, in the Center of the *English Plantations in America*, betwixt the *South parts of Carolina*, which is over hot; and the *North parts of Pennsylvania*, next *New Scotland*, which are coldest; so that its Conveniency of scituation, temperature of the Aire, and fertilitie of the soyl is such, that there is no less than seven towns considerable already, (*viz.*) *Shreuteburry, Middletown, Berghen, New-varik, Elizabeth-town, Woodbridge, and Piscatawady*, which are well inhabited, by a sober and industrious People, who have necessary Provisions for themselves, and families, and for the comfortable entertainment of Travellers, and Strangers.

And the Quittrents, or Fewes (as they are here called) of these Towns and other Plantations, already in the Countrey, yeelds to the 24 Proprietors above 500 *lib.* sterling, yearly Revenue, and the Air of this Collony, is experimentally found generally to agree well with *English* Constitutions, and Consequently with Ours.

For Navigation, it hath these advantages, not only to be scituate along the Navigable parts of *Hudsons River*, but lyes also fiftie Mills along the *Maine Sea*, and near the Midest of this Province is that notted Bay for Ships within *Sandy-Hook*, very well known, not to be inferiour to any Harbour in *America*, where Ships not only harbour in greatest storms, but there Ryde safe with all Winds, and Sail in and out thence as well in *Winter* as *Summer*. For Fishery, the Sea-banks are very well Stored with variety of Fishes, not only such as are profitable for Exportation but such as are fit for Food there; There are *Whales, Coad-fish, Col and Hake-fish, and Large Mackeril*, and also, many other sorts of Small and Flat-fish; The Bay, also, and *Hudsons River*, are plentifully stored with *Strugeon*, and other *Scal-fish, Eills, and Shel-fish*, as *Oysters*, in abundance.

This Countrey is also plentifully supplied with Lively-springs, *Rivolets, Inland-Rivers, and Creeks*, which fall into the *Sea*, and *Hudsons River*, in which also there is varietie of Fresh-fish, and water Fowl.

There are little hills from *Rariton-River*, which is about the middle of this Province, that go to the verie *North-West-bounds* of it, in which are abundance of good Mill-Stons to be had, and there is many, both *Corne*, and Saw-milnes set, and setting up already, also, on the other Side of these Mountains, there is brave fresh *Rivolets*, fit for setting of *In-Land-Towns*, and a great deal of Meadow-ground upon the banks thereof, So that there is abundance of Hay to be had for Fodering of Cattle in the Winter time, and these Meadows shows the Countrey is not altogether covered with timber.

Its true, the first difficulty, meets people in Planting there, is the cutting down Wood (Tho having some Meadow intermixt already well covered with Hay, is a great ease) yet the trouble is compensated by the advantage, which the timber being cut down, yeelds, being good Oake, fit for Shipping, and Masts; and also, Chesnute, Walnut, Poplar, Cedar, Ash, Firr; And also, by the fertility of the Soyl, being cleared, which yeelds a vast increase, not only of *Indian Corn*, which is a very wholesome Food, but of *English grain*, as Wheat, and Barley, whereof it usually yeelds betwixt the 20. and 30<sup>th</sup> fold, and with fare less labour (the Timber being once removed) then in *Brittain*. And to shew the labour of cutting down the Trees, and clearing the ground, is not so great as some may Imagine, It is known by experience, that two men ariving there in *September*, or *October*, may clear as much ground, as usually brings by Harvest following twenty Quarters, that is about 40 *Scots Bolls* of grain.

This Countrey also, produceth good Flax, and Hemp, which they now spine, and Manufacture into Linnen Cloath, and the very *Barrans* there (as they are called) are not most in *Brittain*, but produceth Grass fit for Grazing Cattle in Summer time; There is also upon Ground (already cleared) store of good *English Clover-Grass* growing, the Countrey is well storid with wild Deir, Connies, and wild Fowl of severally sorts; As Turkeys, Pidgeons, Partridges, Plevvers, Quails, wild Swans, and Geese, Ducks, in great plenty; It produceth variety of good and delicious Fruits, as Grapes, Plumes, Mulberries, and also; Appricocks, Peaches, Pears, Apples, Quinches, Water-Millons, which are in *England* planted in Orchards, and Gardens; but grew there with fare less labour, and many more Fruits, which come not to perfection in *England*, are the more natural product of this Countrey. It is thought Olives would grow well there, and being store of Mulberrie-Trees, Silk-Worms would do well there; for they were tried in *Virginia*, and proved very well, if the laziness of the People, and there being wholly set upon Tobacco, and the Interest of Merchants, who were afraid it might spoil there Silk-Trade from the *Straits*, had not hindered

To shew how Fruit-Trees do advance in that Country, it is credibly reported, that about *Burlington*, in *West Jarsey*, which is more *North-ernly* then the greatest part of this Province, from an Apple-tree-Seed in four years, (without grafting) there sprung a tree, that in the fourth year bore such a quaintitie of Apples, as yeilded a barrrell of Syder.

There is there also, great store of Horses, Cowes, Hoges, and some Sheep, which may be bought at reasonable pryces with *English* money, or *English* Commodities, or mans labour; where goods and mony are wanting.

For Minerals, It is thought there are not wanting of several sorts, For there is an Iron work already set up, where there is good Iron made; And also, there is discovered already abundance of Black-Lead.

It is exceeding well furnished with safe, convenient Harbours, for Shipping, which is of great Advantage, and afords already for exportation, great plenty of Horses, and also Beef, Pork, Pipstaves, Bread, Flower, White, Barly, Rye, *Indian* Corn, Butter, and Cheese, which they export for *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, *Mexico*, and other adjacent Islands; As also to *Portugal*, *Spaine*, and the *Canarys*. their *Whale-Oyl*, and *Whale-Fines*, *Beaver*, *Mink*, *Racon*, and *Martine-skins* (which this Country produces) they transport for *England*.

The *Indian* Natives in this Country are but few, Comparative to the Neighbouring Collony, And these that are there, are so from being formidable, and injurious to the Planters, and Inhabitants, that they are really serviceable, and advantageous to them, not only in hunting, and taking the Deer, and all other wild Creatures, and catching of Fish, and Fowl fit for food, in their seasons; but in the killing and destroying of Bears, Wolves, Foxes, and other Vermine; whose skins and furs they bring the *English*, and sell at less pryce, then the value of time that people must spend to take them. Like as, that this Collony may be founded in Justice, and without any thing of Oppression, as all that is already Planted, is truly Purchased from the *Indians*, so there is a great deal more of the Province cleared by their consent, and all is intended by paction with them to be obtained, so that whoever Purchase, or Plant under the Proprietors, shall be freed of that incumbrance; and if there were any hazard from the *Indians*, as really there is none, yet this Province could hardly be in any danger, In respect that to the *North*, upon the *Main-Land*, from whence the hazard, if any must come, the Province of *New-York* comes betwixt it and them, and 20. miles and more, above upon *Hudsons* River, there is a Fort called *New-Albany*.

There were Constitutions of Government made by the Lord *Barkley*, and Sir *George Cartwright*,

in which such provision was made, both for Liberty of Religion, and Propertie, that the Province hath been considerably Peopled, and many resorted there from the Neighbouring Collonies, so that the Planters are able already to Muster 500 well armed Men.

There are already 3. of the 24. Proprietors, gone upon the place, and 2. goes this Summer from *Ireland*, these already arryved, have been cheerfully received by the Inhabitants, and submitted to, the Houses belonging to the Proprietors, put in their possession, and publick Records delivered them, and have received address from the Inhabitants, wherein they promise to stand to, and defend the Proprietors, with their Lives and Fortunes: One of these Proprietors Bears the Character of *Depute Governour*, and another of *Surveyor General*, and Receiver of the *Quittrents*.

There is Order given that in the several most convenient Places, *Ten thousand Acres* be set out to each of the 24. Proprietors to them to sell, set out, or dispose of, as they please; and when that shall be any ways Peopled or brought in, then the Proprietors will either jointly sell out the rest, or make a new Divident, as they find most convenient, for it is probably believed, according to the most equal Conjecture, that every 24. part will contain 80000 *Acres*.

The Proprietors have framed a new Schem of Government, which is not yet fully concluded one, but is intended rather to be an enlarging, than an abbreviating of the former, and making it more easie, and advantagious for the Inhabitants, the Chief parts of it are;

That the 24. Proprietors shall chuse a Governour, 16. of them has a Conclusive Vote in it, after the death of him now chosen, he shall continue but for 3. years, and be lyable to the Censure of the Proprietors, and great Counsel, and punishable if he transgress. There is a great Counsel to meet once a year (and sit, if they see meet, for 3. Moneths) consisting of the 24. Proprietors, and 48. chosen by the Planters, and Inhabitants, two thirds Conclude, the one half of the Proprietors assenting; and no money can be raised, or Law made, to touch any mans Libertie or Property, but by this Counsel. There is a Common Counsel to sit constantly, Consisting of the 24. Proprietors, or their Proxies, and nine chosen out of the Representatives of the Planters, in all 33. to be divided into three Commities; 11. to each, one for the Publick Policie: One for the Treasure and Trade, and one for Plantations.

To avoid Lording over one another, No Man can purchase above the 24th. part of the Country; And on the other hand, least any should squander away their Interest, and yet retain the Character of the Government, that belongs to Property, and thence be capable to betray it, as

not being bound by Interest, there must be a suitable quantity retained, otherwise the Title in the Government extinguishes in him, and passes to another, to be Elected by the Proprietors, that *Dominion* may follow *Property* and the inconvenience of a *beggarly Nobility*, and *Gentry* may be avoided.

No man can be judged in any cause, either Civil, or Criminal, but by a Jury of his Peers, and to avoid in that all Caballin, the names of all the County or Neighbour-hood, capable to be Chosen, are to be write in Little pieces of Parchement, and the number of the Jury to be taken out by a Child under 10. years of age, And the proprietors as well as others are to be Lyable to the like tryall, and not under any Exception.

Libertie in matters of Religion is established in the fullest manner. To be a Planter or Inhabitant, nothing is more required but the acknowledging of one *Almighty GOD*, and to have a Share in the Government, A simple profession of faith of Jesus Christ, without descending into any other of the differences among Christians, only that Religion may not be a cloak for disturbance, whoever comes into the Magistrature, must declare, they hold not themselves in Conscience obliged, for Religions sake, to make an alteration, or to endeavour to turn out their partners, in the Government, Because they differ in Opinion from them, and this is no more then to follow that great Rule, *To do as they would be done by*.

These are the fundamentals, which are not alterable by any act of the great Councill, as other things, by these voices of 2. thirds, but only by an universal agreement; so it is hoped, that this hint will satisfie all sober and understanding people, what Encouragement such a Government may give.

For the matter of Purchase, It may be by purchasing a whole proprietie, or a half, in which several persons may joyn, and the number be already filled up, yet if any persons here, offer to the proprietors, of whose Integrity and Industrie they are satisfied, they might use means to make room for them, and albeit the pryses be much advanced within this year, yet, it may be made appear, that a purchase of a Propriety may be had here more easily, then any of the Neighbouring Plantations.

These that are not disposed, or have not Stock for such a purchase, may buy a certain number of *Acres* from any of the Proprietors, as a part of the 10000. to be set out to each of them this Summer; and, tho the price of that may seem higher, then what is usually talked of in some other Plantations, yet, considering the choice of the Land, and the advantages of situation for Trade, with the consideration of its being so well Peopled already, which is the chief thing

makes Land valuable, (for in a Wilderness a great dail of Land signifies little) It will be found a good Bargain, and a very modest price, to give a 100. *lib. sterling* for 500. *Acres*, at which Price it may be afforded any time before the first of *October* next, and not afterwards.

The Proprietors have also Ordered to be set out upon a place, called *Ambo point* (which has a good and convenient Harbour, and a pleasant and wholesome place) 1500. *Acres* for to build a Town, this is to be divided into 150. Lots, and every Lot is to consist of ten *Acres*, and is to be sold at 20. *lib. sterling*, provyding it be done before the first of *July* next, before the ship go from SCOTLAND; For, after that time we cannot promise to accommodate any, least all be taken up, for many are offering upon the place; and the Proprietors intend to have each a house built there, upon their own Account this Summer; now this will be found a very good Bargain, considering there is 300 of the 1500. *Meadow* ground, so that each lot is like to have 2. *Acres* of *Meadow* ground belonging to it, which is of great value.

For *Husband-men* that hes a Stock, able to transport themselves and Families, with a few Servants, and to have but a 1000. pound Scots, or a 1000. Merks more, to carry over in Commodities, they shall have upon their arrivall 100 *Acres* of good ground, measured out to them, or above, not exceeding 500. *Acres*; And for their encouragement, shall for the first 7. years pay nothing, and then have what they please, not under 100. nor exceeding 500. *Acres*, confirmed to them, and their heirs for ever, paying half a Crown an *Acre*, never to be raised upon them; And for the Charge of the first year, they may easily Calculate it, by carrying over as much *Oat-meal*, as will serve them *Bread*, and the freight will be inconsiderable, and they will get flesh enough in the Countrey for killing, without charge, and will be able to clear more ground the first winter, then will double serve their Families after the first harvest, so that they will only have to buy with the Commodities they carry over with them, Seed, and Beasts.

The Charge of transportation, is, for every Man and Woman 5. *lib. sterling*, passage and intertainment, for Children under 10. years of age, 50. shillings and Sucking Children nothing, 40. shillings for the tunne of goods, and often under.

The Voyage is Judged lesse Sea hazard then either to *Holland*, or *London*, and if there be any tollerable winds, it is easily made in 6. weeks, There went a ship last harvest to *West Jarsey*, from the Road of *Aberdeen*: and they came to *Delaware-River-mouth* in 8. weeks, though they had great Calmes, and of betwixt 30. and 40. passengers that out of *Aberdeen* several women, and Children, not above 4. of them had been at

Sea before, not one dyed, nor was sick by the way.

For ordinary servants, who are willing to go over, after 4. Years service from the time of their arrivall there, (during which time they shall be well entertained in meat and Cloathing) they shall have Set out to each 25. Acres to them and theirs for ever, payment 2. pence an Acre, as much Corne as will sow an Acre, and a Sute of now Cloaths; Now, Consider that there is 5. pound Sterling payed for their passage, this is good termes; and that after the terme of their Service is expired, they will gain more in one year there, then they can do in two at home, towards the gaining of a Stock to their land, and it may be easily conceived ed that they will be well treated by their Masters, since it is their Interest to do so there more then here, for that they would be Considerable Losers, either by their Death, or sickness, being out so great an advance for them, if, by any hardship, they should be disabled to serve out their times.

All Sorts of Tradesmen may make a brave Livelyhood there, such as Carpenters, Shipwrights, Rope-makers, Smiths, Brick-makers, Taylors, Tanners, Cowpers, Mill-wrights, Joyners, Shoemakers, &c. and any such like, who are willing to go serve the four years, not having to transport themselves, shall in Consideration of their Trade, have (after the expiring of their Service) 30. Acres, at 2. pence the Acre, as much Corn as well sowe 2. Acres, a Cow and a Sow: And for the encouragement of any such Tradersmen, who are willing to go over and transport themselves, they shal have the like quantitie of Land, at the same rent, and the Proprietors will oblige themselves to find them work for a year, after their arrivall, at as good Rates as they can have here, untill they furnish themselves with some Stock to make better advantage upon the place.

We will not encourage any to go there in expectation of Gold and Silver Mines; yea, tho there were such in the Countrey, We should not be curious nor industrious to seek them out: being, besides the Toyl, and Labour, but occasions of envy, and Emulation: Nor, yet is there Suggar or Indigo there, or Cotton, nor any store of Tobacco, tho it grows there very well, But We consider it not our interest to imploy much ground on it; The Riches of this Countrey Consists in that which is most Substantial and necessar for the us of man, to wit, plenty of Corn and Cattle (and they have besides Vines, and Fruits in abundance, as before has been said) so that who dwell here need not to be obliged to any other Plantation, for any thing necessary, for life; and all the other Plantations are beholden to them for necessaries, without which, their other Curiosities would little avail them: This, with the Province of New-York, being the Granary or Store-house

of the West-Indies, without which Barbadoes and the Lee-wards-Islands, could not subsist: Yea, New-England is forced to come there every year for Corn, this, with the advantage of Fishery, being Considered, will easily induce sober and industrious People, to prefer a Plantation here to most other places.

There will a Ship go from Leith about Mid-Summer next, which will also call at Aberdeen: such as desire to be more fully informed, or to treat with any of the Proprietors, may address themselves to Andrew Hamiltons, at the sign of the Ship, over against the Court of Guard, in Edinburgh; or at David Falconers, Merchant there, who will either give them satisfaction, or find them occasion to treat with some of the Proprietors. Also, at Aberdeen, information may be had from George Pyper, and Thomas Mercer, who will be heard of at Robert Gerards, or John Leitch, their Shops in the Broad-Gate.

FINIS.

## VI.—HOW HISTORY IS WRITTEN, NOW-A-DAYS.

*The Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, of the eighth of February, has bravely told, without blushing, how our history as well as that of the French is being transmitted to future ages, by "the great" men of this generation.

We thank it for thus unwittingly exposing the frauds which are demoralizing if they are not "denationalizing" our country and our age; and we thank it, also, for the admirable consistency with which it has boldly apologized for falsehood in one issue and as fearlessly and approvingly recorded the practise of it in another. It has not a word of censure or disapprobation for the "great historian of France" who reads nothing, or next to nothing, but a table of dates, and who "writes his book LIKE A NOVEL"; while for Mr. Carpenter who "thought the POPULARITY of his work would be injured" by telling the truth, and so deliberately recorded a falsehood, it has had column after column of praise.

The faithful, conscientious Historian, the uncompromising lover of Truth and hater of Falsehood, can very well dispense with the approval of such a Censor: its condemnation will be his best reward.

The words of *The Transcript*, adopted by it and adapted to its readers' tastes, are as follows:

### I.

"— How to write history is thus told by a great "historian of France: 'I prepare, in the first place,

## 16.—MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO —.\*

HAVERSTRAW, Oct<sup>o</sup>. 4th 1780.

DEAR —,

I am thus far on my Return from H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>r</sup> where I have finished my last Duty to *poor Andre* of whom I wrote you particularly before. I have begged this scrap of paper of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wayne (whose Brigade is at this place) to inform You that Major *Andre* was hanged on the 2<sup>d</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> 12 O'clock. His Conduct was unparelled on the occasion. He met death with a smile, cheerfully marching to the place of Execution & bidding his friends who had been with him farewell.

He called me to him a few minutes before he swung off and expressed his Gratitude to me for my Civilities in such a way & so cheerfully bid me adieu that I was obliged to leave the parade in a flood of tears. I cannot say enough of his fortitude—unfortunate youth! I wish Arnold had been in his place.

J. Smith is now under Tryal & I trust will receive his reward. Adieu

Yours sincerely  
BENJ<sup>n</sup> TALLMADGE

## 17.—GENERAL GREENE TO COLONEL WADSWORTH.†

MORRISTOWN June 17<sup>th</sup> 1780

DEAR SIR

I came to this place this morning; Since my arrival here, the General has forwarded me a letter with information that General Clinton is arrived. The Express that brings you this has letters for Governor Trumbull from the General, desiring a reenforcement of Militia at West Point, and a large supply of Provisions. What can I say to you, to urge you to involve your private affairs further, is ungracious, and unless there is great Individual exertion I foresee ruin awaits us: For the Legislators moves so slow that relief of provisions will come too late.

Kniphausen remains just as he did when you left us; but since which the Enemy have built a bridge over the Sound from Staten Island to Elizabethtown point. Doubtless Sir Harry will attempt something as his pride is great from his Successes in the Southward.

Yours affct

COL. WADSWORTH.

N GREENE

## 18.—JEHUDA ASHMUN, AGENT FOR THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, TO CAPT. ENOCH PREBLE, OF PORTLAND, MAINE.\*

CAPE MESURADO Jany. 25<sup>th</sup>, 1825.

Dear Sir

I had the happiness to learn your safe return to the United States, and to the bosom of your family, by Capt. Barton, whom Alas! a severe providence has detained forever from his country and his home. he arrived here about the 20 Decem<sup>b</sup> staid a week—doubled Cape Palmas and, after a seven days illness, died. Last week has presented a sad example of the deadly effects of our climate—three vessels in our roads, all in charge of their mates, (during the present voyage) have lost their masters they were our Packet the Fidelity 4 months out—the Charles of Boston, nine and the Romp of Portland about three,—But our settlement is healthy; and let white men but keep their own limits, and leave this country to the people, in whose possession the Almighty has left it and few could boast of a more healthful population.—

When we parted in May last, I Intended never to become a resident of the Cape again, but there is a Providence that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will—my health became in a few weeks perfectly reestablished, the freedom from care which I enjoy'd at Bissao, aided by De mattos's† hospitality plenty of leisure and good books—a fine country to range in and an abundance of Game, all conspired to repair my wasted spirits, and made most of my time pass pleasurly enough.—But the blackguard Portuguese! except De mattos, (in whom a vein of natural politeness and generosity serves to keep up a show, and answer some of the purposes of honesty.) I met with none who did not prove themselves abandoned, & profligate to the last degree. my mercantile transactions however trifling, served to amuse away a part of my time; and from having to watch the rogues so closely, gave me indeed, at times, too much employment—what by stealing, cheating, and exactions under the colour of legal duties, I was happy to escape with the loss of about \$250 dollars not one cent less.—so much for Bissao—on my passage out July 17, 1824 what should I see, the second day paraded on deck, but a Coffle of Slaves in Irons. Yes sir, The United States Agent for suppressing the slave trade, was confined for 17 days on board of a Portuguese Slaver; and that after the assurance of the Governor, that the Brig carried nothing but rice.

Arriving at St. Jago July 4th I was privileged to breath a little more freely there, though denied the expected gratification of meet-

\* From the original in the collection of George Brinley, Esq., Hartford, Conn.

† From the original in the collection of Nathl. Paine, Esqr., Worcester, Mass.

\* Communicated by G. H. Preble, Esq. Charlestown, Mass.

† The Governor of Bissao.

ing you, I had the pleasure of learning of your safe arrival at Bonavista, and sailing, all in good health a few days before, the dry & thirsty air of that dusty Island was much less congenial to my habit, induced by a long residence on the Coast, than the climate of Bissao, but the little american & english society I fell into there, more than supplied the disadvantage, Mr Hodges has a very amiable and obliging little yankee Lady for his wife, and Mr Clark the English Resident, a certainly no less accomplished, and scarcely less amiable Lady of his own Nation—all understood well the duties which hospitality imposes on all who have the privilege of exercising it in this country—and nothing but the recollection of former scenes of domestic & conjugal happiness, now past, & irrevocable, prevented me from tasting that of my novel situation—meantime my Letters left in the Colony had reached Washington. I never before inform'd you, Sir, in what a Miserable state of anarchy, & confusion I left my People. They had taken a strong disgust at certain measures of Doctor Ayres my Predecessor—he had abandoned the Colony in bad health some of his measures I had judged unadvisable, and freely reversed them. They rose & demanded a reform of all. This I refused them. they then had recourse to violence. I opposed with force and arms. They compromised so far as to give over resistance—and await the decision of the question of their grievances, from the board at home—one of these related to the quantity and allocation of their lands, I consented—but insisted, on the alternative of representing them: in a state of Rebellion & treason to the United States, on their immediately occupying & cultivating their plantations. this they had refused, three days before the arrival of the Reporter, at Mesurado.

I resolved, instantly, to consult my health, and withdraw 'till an Armed force should arrive from the United States—my letter went home before the Reporter reach'd Goree, and the aid I had requested arrived at St. Jago, July 23<sup>d</sup> by the Porpoise Ship of War—We arrived via Seira Leon, Augt. 17 found the Colony reduced by the party spirit which had reigned in my absence—and the alarm, insecurity and disasters it had caused, to a deep & penitent sense of its former folly—I was met at the landing by half the settlement with tears of Joy—it was half an hour before I could disengage myself from their embraces. and get up the hill.—Every word was contrition & acquiescence, Not a regulation adopted, but met their almost, or quite Unanimous concurrence—they declared themselves ready to offer their lives in support of the Govern<sup>t</sup>. under which the Society, with their own consent had placed them.—This disposition has continued, Industry, order, union & Loyalty

—characterize, I say it with confidence, no community on earth, in a higher degree than that of Mesurado. I have a small body of troops, at disposal, under a Lieutenants command, but have occasion to employ them only for defence against external annoyance. The Govern<sup>t</sup>. has also allowed me a Secretary, Superintendant of captur'd Africans, conductor of Ordinance, and one or two other useful assistants, with competent salaries. Improvements of every description, have had a march which I am positive would astonish you, Indeed sir, you would on approaching our Cape now, slacken sail and re-examine your reckoning. you would not believe it Mesurado.—Our settlement extends towards the Ocean, near to the Point of the Cape, and with the Plantations nearly 5 miles along the sea coast—and including seven public buildings there are 55. chiefly substantial dwellings, of Frame and Stone work, in hand—the govern<sup>t</sup> has since Mr Southards accession to the Navy department, been sufficiently liberal and we hope will be more so.

My dear sir your kindness shown to me on the passage to Bissao, & thence 'till our separation, shall never be forgotten, I send on board the "Romp" for you a trifling specimen of African ingenuity, which, tho' no curiosity to yourself, may prove so to some of the less—travelled members of your family—.

My health, thank the good Lord has continued good (that is, as Africa Often allows to foreigners) since my return. Heaven only knows when, if ever I am to see my native country again. I am afraid my Superiors in America intend to forget to discharge me 'till the Climate does the work for them. But we must die soon—and a mind disposed to prepare at all, for that awfull event has some advantages to do it in Africa, of which the Allurements of civilized & artificial life, tend strongly to deprive it of. The great security to contentment and peace of mind, after all, is not any advantages of situation—but confidence in God our everlasting friend and Keeper, thro' our blessed Redeemer.—I hope I am not wholly without this faith and reliance—and even this hope is a treasure which the heart wou'd not exchange for all the Gold of the Continent—Present me Respectfully to your family & assure yourself Dear sir, of my unfeigned esteem & very respectful consideration.

J. ASHMUN.

CAPT. PREBLE  
Portland.



## 19.—ADMIRAL PAGET, R.N., TO MR. GARDINER.\*

SIR

I have discovered a degree of doubt and suspicion in the minds of the officers of the Squadron I command in regard to the disposition of the inhabitants of Gardiners Island toward us. In order therefor that there should in future be no mistrust on the one hand or any plea of ignorance attempted to be established on the other This is to give notice to you & you are hereby looked upon as the person the first to proclaim the purport of this communication throughout the Island "That the said Gardiners Island has been permitted the indulgence of remaining in its present peaceable Situation throughout the War & is still enjoying it by *Sufferance* only & therefor "if ever the most trivial instance of hostility is ever practiced upon any Boat or upon any individual whatsoever belonging to the Squadron under my command or if it should ever be discovered that any men under Arms or any Military whatsoever are landed on the said Island, "The most Serious consequences will be visited upon you & your property & that there may be "no possible grounds for our mistaking each other I hereby in writing set down the terms upon which alone Gardiners Island will be permitted to remain unmolested Supplies will be "required from time to time as hitherto"

I am Sir

Your very humble serv<sup>t</sup>

CHARLES PAGET

Senior officer of a Squadron of His Britonic Majesty's ships Off New London &c &c &c

[Addressed] "On the Kings Service  
"To Mr. GARDINER  
"Gardiner's Island"

## 20.—GENERAL JAMES MILLER, U.S.A., TO GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.†

BOSTON March 4th 1815

SIR

I have the honour to acknowledge the rec<sup>t</sup> of your Excellency's highly gratifying communication of the 24 Dec<sup>r</sup> last with its inclosed Resolutions of the Hon. Senate and Assembly of the State of New York approbatory of my conduct during the last campaign and unanimously voting me a Sword in testimony thereof—

The execution of duty is a Soldiers consolation

and its acknowledgment by a grateful Country his richest reward—

To me it will ever be a source of happy reflection that my conduct has been such as to meet the approbation of so very respectable and enlighten'd a Body of my Countrymen as that of the Legislature of New York—

Your Excellency will be pleased to accept for yourself and present to the Hon. Senate and Assembly of the State over which you preside my grateful acknowledgements for the highly pleasing and liberal expressions of your approbation as well as for your very honourable testimonial

I have the honor to be  
with sentiments of the  
highest respect

Your Excellency's  
most ob<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES MILLER Brig<sup>ad</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>  
U S Army

His Excellency  
DANIEL D TOMPKINS

## 21.—RICHARD RIKER TO GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.\*

N YORK 15 March 1815.

D SIR.

Allow me to return to you & to the Council my thanks for the flattering manner in which the office of Recorder of this city has been conferred upon me.

I have this day taken on myself its duties, and I beg you to be assured that I shall use my best endeavours to execute them with diligence & uprightness.

The Gentlemen associated with me shall receive from me every facility, & I confidently believe, that the public business will be so conducted, as to merit & receive the approbation of the Community & be reputable to your administration.

With sincere respect & esteem  
I am your Ob<sup>t</sup>. Sver<sup>t</sup>.  
R: RIKER.

His Exy.  
Gov<sup>r</sup>. TOMPKINS.

## VIII.—CHAMPLAIN AND THE DISCOVERY OF HIS TOMB.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.

Last Christmas was the two hundred and thirty-first anniversary of the day when the people

\* The letter was received from a gentleman a stranger, whose name and address were lost in the parcel of manuscript referred to in our last number. We are sorry to say, therefore, that we cannot give his name or address

† From the original in the collection of the Editor.

\* From the original in the collection of the Editor.

of the little French town of Quebec, a mere dot amid the Canadian snows, followed to the grave, their great leader and guide, Samuel de Champlain, who had, amid every discouragement and in spite of all obstacles, struggled to plant a permanent colony in the New World.

He expired on the 25th of December, 1635, after an illness of two months and a half, attended by the Jesuit missionaries, with whom he had lived an almost conventual life after the departure of his wife for France,\* closing, in the utmost peace and calm, a life of much vicissitude and many a stirring scene.

Born at Brouage, in Xaintonge, in 1567 or 1570, of a respectable, and it would seem even noble family, he had early sought a military career, and in the struggles of Henry IV. to reach the throne, young Champlain fought stoutly for the King in Brittany, under the orders of d'Aumont de St. Luc and Brissac.

Peace did not send him to quiet or a barrack life. The family were men of the sea, and as his uncle held high rank in the Spanish navy, being Pilot General of the Naval Armies, he sought employment in the same service, and when the Spanish retired from Blavet, their last hold in Brittany, he proceeded with them to San Lucar and, in 1599, made a voyage to Mexico, in the St. Julian, and drew up an account of his visit in a journal which has come to light in our day, and been published in English by the Hakluyt Society, the original French being withheld from the press in France by a sort of literary foreteller, who has for years been threatening much and giving nothing.

He had just returned to France, in 1602, when it was proposed to him to sail to New France for De Monts, who had secured a patent. The prospect suited one whose taste for adventure had received a stimulus from what he had witnessed on the Spanish Main. He accepted the offer, and his whole after career became identified with the extension of a French colonial empire in America.

Sailing with Pontgravé in 1603, he pushed past Tadoussac and ascended the St. Lawrence, as Cartier had done in the previous century, as far as the Sault St. Louis, above the island of Montreal. Returning, he sailed back, reaching Havre de Grace in September, 1603, with several Indians, including an Iroquois woman, whom he had rescued from the stake. His account of the

first Canadian voyage soon saw the light. But De Monts' views were turned to Acadia. From 1604 to 1607, Champlain labored to carry out the schemes of his countryman, and made so accurate a survey of the coast, as far down as Cape Cod, that the maps for the next century were based on his, and are valuable as they approach the original.

In 1607, he was sent out with a vessel to trade at Tadoussac. The Saint Lawrence seemed to him the real spot for the colony, and on the 3d of July, 1608, he founded Quebec. He won permanently to France the two great Indian families of the country, the Huron and Algonquin, becoming, as their ally, involved in a war with the Iroquois, which was ever to hamper his newly established colony.

Indefatigable and adventurous, he penetrated to the Lake which bears his name, and not only reached Upper Canada, but from thence marched with an Indian army to assail the palisades of their enemies in Western New York.

In 1629, he was compelled to surrender to Kirk, a French refugee in the English service, but in 1632 was once more in Quebec, as Lieutenant of Cardinal Richelieu. He did not long survive to direct the destinies of restored Canada.

On his death, a special vault was prepared for the reception of his honored remains, and here his body was laid, probably early in the summer of the following year, as it would have been impossible in December to make the excavation and construct the brickwork. Unfortunately, the Jesuit *Relation* of the year entered into no details as to the ceremony, nor does it even mention the place of interment; and no other contemporaneous publication alluded to the matter. The first Registers of Quebec perished by fire in 1640, so that there is not even that source to guide a research. No monument appears to have been raised, and, in lapse of time, even tradition failed to mark the spot. The first allusion to the tomb of Champlain is in the relation of 1643, in which Father Raymbault is said to have been interred "near the body of the late Mr. de Champlain, who "is in a private vault (*sepulchre particulier*) "erected expressly to honor the memory of the "distinguished personage, who has laid New "France under such obligations." (*Relation*, 1643, p. 3.) This has been generally misunderstood, some supposing Raymbault to have been interred in the same vault, others in the Sarcophagus intended for Champlain.

When the study of the early Canadian history revived in our day, the Chapel beneath whose shadow Champlain lay was conceded on all hands to be "Notre Dame de Recouvrance," which stood on or near the site of the present Anglican Cathedral. Such was the opinion of all. The careful Mr. Ferland so states in his *Cours d'Histoire*,

\* He married Helen Boullé, sister of a fellow-navigator, who, though at the time a Prote-tant, returned to the ancient faith, and, on her husband's death, became an Ursuline nun, under the name of Mother Helen de St. Augustine. She died at Meaux, December 20, 1654, at the age of fifty-six, in a convent which she had founded (*Cronique de l'Ordre des Ursulines; Les Ursulines de Quebec*, 352). They left no issue, the only heir appearing to claim any right in his estate being a cousin.—*SHEA'S Charlevoix*, ii., 68.

Vol. 1, p. 293, and declares that that church was styled "the Chapel of Champlain," an expression used in the Register containing the entry of Raymbault's interment.

The Abbé Laverdière, to whom we are indebted for a rectification of the error, long shared the common misapprehension. He is now republishing, textually, the whole of the various editions of Champlain's *Voyages to Canada*, with critical notes, beginning with the almost unfindable *Des Sauvages*, issued in 1603, the highly valuable and, as Thoreau remarks, singularly overlooked edition of 1613, and so on, down to the last hastily put-together edition of 1632. As a memoir of the great founder of Quebec should necessarily precede his labor, the Abbé Laverdière seems to have felt it a national dishonor that no one could point to the grave of Champlain. He set to work, with the Abbé Casgrain, to examine, in the archives, everything that could throw light on the matter. Ere long they became satisfied that the Chapel of the Governor, burnt in 1640, was not the Chapel of Champlain, in which the vault existed. It was not then Notre Dame de Recouvrance; and he soon satisfied himself that it could not be in the Upper Town. "Therefore," he adds, "Champlain's chapel could be only in the Lower Town, and could be no other than that built by him in 1615, on the arrival of the Recollects, for that chapel is certainly the only one erected by him there."

Investigation and the light of documents proved that this was in the Anse of the Cul-de-Sac, on a street still called Champlain Street, where an ancient cemetery exists. Arrived at this stage, Mr. Laverdière and the Abbé Casgrain, who had joined in his researches, were overwhelmed with disappointment to find that only ten years since the water-works had run directly through the ground. Application to H. O'Donnell, Esq., the assistant-engineer who directed the works, brought out the fact that he had come, at the foot of the stairs called Little Champlain Street, upon a vault containing a coffin and human remains, apparently of some distinguished person; and that he had at the time preserved a plan of the locality and sketches of two of the bones. Remains of three bodies were found near. The body in the vault was undoubtedly Champlain's; those near it, the remains of Father Raymbault, the Recollect Brother Pacificus du Plessis, and of Mr. de Ré, known to have been interred near Champlain's vault.

Part of the ancient vault was preserved in the new works, and the Abbés Laverdière and Casgrain descending into it, November 10th, 1866, found it about eight feet square, and about fourteen feet from the corner of Sous-le-Fort Street. The body had lain in the direction of Champlain

Street. They were able on the wall still to trace in part the name SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. It now remained to find the bones. These had at the time been placed in a box and conveyed to the Parish Church, where they were kept for about three years, and there being no prospect of their identification, the box was, by direction of the Rev. Edmund Langevin, buried near the cathedral, with injunctions to mark the spot. This was neglected, but hopes are still entertained of its recovery, when Quebec will do honor to the remains of its illustrious founder. A search made in the portion of the cemetery was continued till the fourth of December, and will be resumed this spring, with every prospect of success.

A more curious and persistent search has seldom been made than this, so honorable to the Abbé Laverdière. (See *Découverte du Tombeau de Champlain*, par MM. les Abbés Laverdière et Casgrain. Quebec, 1866. 8vo, 19 pp., three plans—SHEA'S *Charlevoix II.*, 283-4.)

#### IX. — MR. BANCROFT, MR. GRAHAME, AND REV. DR. ELLIS.\*

CHARLESTOWN, Febr'y 9, 1867.

Editor of the Historical Magazine:

SIR: Will you oblige me by inserting in your Magazine the enclosed communication to *The Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 8th?

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

MR. BANCROFT AND REV. DR. ELLIS.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:

Allow me the use of your columns, that I may answer, for many at once, a question, almost daily put to me of late by individuals, especially those interested in our historical literature. The question is substantially, "What is the meaning or occasion of that mystifying and but partially intelligible reference of a censorious character, which Mr. Bancroft, in the ninth volume of his history, recently published, makes to you about your correspondence with Mr. Grahame, the historian of the United States?" The reference will be found on pages 27 and 28 of the new volume, headed "Memorandum." It relates to a matter in which the parties principally concerned

\* The following article is not exactly to our liking, as it seems to possess more of a personal than a historical character. For the reason, however, that Mr. Bancroft has introduced the subject into the last volume of his *History of the United States*, thereby giving it a peculiar interest, we have not felt at liberty to decline to reprint Doctor Ellis's reply, especially since *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* is open to every one who shall be inclined to discuss American historical questions, or even those questions which are remotely connected with our history, on the sole condition that such discussions shall be intelligently and civilly conducted.—*ES. HIST. MAG.*

were Mr. Grahame and his American editor and biographer, the late Hon. Josiah Quincy. My own connection with it was of the most incidental nature. If Mr. Quincy were living, I should leave to him to pursue, as against Mr. Bancroft, the vindication of Mr. Grahame, and incidentally of myself, in a new phase of an old variance. Mr. Quincy, however, might have disclaimed this office by falling back upon an avowal made by him in a pamphlet soon to be mentioned, in which he said, "I feel myself at liberty to decline all notice or regard of what Mr. Bancroft may hereafter write or publish concerning this controversy."

Many pens and voices are now actively assailing and challenging Mr. Bancroft on very grave charges, as to alleged perversions, misrepresentations and false statements in his pages, doing grievous wrong to eminent revolutionary officers and patriots. I might hesitate, therefore, to present my own private grievance, leaving every reader to imagine that the charge which Mr. Bancroft implies against me admits of an easy answer, furnished, in part, by its own mystifying form, and in part by the fact, well appreciated in this community, that, whenever this distinguished historian raises either a personal or an historical issue, the matter or the manner of it is very apt to provoke and to admit of review and reply.

For another reason I should have been disposed to pass his "Memorandum" unnoticed. The sharp controversy which is the main matter in reference was no concern of mine. So far as I was incidentally drawn into it, it was as an intending peacemaker and mediator, and my name and agency were wholly irrelevant in the strife. Mr. Bancroft had always treated me with uniform kindness, doing me many favors in early years, which attracted me to him personally, and made me most ready to undertake for him abroad such service as my inexperience allowed in some documentary researches which he asked of me. All my relations with him had been agreeable and friendly, till his variance with another brought about an alienation between us. But the ingenuity—I will avoid all harsh language—with which Mr. Bancroft contrives to convert a matter of sharp strife as it stands in print, between others and himself, into a grievance which he alleges against me, demands what I hope may prove an equally temperate and sufficient reply.

I would remind your literary readers that Mr. Quincy was the editor of the American edition of Grahame's *History of the United States*, which he prefaced with a memoir of the author, prepared at the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which Mr. Quincy was a resident and Mr. Grahame a corresponding member. This publication, referring to a matter imme-

diately to be specified, drew forth criticism and complaint from Mr. Bancroft, and led to another publication by Mr. Quincy, to which he gave wide circulation. This was a pamphlet of fifty nine octavo pages, to which I would refer all your readers who care to inform themselves fully on the subject. Its title is as follows: *The Memory of the late James Grahame, the Historian of the United States, vindicated from the Charge of "Detraction" and "Calumny" preferred against him by Mr. George Bancroft, and the Conduct of Mr. Bancroft towards that Historian stated and exposed.* By Josiah Quincy. Boston Crosby & Nichols, 1846. The contents, tenor and spirit of that pamphlet are as peremptory and emphatic as are the tone and wording of its title.

The origin of what developed so formidably must be stated with brevity. In an edition of his history, published in 1836, Mr. Grahame, following authorities which he carefully named and cited, was led to form a very unfavorable opinion of the course of the famous and excellent John Clarke; in the specific agency by which he obtained an advantageous charter for Rhode Island in 1663. Clarke and the authorities of the Massachusetts Colony had had an old quarrel, and the advantages which he secured for his own colony were alleged to have been gained by misrepresentations of Massachusetts, made by him at the court of Charles II. Pronouncing judgment, conformed to his inferences from the fact and his authorities, Mr. Grahame declared that "Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought." Mr. Bancroft's second volume was published in 1837, and it contained a note to his text, on the subject of Clarke, as follows: "The charge of baseness is Grahame's own invention." Here was the material of combustion for the little fire.

When I went abroad, in the spring of 1836 Mr. Bancroft, for whom I was to make certain historical researches, committed to me several copies of his first two volumes (as also did Mr. Prescott of his then recently published *Ferdinand and Isabella*) to be given to literary men, while I was also to seek to procure their republication in England. One copy of Bancroft was specifically addressed to Mr. Grahame, then residing for his health in Nantes, France. I had not then read the second volume, and so was not aware of the charge against him which that high-toned gentleman would meet in its pages. If I had had such knowledge I might have been somewhat chary of being the medium for conveying it. I left the volumes to Mr. Grahame's address, with his publishers, Smith & Elder, in London, and they were at once transmitted to him in France. Early in the next spring, when I was in Paris, I

intercourse with our distinguished and highly respected consul, Mr. Robert Walsh, a friend and correspondent of Mr. Grahame, I learned how grievously the note in Bancroft had wounded the feelings of Mr. Grahame, with whom I was myself brought into correspondence, through a message which he sent me by Mr. Walsh. I have no copy of my own letters to Mr. Grahame, while in France or after my return home. But I distinctly remember trying to soften his indignation towards Mr. Bancroft. I suggested that if he knew the temperament and style of rhetoric of our historian, even the grievous charge against himself would not seem so literal in its severity. I suggested, also, that Mr. Bancroft might have used the odious word *invention* in the sense of an *hallucination*, or a chimerical fantasy. The substance of Mr. Grahame's final defence was, that even if he had been misled by his authorities, he had sought to follow them, and therefore that he had not *invented*, fabricated, or conjured up the charge against Clarke.

My correspondence with Mr. Grahame continued after my return home, and we had some literary exchanges, at intervals, till his death in 1842. Through communications in newspapers in Boston, New York and Providence, from Mr. Walsh and others (I neither wrote, nor prompted, nor furnished materials for any of them) the matter between Mr. Grahame and Mr. Bancroft became known to all who gave their attention to it. It was thought by friends of Mr. Grahame, that, on grounds of literary courtesy, and through then unacknowledged claims on the gratitude of Americans for his pioneer labors as our historian, and as a fond admirer of our country, he had cause of just complaint against Mr. Bancroft. It was noticed that the latter had never made any adequate recognition of the zeal, labor and success of his predecessor in the same field. Indeed, the writer (wholly unknown to me) of a very elaborate article in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1842, instituted a comparison between the works of the two historians, alleging, what was claimed as conclusive proof, that Mr. Bancroft owed a very large amount of unacknowledged indebtedness for suggestion and guidance, to Mr. Grahame. But of the details, the phases and the results of the consequent controversy, I have nothing here to say, referring all who may be interested in it to the pamphlet whose title I have above copied.

Mr. Grahame and Mr. Bancroft never held any direct correspondence on the subject, their messages going through intermediaries—Mr. Walsh, Mr. Prescott and myself. As a matter of course, on my return home, I put all my letters from Mr. Grahame received up to that time, and those received afterwards, which contained any reference to the subject, into the hands of Mr. Ban-

croft. When Mr. Quincy, as before noted, was called upon to write the memoir of Mr. Grahame,—a service which led to his becoming the editor of the perfected edition of the history,—he applied to me for any letters which I might have from his subject, as he had learned from the family of Mr. G. in France that I had such. At Mr. Quincy's request I wrote to Mr. Bancroft, asking for my letters. He replied that if he had not returned them to me he must have mislaid them, as he had then no knowledge of them. A second urgent application was followed by the enclosure to me of a single letter, which I put into the hands of Mr. Quincy. Some time afterwards Mr. Bancroft wrote to me asking me to send him a letter from Mr. Grahame, which he tried to describe circumstantially, not by date. It would seem now from his "Memorandum" that the one he thus asked for was the same one he had returned to me. In subsequent correspondence with Mr. Bancroft, I have carefully disclaimed the *positive assertion* that he was retaining other letters of Mr. Grahame to me. I was willing to make allowance for the lapse of time and the occupation of my mind by other things. But I am strongly persuaded that there were other letters, that Mr. Bancroft once had them, and that they have never since been among my files. True, I may myself have lost them, or mislaid them, or they may have miscarried. Mr. Bancroft knows full well that I have not pressed this point. But this persuasion of mine that there were other letters, Mr. Quincy put into print, with a surmise of mine, and an inference of his own.

In his "Memorandum," Mr. Bancroft refers to his habit as a historian, of practising the utmost critical carefulness on points discussed by him, while he has "rarely had occasion to notice any "effusion of personal malice." He then alleges an unredressed wrong inflicted upon him, in a matter touching his courtesy and historical fidelity, by Mr. Grahame and Mr. Quincy, though this is put so vaguely that no reader could form an intelligible idea of the matter at issue. Mr. Bancroft then adds: "In the course of his memoir, Mr. Quincy quoted from the letters of Mr. Grahame to Mr. Ellis which he had in his "hands." In this misstatement—an inadvertency, I am willing to regard it—lies the substance of my grievance. Though Mr. Bancroft prints two notes from me in which I affirm that I had put my letters from Mr. Grahame into his hands, had more than once sought to call them back, and had recovered one of them from him, as Mr. Bancroft admits, he now insists that the letters in question were virtually in my possession, as I had furnished them to Mr. Quincy's work in the memoir. Now, if he will refresh his memory by looking over Mr. Quincy's memoir and pamphlet,

he will find that in both of them, instead of having the *letters* from me so much desired and so confidently referred to by Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Quincy has and uses only *one* single letter, expressing at the same a desire for others. That I should be deliberately pressing Mr. Bancroft at Mr. Quincy's request, and for Mr. Quincy's service, to return me papers which I had already put into Mr. Quincy's hands, would argue mental aberration. There was no conceivable reason why I should have withheld from Mr. Bancroft any letter from Mr. Grahame, relating to the variance between them, seeing that whatever Mr. Grahame might write on the subject was designed indirectly to reach Mr. Bancroft, their relations not admitting of direct correspondence.

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

## X.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED—CONTINUED.

### 17. LONGWORTH'S SHAKSPEARE GALLERY.

#### 1.—Description of the Gallery, 1800.

#### SHAKSPEARE GALLERY,

No. 11 Park, five doors south of the Theatre.

This place of elegant recreation, is at all times open for the admission of such company as choose to frequent it, where they will always find such novel amusement, as will fully compensate the price of admission ONE SHILLING. In this room is exhibited the prints of Boydell's celebrated superb edition of *Shakespeare's works*, published in London, and which is not paralleled by any other attempt of the kind. The best scenes in that illustrious author's works, is portrayed by some of the first artists, and can't fail of procuring the admiration of all amateur's of the arts of *painting* and *engraving*. These prints occupy the principal place in the room, while other parts are reserved for the exhibition of such other pictures as will ensure applause, which will be frequently varied.

*In this exhibition, the proprietor intends that the public shall be convinced of his determination to give them much more for their money, than its value.*

Among other sources of novelty and amusement which the Shakspeare Gallery possess, is the LONDON GALLERY of FASHION, published monthly, and which is regularly forwarded on to the proprietor, and framed and hung up in the Shakspeare Gallery; these consist of two elegant colored prints representing female figures

dressed in the morning and evening dresses for that month.

Where are for sale Drawing paper of all sizes and Camels hair pencils of superior quality. A few elegant hot pressed editions of some of the most valued authors, as also a small collection of Prints, Books, and Stationery.

### 2.—A Catalogue of Paintings in the Shakspeare Gallery, New York, 1802.

No. I.

#### STUART'S celebrated PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

Large As Life.

*Size of the Canvas, 5 by 8 feet high.*

THIS great master of Portrait Painting, speaking of this Picture said it was his masterpiece.

WASHINGTON is supposed to be addressing both Houses of Congress, and the likeness is so strong that 'tis easy for those who knew him about the close of his Presidency, to realize in imagination this august ceremony.

No. II.

#### Inscribed to the MEMORY OF WASHINGTON.

*Painted by WOOLLEY.*

*Size of the Canvas, 2 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 1 inches high.*

*The Allegory.*

The PORTRAIT of WASHINGTON is supported by *Liberty, Virtue, & Justice*—*Virtue* holding her crown, intimates the reward he has merited. Two female figures in the left, represent *Poetry* turning to *History* for a subject worthy her muse—THERE IS NONE MORE WORTHY THAN WASHINGTON.—In the right is seated, in a pensive posture, *America* (in the form of an aboriginal) lamenting the loss she has sustained in the death of her WASHINGTON.

No. III.

Is an illustration of one of the most important public transactions in WASHINGTON's Life—he on this occasion exhibited more of that impetuosity of temper which he ever made it his study to obtain the command of, than he did at any

other, during all the time he officiated as a public character.

*Painted by WOOLLEY.*

*Size of the Canvas, 5 by 6 feet long.*

September 15, 1776. About Eleven o'Clock Gen Howes troops landed under cover of five Ships of war, in two divisions, between Kip's and Turtle's bay; the Hessians in one place, and the British in another. As soon as GENERAL WASHINGTON heard the firing of the men of war, he rode with all dispatch to the lines; but to his great mortification found the troops, posted there, retreating with the utmost precipitation, and those ordered to support them, Parson's and Fellows' brigades, flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion; his attempts to stop them were fruitless, tho' he drew his sword, and threatened to run them through, and cock'd and snap'd his pistols. On the appearance of a small part of the enemy, not more than fifty or sixty, their disorder was increased, and they ran off without firing a shot, and left the general in a hazardous situation; so that his attendants, to extricate him out of it, caught the bridle of his horse, and gave him a different direction.

*Gordon's History of America, Vol. II. page 110*

No. IV.

A PORTRAIT, in Water Colors of  
GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
At the Battle of Monmouth.

*Painted by ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.*

*Size of the Canvas, 27 by 31 inches high.*

'Twas at this time, Gen. Washington severely reprimanded Lee for his pusillanimous conduct; who, in attempting to defend himself, ask'd if the British Grenadiers were ever known to retreat? Gen. Washington replied, that he should this day see them compelled to it.

No. V.

A PORTRAIT OF  
HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN JAY,  
From a picture done while Mr. JAY was Minister  
resident in England.

*Painted by BOYLE, of New York.*

No. VII.

A PORTRAIT OF  
GEN. RICHARD MONTGOMERY,  
Who fell before Quebec, 31 Dec. 1775, aged 37  
years.

*Painted by PEALE.*

Gen. Montgomery, after a variety of successes, during which he encountered difficulties of the most discouraging nature, and almost obtained the completion of his enterprize, in the conquest of Quebec, was killed by a discharge of grape shot, when in actual possession of a considerable part of the Town. Thus by a fatal accident was put a stop to his course of glory, for, had he survived, and completed the conquest he had so happily prosecuted thus far, he would in all probability, been placed at the head of the American Armies.

No. VIII.

A PORTRAIT OF  
GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
By a foreign Artist of distinction.—A capital  
picture.

*Painted by WERTMULLER.*

"With equal skill, with godlike power,  
He governed in the fearful hour  
Of horrid war; or ruled with ease,  
The happier times of honest peace."

No. IX.

CUPID RECLINING,  
His quiver suspended on a tree, his bow lying on  
the ground

*Painted by an ITALIAN MASTER.*

*Size of the Canvas, 2 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 4  
inches high.*

No. X.

JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE.

*Painted by an ITALIAN MASTER.*

*Size of the Canvas, 4 feet 3 inches by 5 feet long.*

"And he left his garment in her hand, and fled  
and got him out."

*Genesis, 39th chap. 12th verse.*

No. XI.

A PORTRAIT.  
A CAPITAL PICTURE.  
*Painted by an ITALIAN MASTER.*

No. XII.

A LANDSCAPE.

## No. XIII.

## THE CHILDREN IN THE WOOD.

*Size of the Canvas, 12 by 14 inches long.*

## No. XIV.

Designed by this ingenious Artist for JOHNSON'S  
PRINCE OF ABYSSINIA.

*Painted by STOTHARD.*

*An oval. Size of the Canvas, 11 inches.*

## No. XV.

## THE CHOICE OF HERCULES.

*Painted by WILLIAM DUNLAP, Esq. of New-York.*

*Size of the Canvas, 3 feet 4 inches, by 4 feet long.*

## No. XVI.

## A MONUMENT

to the

## MEMORY OF WASHINGTON.

*Painted by TUTHILL, of New-York.*

*Size of the Canvas, 3 by 3 feet.*

## No. XVII.

## CYMBELINE.

## ACT II. SCENE II.

*A Bedchamber; in one part of it a Trunk.  
Imogene reading in her bed; a Lady attending.*

*Painted by WILLIAM HAMILTON, of London.*

*Size of the Canvas, 5 by 8 feet long.*

## No. XVIII.

## A HEAD,

By a celebrated French Artist. A picture of  
considerable merit.

*An oval 3 by 4 feet high.*

*Painted by GREUZE, of Paris.*

## No. XIX.

## ST. JOHN THE DIVINE,

INSPIRED BY AN ANGEL,

## PENNING THE REVELATIONS.

From the original Picture of the same size.

*Painted by WARD, of Newark.*

*Size of the Canvas, 13½ by 16½ inches.*

## No. XX.

## A PORTRAIT OF

## SHAKSPEARE.

*Painted by WARD, of Newark.*

*Size of the Canvas, 6 by 8 inches high.*

## No. XXI.

## A PORTRAIT OF

## STERNE.

*Painted by WARD, of Newark.*

*Size of the Canvas, 6 by 8 inches.*

## No. XXII.

## URANIA,

*Painted by C. NATOIRE, of Rome.*

## No. XXIII.

## A P O L O.

*Painted by C. NATOIRE, of Rome.*

## No. XXIV.

## THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq.

## PRESIDENT OF THE

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

*Painted by BOYLE, of New-York, 1801.*

*Size of the Canvas, 5 by 8 feet high.*

In the background is a view of the celebrated  
Rock Bridge in Virginia.

## No. XXV.

## JOHN JAY, Esq.

Signing the DEFINITE TREATY at PARIS, 1782.

*Painted by BOYLE, of New-York.*

*Size of the Canvas, 5 by 8 feet high.*

## No. XXVII.

## C A L V I N

## WITH PORTRAITS OF TWO

## MONKS.

*Size of the Canvas, 4 feet 7, by 3 feet 6 inches high.*



No. XXVIII.

## LUCRETIA.

After relating the outrages of TARQUIN, stabs herself with a Poniard.

*Painted by an ITALIAN MASTER.*

*Size of the Canvas, 2 feet 2 inches, by 3 feet 2 inches.*

No. XXIX.

## THE CHILDREN IN THE WOOD.

*Size of the Canvas, 3 feet by 2 feet 4 inches high.*

No. XXX.

## AN UNFINISHED PORTRAIT.

*Painted by WOOD, of New-York.*

Continual additions are making to this Collection.

Besides the Pictures in the Gallery are many miscellaneous Prints, which are frequently replaced by others.

PRICE OF ADMITTANCE ONLY 12½ CENTS.

## XI.—THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM—CONTINUED.

[*Original, 15; Translation, 23.*]

**W**HEREAS, their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors do daily notice and observe that by some of the inhabitants of New Netherland, the servants of the Honorable Company, and others of their domestics, whenever the same run away from their Lords and Masters, and also those, from without, who come from our near neighbors, are harbored at their homes and in their houses, whereby it is caused that many servants, whenever they serve unwillingly, have the means and the way given to them for running away, which occurs daily; and that their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors may make all possible and practicable provision to prevent such things, Therefore, their High Mightinesses, the Director General and the Councillors do, by these Presents, advertise and warn every person to give no harbor or lodging to any of the servants, whether of the Honorable Company or of any other persons living here or elsewhere, at the longest, no longer than twenty-four hours;

and in case any one shall be found to have acted contrary to this he shall forfeit One hundred and fifty Stivers as satisfaction, which shall be appropriated as the Prosecutor, to whom it is due, shall direct. Done, in Session, this 6th October, Anno, 1648: Present, His High Mightiness the Director General: L. Van Dincklage, B. Newton, Paulus Leendertsen.

[*Original, 16; Translation, 24.*]

**W**HEREAS, their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, by Proclamation, long ago admonished the Community in general to improve their house-lots by building on the Island of Manhattan, which before now has been surveyed a Plantations, and the more so since these lots have been built on by some of the Inhabitants; and Whereas, certain persons are desirous of building, and have no place near this, that is suitable for building a house on, Therefore, by the considerate and excellent the Director General and the Councillors it is deemed advisable to make known to every one, for the last time, for the improvement of their house-lots to erect suitable buildings, and in default thereof, that their Excellencies the Director General and Council shall point out to such persons as may be inclined to build houses in this city of New Amsterdam, suitable sites for that purpose and award to the present actual settlers a reasonable compensation for the same, at the discretion of the Surveyors of Buildings.\*

It is also hereby farther advertised, in case any one feels inclined to build, he shall be pleased to give in his name to the Secretary, upon which having been done the Order shall be issued accordingly. Done, published, and affixed, in Session, on the 15th December, Anno, 1648, at New Amsterdam, in New Netherland. Present: The Director General: His Excellency Dincklage, La Montagne, Brian Newton, and Paulus Leendertsen.

[*Original, 17; Translation, 25, 26.*]

**T**HEIR High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland

\* The Surveyors of Buildings here referred to, were Lubbert Van Dincklage, Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist, and Cornelis Van Tienloven, whose appointments were made by Order of the Director General and Council, dated the twenty-fifth of July, 1647.

By the same Order, the Grantees of House lots in New Amsterdam were ordered to improve such lots within nine months or suffer the penalty of forfeiture; hence the Government, in using the peremptory tone of this Order, was fully warranted by the supreme Law of the Province.—H. B. D.

having daily noticed that their Order, heretofore made and ordained, on the subject of Measures and Weights has not been well observed by some, whereby the good inhabitants have been greatly defrauded, Therefore, their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors do hereby give notice to all the great and the small Dealers, together with the Bakers, and all others who sell aught by the Ell-measure or by weight, in selling and in buying to make use of the just Amsterdam Ell, weight and measure; and, that all things may be transacted in an orderly manner, the Director General and the Councillors do, by these Presents, advertise all the inhabitants and traders, between this date and the first day of August next ensuing, to provide and procure for themselves, just Amsterdam Ells, weights, and measures; and that in the meantime those that may, for the present time, have any weights, shall bring the same to the Warehouse of the Company, in Fort Amsterdam, for the purpose of having them weighed and measured, so that, for the time to come, no one of our subjects shall suffer loss therefrom; and that all things may be regarded and observed with greater zeal by all and each one, our Fiscaal, Hendrick Van Dyck, is hereby charged and authorized, after the expiration of the first day of August next ensuing, to inspect all weights and measures, as often as he shall think proper; and in case any shall be found using unjust ell, weights, or measures, he shall pay such fine as in the premises may have been established in Father-land. Let every one be hereby warned and keep himself from harm.\* [26] Done in Session, on the 17th July; resumed and affixed, the 19th July, Anno, 1649, at New Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

[Original, 18; Translation, 26, 27.]

The Director General and the Councillors of

\* On the fifteenth of December, 1644, the Board of Accounts "Reported and Advised" the Assembly of the Company to provide, "that the Amsterdam measures, ell and weight shall be used throughout the entire country." It is not clear, however, that this recommendation was adopted—if adopted, it certainly, was not enforced—until the arrival of Stuyvesant in the Colony; and although this Order recites a previous Order on the same subject, it is positively stated in the *Remonstrance of the Deputies of the New Netherland*, addressed to the States General on the twenty eighth of July, 1649, by Adriaen van der Donck and others, that this was the *first* issued on the subject. Their language was: "Not a thing had been done concerning Weights and Measures and the like, previous to the 23d July, of the year 1649, at which time the people were notified that an Order on the subject would be issued the ensuing August, which the Fiscal would then enforce—this was as much as to say: 'Water the Pigeons'."

On the twenty-seventh of the succeeding January (1650) the West India Company presented an Answer to the *Remonstrance* referred to in which the particular subject now under consideration was thus alluded to: "We are not aware of any other but the Dutch ell, measure and weight being in use; and an Order was issued, last Summer, that all the inhabitants should bring their weights into the Company's warehouse, to be stamped anew there."—H. B. D.

New Netherland, to all and each one that may read these presents or hear them read, Send Greeting:

Whereas, with great concern we have noticed and observed that the foregoing Ordinances made against frauds and smuggling, which have been Ordained concerning the Beers given out by the Tapsters and Inn-Keepers;\* also, that notwithstanding our foregoing Ordinances, some few of the Inhabitants make it a business to Tap and Brew at the same time, whereby not only the customary duty has been defrauded but, also, other Tapsters who make that their only business, have been injured in their profession,† Wherein, in conformity with the General Order from Father-Land, and willing to apply the remedy, We ordain and order, by these Presents, that no inhabitant following the business of Brewing

\* nor by the small measure, excepting at meal-time, Tap, Sell, nor hand out, any Beers, Wines, or Waters, not even to Boarders nor to those whom they may pretend are boarding with them, under which pretense we have observed great frauds have been practised.‡ To prevent both the one and the other, We do moreover ordain that, from this time forth, no Beers nor any Wines, shall be moved out of the cellars of any Brewery or Warehouse, nor be lodged in the houses of the Tapsters, except they shall have first been given in at the office of the Secretary, and the Sledgemen or Carriers of the same shall have brought [27] back a Bill of Delivery, signed by the First Clerk of the Secretary, which Bill shall be shown and exhibited on the same day at was brought and signed, to our Fiscaal, Hendrick Van Dyck, or to the person whom the Fiscaal shall have substituted in his place, during his absence. We do insist upon every one and all the Brewers, not to deliver any Beers, nor

\* Vide Orders of Director Kieft, dated June 28, 1614, and July 4, 1647; and the Order of Director Stuyvesant and Council, dated March 10, 1648, etc.

This Excise, which was the only Tax levied on the Colonists, originated in the necessities arising in the General War with the Indians, in 1644 and it was imposed, as a temporary necessity, with the consent of the Eight men chosen by the Commonalty, on the twenty-eighth of June in that year.

It was openly resisted at the beginning, and Kieft was obliged to employ force in executing it, notwithstanding the urgency of the situation and the promise of the Director that it should continue only, until the arrival of a Company's ship, "a new Director, or the end of the war." At a later period, it was avoided whenever it could be done, as the Ordinances show; yet it is said to have produced yearly in Stuyvesant's time, not less than Four Thousand Guilders, in this city alone.

† Vide Order of the Director General and Council, dated January 12, 1648, which "agreedable to the order and practice in Holland," denied to Brewers the privilege of Tapping and Retailing the Beer which they brewed.

‡ As the Excise was paid, one half by the Tapster the other half by the Brewer, it will be seen that the Government held no check over the business when both branches were followed by the same person. Hence the necessity of the Order of January 12, 1648, as well as that of this Re-issue of it.—H. B. D.

give them to any Sledgemen or Beer-carriers, until they shall have first shown a Bill of Delivery, in the penalty of forfeiting the Beers and Wines, and all the utensils, whether they be Horses, Sledges, or any other instruments whereby the same may be removed, and an arbitrary correction of those who may be accessory thereto. § Done, and after the resumption agreed to, in

♦ Vide Order of Director General and Council, dated March 10, 1648, Section vii.—H. B. D.

our Session, at Fort Amsterdam, on the 8th November, Anno, 1649, signed by,

P. STUYVESANT  
L. VAN DINCKLAGE  
H. VAN DYCK  
LA MONTAGNE  
BRIAN NEWTON

[Original, 19; Translation, omitted.]\*

THE Director General and Councillors of New Netherland to all who shall read these presents or hear them read.

Considering the abundant complaints presented to us by many of our inhabitants concerning the poor quality of the large bread and the right weight of the white bread, with other than which the good people cannot with the ordinary currency be accommodated by the bakers, the cause and foundation of which is understood to be that the Indians or natives of the country seek the white bread in preference to the black and pay the bakers for the same with perfect Seawant, which our inhabitants from want of perfect seawant cannot do in their purchase.

The consequences of which is that from the inclination of greater profit the Indians and barbarous natives are better accommodated than the christians. In consideration of which the Director General and Councillors with a view to the best service of the community according to their best ability as occasion affords, do ordain and command by these presents, that for the future no baker shall bake any white bread or cakes for sale, or permit the same to be baked, nor shall sell the same to either christians or natives, on penalty of forfeiture of all that shall be baked and of fifty carolus guilders from such as fail to comply. Excepting nevertheless that no inhabitant shall be prohibited by these presents, to bake or have baked a sufficiency of white bread for their ordinary and proper meals as their occasion shall require, provided they observe in other respects the orders of the court.

Interdicting and forbidding likewise as we do

by these presents, interdict and forbid the public sale and consumption of white bread and cakes either to the Indians or to the inhabitants, and for the purpose of condemning the frauds and in respect to the ordinary bread, and in order that neither the Indians nor the inhabitants shall be injured by inferior weight the above mentioned Director General and Councillors order that those following the business of baking bread shall hereafter bake the same of pure wheat or pure rye, as it comes from the mill, of the weight of five, four and two pounds, at a price in conformity with the orders that shall from time to time be announced by the court for the purchase of grain.

This done resolved and established at our meeting this 8th November 1649.

Was under written

P. STUYVESANT  
L. VAN DINCKLAGE  
H. VAN DYCK  
LA MONTAGNE  
BRIAN NEWTON

[Original, 20; Translation, 27, 28.]

THE DIRECTOR and the Councillors of New Netherland having remarked the scarcity of the crops of the past year; and also that there is a great complaint among our good inhabitants, that already they have scarcely a subsistence of Bread for themselves and their children, to be had of the Bakers, and the apprehension is that if there is not a seasonable interposition, there will be a farther deficiency of Bread-corn and a greater advance in price:

Therefore, [28] by these Presents, it is ordained by the Director and Councillors, that from this time forth, until our farther Order and a greater supply of Grain, no Brewer shall be permitted to Malt or Brew any Wheat, under the penalty of the forfeiture of the Malted Wheat and arbitrary correction. And, furthermore, by these Presents they do interdict and forbid that any Wheat, Rye or Baked Bread shall be transported out of the Province of New Netherland until the time when by our more exact estimate of the quantity of Grain and the yearly necessary consumption our necessary consent to such transportation shall be given. Done and approved in our Session this 8th November, 1649.

Undersigned by  
P. STUYVESANT  
L. VAN DINCKLAGE  
H. VAN DYCK  
LA MONTAGNE  
BRIAN NEWTON.

\* This Ordinance was overlooked by the Translator, Doctor Westbrook, and we have been favored with this translation of it, by John Paulding, Esqr.—H. B. D.

[Original, 21 ; Translation, 28, 29.]

**W**HEREAS the Director and Councillors of New Netherland have been informed, that in and concerning the selling of real estate, such as Houses and Gardens, House-lots, and other lands, there are practised various clandestine abuses and frauds, to the great injury of older creditors :

Therefore, the Director and Councillors of New-Netherland, by these Presents, do charge their Secretary and, in his absence, the first Clerk, not to pass nor sign any transport of Real estate [29] until, at the stated Court-day, it shall have been examined and approved by the Director and Councillors ; Declaring, by these Presents, all Contracts and Transports null and void which, after this date, shall have been passed without their approbation and ratification, or signatures. Done and approved in Session at Fort Amsterdam, this 7th of February, Anno. 1650. Was undersigned by

P. STUYVESANT  
L. VAN DINCKLAEGE  
H. VAN DYCK, Fiscaal.,  
LA MONTAGNE.

[Original, 21 ; Translation, 29.]

**T**HE Director General and the Councillors have granted the request of the Bakers, and they have the privilege, for the accommodation of the Community, of baking White Bread (but no Cakes nor Cracknels) Provided they shall bake the White Bread so as to conform in weight with the order of the Father-land. Furthermore, the Bakers are charged and interdicted, that they shall bake the common Bread of naught else than pure Wheat and Rye flour, as it comes from the mill, so that the community may be protected against complaints concerning the poverty and leanness of the common Bread. Dated this 14th April, Anno. 1650, at the Session at Fort Amsterdam.\*

[Original, 22 ; Translation, 30, 31.]

**T**HE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, to all persons who may see these Presents, or hear them read, Send Greeting.

Whereas, with great concern, we have observed, both now and for a long time past, the depreciation and corruption of the loose Seawant, among which there are current many that are not perforated and half-finished ; and others made of Stone, Bone, Glass, Muscle-shells, Horns, and

even of Wood ; and broken ones, whereby occasion is given for repeated complaints from the inhabitants, that they cannot go with such Seawant to the Market, nor yet procure for themselves any commodity, not even a mean White loaf of Bread, nor a Can of Beer, at the Merchants', the Bakers', or the Tapsters', for the loose Seawant, Wherein, according to our best ability, desirous of making provision in this emergency, We have resolved and determined, for the furtherance of business and the general good, that, from this time forth, no loose Seawant shall be current, nor be a lawful tender, except that the same shall be strung on one string, as the general custom has been heretofore. For the purpose of preventing the introduction and the circulation of all clumsy and unperforated Seawant ; for the purpose of making a difference betwixt the commercial Seawant and the strung Seawant ; and in order to prevent all misunderstanding for the time to come, the Director General and Councillors aforesaid do hereby ordain that the commercial Seawant [31] shall be current and be a lawful tender, as formerly, to wit : Six White or Three Black Seawants for one Stiver ; and, on the other hand, the base strung Seawant shall pass, Eight White or Flour Black for one Stiver. We Ordain, by these Presents, and charge all persons, to regulate themselves according to the tenor of these Presents ; and in case of refusal, to abandon their Trade and Business ; and the Fiscal is ordered, by these Presents, after the publication of the same, to affix these and to publish them every where it may be necessary, and to make use of every means to have the same acted upon and executed.\* Done, resumed, and approved at our Session at Fort Amsterdam, this 30th May, Anno, 1650, in N. Netherland.

[Original, 23 ; Translation, 31, 32.]

**T**HEIR High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland,

\* Vide Order of Director Kieft and Council, dated November 30, 1647, on this subject.

As early as 1634, Wampum had become, "in a manner, the currency of the country, with which the produce of the interior was paid for ; and, many years after, (1649) the value of it seems to have been very uncertain.

Stuyvesant seems to have had no desire to meddle with the currency of the country, even when requested by the Selectmen ; and it was made a subject of formal complaint against him, to the Home Government, by Adriaen van der Donck and others, in July, 1649.

Van Tienhoven, in his defence of the Administration, in 1650, said "the reason for not prohibiting unstrung wampum was, because no money was in circulation, and mechanics, farmers, and the rest of the Commonalty, having no other currency, would suffer serious loss."

Stuyvesant, in the Order before us, evidently made the first advance to a contraction of this currency ; and we cannot but admire the moderation of his measure.—H. B. D.

\* This Order modified that which had been issued by the Governor and Council on the eighth of November, 1649.

to all persons who may hear, see, or read these Presents, Send Greeting.

Whereas, experience has shown that this fortress, formerly in tolerable state, has been, in a great degree, trodden down by the Hogs, and Goats, and Sheep; and in conformity with the order of their High Mightinesses, the Gentlemen Directors, our Lords, our Superiors, and Patroons, men are now employed in repairing and restoring the same; and it is to be apprehended that as before, it may again become damaged and trodden down by the Goats, the Sheep, the Hogs, or some other Cattle; Therefore, their High Mightinesses the Director General [32] and the Councillors, by these Presents do warn all and every one of the Inhabitants of this place, that, in conformity with our former Proclamations,\* that they shall not suffer to run at large without a Herdsman or Driver, except within their own inclosures, any Hogs, Sheep, Goats, Horses, or Kine, between this place and the Honorable the Company's farm, [Bowbery.†] to the end of their High Mightinesses Pasture-ground, at present occupied by Thomas Hall,‡ nor between the house of Mr. Isaac Allerton,§ in the penalty of Six Guilders, for the first offence; for every Horse, Kine, Hog, or Sheep that may be found within the aforesaid limits for the second time, double fine; and for the third time, the whole shall be confiscated, to be appropriated at pleasure. Done, approved, and published, on the 27th of June, Anno, 1750, at New Amsterdam in New Netherland.

[Original, 24; Translation, 32, 33.]

THE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, to all persons who shall hear, see, or read these Presents, Send Greeting:

\* Vide Order of the Director General and Council, dated July 1, 1647, and March 16, 1648.—H. B. D.

† "THE COMPANY'S FARM," subsequently known as "The Duke's farm" and "The King's farm," extended from the present line of Broadway to the North river, and from the southern line of Fulton to a line between Warren and Chambers-streets, on the North.—H. B. D.

‡ THOMAS HALL having been already noticed by us, it remains only for us to remark, in this place that he lived in 1650, "on a little bowery belonging to the Company." It is not now very clear to us where that "bowery" was but we are inclined to think it was on the present line of Chatham-street or that of the Bowery.—H. B. D.

§ ISAAC ALLERTON, one of the celebrated Pilgrim fathers of New England, arrived at Plymouth, in the *Mayflower*, in 1620; and was one of the rich at of the Colonists and, for three years, the Assistant of the Colony and its chief Magistrate.

He removed to New Amsterdam at an early date; entered into business with Govert Loockerman, a thriving merchant there, under the firm of Allerton & Loockerman; and was widely respected throughout the Colony.

He was one of the Eight men chosen by the Commonalty, and died in 1659.

He probably lived where he had bought property in April, 1647, on "the strand" of the East river, not far from the present line of Beekman-street.

Whereas, by the daily complaints of the inhabitants, we are informed that our foregoing Order and Proclamation concerning the base strung Seawant, issued for the accommodation and pacification of the inhabitants, under the date of the thirtieth of May, 1650, are not observed and executed according to our good intention and meaning, but that on the contrary such payment has been refused and rejected, even for [33] trifling articles by Shop-keepers, Brewers, Bakers, Tapsters, Mechanics, and Day-laborers, to the great confusion and discommoding of the Inhabitants in general, there being at present no other Specie, with which they can accommodate one another in the articles of their small daily commerce; Therefore, once more, for the accommodation and pacification of the Inhabitants, being desirous of doing whatever is practicable, the Director and Councillors, by these Presents, do Ordain and Decree that, in conformity with our former Proclamations, the base strung Seawant shall be current, and shall be received by every one, without any distinction or exception, in payment for small and daily necessary commodities in house-keeping; and that, on the other hand, the sum of Twelve Guilders or under shall be paid all in base strung Seawant; from Twelve to Twenty-four Guilders, half and half, that is to say, half base and half good strung Seawant; from Twenty-five to Fifty Guilders, one-third base strung and two-thirds good strung Seawant; and in larger sums agreeably to the agreement between the buyer and seller, under the penalty of Six Guilders for the first time's refusal and resisting of these Presents; for the second offence, Nine Guilders; and for the third offence, Two Pounds, Flemish, and a prohibition from his Handicraft and Business, in conformity with our former Proclamations. Done and approved in our Session of the Director General and the Councillors, this 14th of September, Anno, 1650, at New Amsterdam in New Netherland.

## XII.—SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

In the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, on the eighth day of May, 1712, at the afternoon session,

"A Petition, signed by *William Southbe*, relating to *Negroes*, was read, and ordered to lie on the table.

"A Petition signed by many of the Inhabitants of this Province, praying the Prohibition of *Negroes*, was read, and ordered to lie on the table."

On the following day, it was

"Ordered, That the Petitions lying upon the

"Table be read, which were read accordingly and considered; \* \* \*

"And to *William Southbe's* Petition, relating to the Enlargement of *Negroes*, the House is of Opinion, it is neither just nor convenient to set them at Liberty.

"Also to the Petition for discouraging the Importation of *Negroes* (sign'd by many Hands) the House agrees, that an Impost of *Twenty Pounds per Head* be laid on all *Negroes* imported into this Province; and that the Clerk provide a Bill, and bring the same to this House."

On the 14th, the Clerk reported that he had prepared the Bill, pursuant to the Direction of the House to him, intituled "*An Act for the laying a Duty upon Negroes imported into this Province*," which he delivered in at the Table. The bill was thereupon read, and ordered a second reading.

On the 15th, the bill was read a second time, debated, and, with some proposed Amendments, committed, with a direction to the Committee on the said bill to include *Indians*, and alter the title accordingly.

On the 20th, a committee of six members was appointed to amend the bill according to the direction of the House, with instructions to report in the afternoon of the following day.

They accordingly reported having made some progress in the matter to them referred, but not having finished the same, desired further time—whereupon the Committee was continued again to report the next day.

On the 22d, the bill was reported "finished," according to the directions of the House.

On the 23d, the bill—"An Act to prevent the Importation of *Negroes* and *Indians* into this Province"—as amended by the Committee, was read a third time, and passed. On the 24th, it was ordered to be engrossed, duly examined, and presented to the Governor for his concurrence.

In the Council, May 27th, 1712, the Governor laid before the board several acts which he had received from the Assembly—among others,

"An Act to prevent the Importation of *Negroes* and *Indians* into this Province; upon which 'tis proposed that,

"No. 1. The officer as in other Cases be appointed by the Gov. & Council & Commissionated by the Govr.

"2. As the Law in such Cases to be made shall Direct, The Words (to be made) to be left out.

"3. Leave out the Concurrence of the Assembly, and also these words, Whereof the Assembly of this Province shall be judge.

"4. A Proviso that no negro or Indian be longing to this Province, either now out of it or now on Sea, or being sent out hereafter in business into another Government, or accompanying his master, be lyable to pay at his Return.

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"5. That the waiting servts. of travelling Gent. may be Intirely exempted without leaving it to y<sup>e</sup> discrecon of the officer."

On the 28th, y<sup>e</sup> proposed amendments were communicated to the House.

Various proceedings followed on the amendments on the following days—none of which as recorded throw any light on the character of the bill or the discussion.

The bill finally passed on the 7th day of June, 1712. It was subsequently transmitted to England for the consideration of the government and the royal approbation, and was without doubt duly submitted to the law officers of the Crown.

The report of Robert Raymond, H. M. Solicitor General, 22d Dec. 1713, refers to this act as follows:

"How far this Act may interfere with the British Interest as to their Trading in *Negroes*, your Lopp's are most proper Judges; But I observe this Act gives a power to break open houses to search upon suspicion of *Negroes* being there generally, which Extends to Night as well as Day, which power is rarely admitted by our Law in offences of an inferior nature." —*Penn. Archives*, Vol. I., 160.

Her Majesty the Queen, accordingly with the advice of her privy Council, disallowed and repealed the law on the 20th February, 1714. *Ibid.* pp. 161-2.

This act was long supposed to have given to Pennsylvania the precedence in legislation prohibiting the importation of slaves—an error which was exposed in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, (Vol. IX., 35.) The chief feature in it was the import duty of 20l. a head—but there was no restriction upon bringing in any number of *Negroes* or *Indians* for export within twenty days afterwards. The principal reason for the desire to prevent the increase of the number of imported slaves in the province, is to be found in the preliminary reference in the act itself to "Divers Plots and Insurrections not only in the Islands, but on the Main Land of America, by *Negroes*, which have been carried so far that several of the Inhabitants have been thereby barbarously murdered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of New York."

The Act is printed in "The Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Collected into One Volume, by Order of the Governour and Assembly of the said Province Printed and Sold by Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia, 1714." pp. 165-7.

G. H. M.

NEW YORK, January, 1867.

### XIII.—GEMS FROM THE DIADEM OF MASSACHUSETTS.—CONTINUED.

2.—*The Senate of the Commonwealth on the capture of the Peacock.*

IN SENATE, JUNE 15, 1813.

The following Preamble and Resolution were proposed and laid on the table by the Hon. Mr. Quincy, and adopted by the Senate:

"WHEREAS, a proposition has been made to this Senate for the adoption of sundry Resolutions, expressive of their sense of the gallantry and good conduct exhibited by Captain James Lawrence, Commander of the United States Ship-of-war *Hornet*, and the officers and crew of that ship, in the destruction of His Britannic Majesty's Ship-of-war, *Peacock*: And, whereas, it has been found that former Resolutions of this kind, passed on similar occasions, relative to other officers engaged in a like service, have given great discontent to many of the good people of this Commonwealth, it being considered by them as an encouragement and excitement to the continuance of the present unjust, unnecessary, and iniquitous War; and, on that account, the Senate of Massachusetts have deemed it their duty to refrain from acting on the said proposition; And also, whereas, this determination of the Senate may, without explanation, be misconstrued into an intentional slight of Captain Lawrence, and a denial of his particular merits; the Senate, therefore, deem it their duty to declare that they have a high sense of the naval skill and military and civil virtues of Captain James Lawrence; and that they have been withheld from acting on said proposition solely from considerations relative to the nature and principles of the present War. And to the end that all misrepresentations on the subject may be obviated,

"Resolved, as the sense of the Senate of Massachusetts, that, in a War like the present, waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of Military or Naval exploits, which are not immediately connected with the defence of our sea coast and soil."

### XIV.—NOTES.

THE EARLY METHODISTS IN AMERICA.—The following letter, from the well-known Bishop Warburton, will serve to further illustrate this

subject, so thoroughly ventilated in the tenth volume of the Magazine.

NEW YORK.

K.

"DEAR SIR,

"What think you of our new set of fanatics, called Methodists? I have seen Whitfield's journal, and he appears as mad as ever George Fox, the Quaker, was. These are very fit missionaries, you will say, to propagate the Christian faith amongst Infidels. There is another of them, one Westley, who is come over from the same mission. He told a friend of mine, that he had lived most deliciously the last summer in Georgia, sleeping under trees and feeding on boiled maize, sauced with the ashes of oak-leaves: That he will return thither, and then will cast off his English dress, and wear a dried skin like the savages, the better to ingratiate himself with them. It would be well for virtue and religion, if this humour would lay hold generally of our overheated bigots, and send them to cool themselves in the Indian marshes. I fancy that Ven and Webster would make a very entertaining, as well as proper figure, in a couple of bear skins, and marching in this terror of equipage, like the Pagan priests of old.

"*Jamque sacerdotes primusque potitus ibant  
Pelibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.*

"Dear Sir, do me the justice to believe, that nothing can be more agreeable than the hearing of you, but the hearing from you; and that I am

"Your very affectionate and obliged humble  
servant,

"W. WARBURTON.

"To Mr. Des Maizeaux,  
NEWARK, Sept. 13, 1738."

SUIT FOR THE POSSESSION OF A LETTER FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON—THE FIRST TROOP, PHILADELPHIA CITY CAVALRY.—Mr. Waln, solicitor for the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, recently filed a bill in the Supreme Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of obtaining possession of a letter sent by "George Washington to the Troop, January 23d, 1777."

The complainants say: First. That some time in the year 1774, a military company was formed by the association of twenty-six gentlemen, residents of the city of Philadelphia, under the name of the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse, for the defence and vindication of the rights of the

country, then threatened by the arbitrary legislation of Great Britain, &c.; said organization was officially recognized by the military authorities until the fourth of April, 1863, on which day it was incorporated, under the title of "The First Troop, "Philadelphia City Cavalry," by the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania.

SECOND. That the gentlemen composing the said Troop served voluntarily and without pay, furnishing their own horses and equipments, during the several trying campaigns of the Revolutionary war, from 1776 to 1783, and during all that time, by their gallantry and discipline, gained the approbation of the illustrious Washington, as Commander-in-Chief, and enjoyed his friendship during the subsequent years of peace until his death. They have since participated by active service in the wars of 1812, '13 and '14, and during the rebellion in 1861-2.

THIRD. That during the campaign of 1777, the then Captain and first officer of the Troop, Samuel Morris, received an official letter from General Washington, as Commander-in-Chief, dated January 23, 1777, at Head-quarters, which said letter was an official letter from the highest officer of the armies to the official head or officer in command of the said Troop, and containing an Order regulating the disposition of said Troop, and expressing the thanks of the General, to "the gentlemen who compose the Troop, for the essential services they have rendered their country."

FOURTH. That said letter, which they pray may be taken as part of this bill, was directed to the "Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse," then under the command of Captain Morris, which said company is the same since incorporated as "The First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," and being an official Order to the Troop, and fixing its rights and duties in military law and usage, improperly and of right belongs to the Troop and to its military archives.

FIFTH. That said letter was received by Captain Morris, in trust for the use and benefit of the Troop, and as their property; and that they are informed, and believe, that said original letter has recently come into the possession or custody of the defendants, Messrs. S. B. and E. P. Morris. The complainants therefore ask that the original letter may be produced and delivered to the Troop as their property.

*The following is a copy of the original letter referred to:*

"The Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse, under the command of Capt. Morris, having performed their tour of duty, are discharged for the present.

"I take this opportunity of returning my most

"sincere thanks to the Captain, and to the gentlemen who compose the Troop, for the many essential services which they have rendered their country, and to me personally, during the course of this severe campaign. Though composed of gentlemen of fortune, they have shown a noble example of discipline and subordination, and in several actions have shown a spirit and bravery which will ever do honor to them, and will ever be gratefully remembered by me.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, }  
"Jan. 23, 1777." }

JULY 4, 1776.—We take pleasure in making room for the following communication:

"HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, }  
"PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 26, 1867. }

"SIR:

"I enclose a resolution adopted by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at its last monthly meeting, namely, on the 14th inst. As it relates to 'The Hancock chair,' and the table on which the Declaration of Independence was signed, it may be of sufficient interest for publication in your useful Magazine:

"'THE CHAIR OF JOHN HANCOCK AND THE TABLE OF INDEPENDENCE.—At the last monthly meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vice-President Dr. Coates in the chair, the following resolution was offered by Colonel Snowden, accompanied with some appropriate remarks, and was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That this Society has learned with lively satisfaction that the Legislature of Pennsylvania has authorized the return to the Hall of Independence, in this city, of the chair occupied by the President of Congress, John Hancock, when the Declaration of Independence was passed, and the table upon which that immortal document was signed; and that a Committee be appointed to co-operate with the State and City authorities in such ceremonies as may be appropriate when these interesting memorials of the Revolution are returned to this city and placed in the Hall of Independence.

"The following named gentlemen have been appointed as the committee: James Ross Snowden, John Jordan, Jr., William A. Porter, William Duane, Chas. M. Morris."

\* Ruffin, in *Sketches of Eastern North Carolina*, 254, speaks of finding in South Carolina leaves of the *P. Australis*, 19½ inches long.



"The Continental Congress occupied the room in the State House, now called the Hall of Independence, theretofore used by the Colonial Legislature. The Speaker's chair was used by the President of the Congress.

"In 1799, the seat of Government of Pennsylvania was removed from Philadelphia to Lancaster; the Speaker's chair and the table above mentioned were removed thither, where they remained until 1812, when the State Government was removed to Harrisburg. Since which period, and until the present time, the venerable chair of Hancock has been occupied by the Speakers of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania.

"I occupied this chair, as Speaker of the House, during several sessions of the Legislature. My attention was attracted to the fact that on the back of the chair there is a representation of the sun, with about half its disk above the horizon. This recalled to my recollection the following incidents related to me by my father. When the Declaration was signed, Dr. Franklin remarked that he had often looked at that representation with anxiety and solicitude, whether it indicated the *rising* or the *setting* sun, but now that Independence was declared, he was satisfied it was emblematic of the *rising* sun which would, in the course of time, illuminate the world.

"I am, with great respect,  
"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES ROSS SNOWDEN,  
"Corresponding Secretary  
"His. So. of Penn.

"EDITOR HIST. MAGAZINE,  
"New York."

MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMONS.—I desire to add one name to the list of preachers, which appears to have escaped attention hitherto—that of RICHARD MATHER of Dorchester, as having preached the sermon of 1644. On the 7th of March, 1643-4, the records show "Mr. Madder to be desired to prepare himself to preach to y<sup>e</sup> assembly at y<sup>e</sup> next Co<sup>t</sup> of Election." *Mass. Records*, II, 62. On the 29th May, it was "ordered, the printer shall have leave to print the election sermon w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Mather's consent, & the artillery sermon, w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Norton's consent." \* *Ibid*, 71.

If these sermons were printed—Mather's may have been the first one in the series ever given to the press. Dr. Pierce, whose account of these

sermons, continued by Mr. William B. Trask, is the recognized authority on the subject, gives Norton's sermon in 1661, as the first printed Election Sermon, within their knowledge. But this sermon, although preached in 1661, was not printed until after Higginson's famous sermon of 1663. And a reference to the latter by Cotton Mather in his funeral sermon, 1709, shows that if his grandfather's sermon in 1644 had been printed he at any rate was ignorant of the fact.

Referring to the fervency and frequency of the venerable Higginson's testimonies to the Cause of God and his People in New England, he says "He Stated that Cause in a Sermon at our 'Greatest Anniversary Solemnity; & it is, I suppose, the *First-Born* by the way of the Press, of all the *Election Sermons*, that we have in our Libraries."

G. H. M.

NEW YORK.

MISTAKES IN PORTRAITS.—Singular mistakes are made in this respect in otherwise reliable books, which show a carelessness not expected. I will mention a few modern and recent instances.

In the first volume of GREELEY's *American Conflict*, one of a group of loyal Navy officers is the engraving of what purports to be "Commodore Henry W. Morris, U. S. N.," who took the U. S. ship *Pensacola* past the Potomac batteries, and commanded the same ship in Farragut's fleet at New Orleans. The portrait, however, is that of Commodore Charles Morris, U. S. N., distinguished in the war of 1812-14, and who died, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, long before the commencement of the War of the Rebellion.

The next error of the kind I have to notice is in an article in *Harper's Magazine*, for 1866, entitled *Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men*, in which there is a wood engraving given of Rear Admiral Lewis M. Goldsborough, U. S. N., which is in reality a likeness of his brother, Captain John R. Goldsborough, U. S. N., now commanding the *Shenandoah* in the East Indies.

A few days since I was invited to subscribe for a work entitled *Farragut and our Naval Heroes*, in which the same error was perpetuated in a steel engraving. As I happen to own a copy of the photograph from which these engravings were copied, and John R. is an old friend, I can testify to their being a truthful likeness of him, but not of his twice as big brother.

In the sixth volume of that very reliable work *The Rebellion Record*, which I have, there is a fine steel engraving inscribed "Brig. Genl. Godfrey Weitzel," which is in truth a very good likeness of Brigadier General George Shepley for some time Military Governor of New Orleans.

Having the honor of an acquaintance with all

\* The reader will observe that this adds a new and earlier name and date to the list of preachers at the Artillery Election.

the gentlemen herein mentioned, I can speak authoritatively on the subject of these engraved portraits.

P.

NAVY YARD, CHARLESTOWN.

"HISTORIC FACTS."—At the dedication of the Library of the New York Historical Society, on the third of November, 1857, several eminent gentlemen addressed those assembled. The following extract from the remarks of one of the venerable gentlemen was to the point, and "gives us a correct idea of existing society" at that period:

"A little incident like the advertisement in a paper, than which nothing can be more common or insignificant, may give to us a correct illustration of the state of society. In our archives there is a file of the *Boston News Letter*, the oldest newspaper published upon this continent. Cast your eye over its pages, and you will be convinced that smutty chronicle is the index of the greatest revolutions of Providence. On the thirteenth of November, 1732, you will find an advertisement which reads as follows:

"This day, at 4 O'Clock, will be Sold at public vendue, at the Sun Tavern, a parcel of red & blue muslins, perperets, & threads, for the GUINEA

"TRADE.  
"Also, three or four very likely negroes, just arrived. All to be Seen at the place of Sale.  
"The African slave trade in the city of Boston, a little more than one century ago! A good thing would it be for us to be more familiar with these historic facts, that we may sprinkle our fervor with a little cool patience."

BOSTON.

C.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.—*The Cincinnati Enquirer* says the following letter was never made public until it appeared recently in the columns of that paper. An especial interest attaches to it from its having been written soon after the adjournment of the Convention of 1787:

MOUNT VERNON, Oct. 10, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your letter of the 30th ultimo. It came by the last post. I am better pleased that the proceedings of the Convention are handed from Congress by a unanimous vote (feeble as it is) than if it had appeared under stronger marks of approbation without it. This apparent unanimity will have its effect. Not every one has opportunities to peep behind the curtain, and, as the multitude often judge from externals, the appearance of unanimity in that body on this occasion will be of great importance.

The political tenets of Colonel Mason and

Col. R. H. Lee are always in unison. It may be asked which of them gives the tone? Without hesitation, I answer the latter, because the latter I believe will receive it from no one. He has, I am informed, rendered himself obnoxious in Philadelphia by the pains he took to designate his objections among some of the leaders of the seceding members of the Legislature of that State. His conduct is not less reprobated in this country.\* How it will be relished generally is yet to be learnt by me.

As far as accounts have been received from the Southern and Western counties, the sentiment with respect to the proceedings of the Convention is favorable; whether the knowledge of this, or convictions of the impropriety of withholding the Constitutions from State Conventions, has worked most in the breast of Colonel M., I will not decide—but the fact is, he has declared unequivocally (in a letter to me) for its going to the People; had his sentiments, however, been opposed to the measure, instructions, which are given by the freeholders of this County to their Representatives, would have secured his vote for it. Yet, I have no doubt but that this assent will be accompanied by the most tremendous apprehensions and highest colorings to his objections. To alarm the people seems to be the ground-work of his plan. The want of a qualified Navigation Act is already declared to be a means by which the produce of the Southern States will be reduced to nothing, and will become a monopoly of the Northern and Eastern States. To enumerate all his objections is unnecessary, because they are detailed in the Address of the seceding members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, which, no doubt, you have seen.

I scarcely think that any powerful opposition will be made to the Constitution being submitted to a Convention of the People of this State. If it is given, it will be at that meeting, in which, I hope, you will make it convenient to attend. Explanations will be wanted. None can give them with more precision and accuracy than yourself. The sentiments of Mr. Henry with respect to the Constitution which is submitted, are not known in these parts. Mr. Joseph Jones (who, it seems, was in Alexandria a few days before my return home) was of opinion that they would not be inimical to it; others, however, conceive that, as the advocate of a paper emission, he cannot be friendly to a Constitution which is an effectual bar.

From circumstances which have been related it is conjectured that the Governor wishes he had been among the subscribing members; but

\* In thus speaking of Virginia as a distinct 'country' from Pennsylvania, General Washington was only following his usual custom, as seen in various parts of his writings.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

time will disclose more than we know at present with respect to the whole of this business; and when I hear more I will write to you again. In the meanwhile I pray you to be assured of the sincere regard and affection with which I am, my dear sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,  
G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Having received (in a letter) from Colonel Mason a detail of his objections to the proposed constitution, I inclose you a copy of them.

JAMES MADISON, JR., Esq.

### XV.—QUERIES.

SUNDRY QUERIES.—1. With whom did Colonel William H. Maxwell, of the New York Bar, fight a duel at Hoboken, killing his man? (The same place, I believe, where Hamilton fell?)

2. In what part and in what edition of Jeremy Bentham's works is there any account of his dog? I have an anecdote which talks of being treated "like Jeremy Bentham's dog," and do not understand it.

3. What men of the profession, of the State of New York, outside of their law duties, have originated any great or meritorious public works or benefits? E.

NEW YORK CITY.

INTER-STATE EMBARGOS.—Were embargos ever laid, to control the commerce between the several States in the Union? DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

VANDYKE.—It has been so long and persistently asserted, or assumed, that the favorite though least characteristic portrait of John Winthrop was painted by Vandyke, that it passes for true, whether it be so or not. Doubtless this sort of repute is well enough to gratify vanity and "feathers," but it is not well for the credit of those so easily gratified, and not so inviting to the confidence of others who look for proof in support of assertions.

In March, 1629-30, Winthrop was "aboard" ship, waiting a wind for New England. What was the *exact* date of Vandyke's second visit to England, and when and where could he have painted the portrait of Winthrop? QUERY.

BOSTON, Mass.

### XVI.—REPLIES.

CORRECTION (VOL. X., SUPPLEMENT, p. 96).—Mrs. Judge Charles A. Dewey was a daughter of General James Clinton, and a half-sister of Governor Dewitt Clinton. E. C. B.

NEW YORK.

YANKEE DOODLE (H. M., VOLS. I., II., III. IV.)—An interesting article, with poetical lines adapted to that air, is to be found in the third volume of Farmer & Moore's *Historical Collections of New Hampshire*, pp. 157-160, 217.

BOSTON, January, 1867.

J. C.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.—The time of commencing the year has varied in Europe in different ages. Up to 1751, the year began, in England, and probably in Sweden to a later period, on the 25th of March, and therefore events happening between January 1st and March 25th prior to that time, were afterwards reckoned as of one year or another according as the old or new style was followed. Thus the Revolution commonly called that of 1688, really took place in 1689; and as Swedenborg was born January 29th, he would, with his usual accuracy, writing to an Englishman in 1769, after the style was changed, say that he was born in 1689; although at the time of his birth, the year 1688 was not yet ended. T. H.

NEW YORK.

### XVII.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

#### 1.—BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

*Boston, Thursday, December 6th, 1866.*—The monthly meeting of this Society was held to-day. The Secretary read the report of the previous meeting, and a letter from Dr. Charles Clay, of Manchester, England, accepting Honorary Membership in the Society. It inclosed a rubbing of a curious copper piece dated 1757; on one side is an Indian with skins at a shop-door, and the inscription, "The red men come to Eltons daily;" on the reverse, "Skins bought at Eltons." Nothing is known of its origin. The President announced a donation of some new French medalets from W. P. Jarves.

A vote was passed, appointing the President and Secretary a Committee to take charge of the printing of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, with a list of its members. The Secretary showed a parcel of gold and silver bought at Constantinople a year ago. Among the former were a beautiful stater of Lysimachus of Macedon, and several coins of the Byzantine Empire, generally of a very poor and debased style of art. The silver comprised a great variety, such as is found in Constantinople more easily than almost anywhere else. The series began with a specimen of the very early coinage of Ægina, and included, among the antique pieces, money of Athens, of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, of kings of Syria, of several emperors of Rome, and



papers read, several of which have been published.

The report of the Committee on the Biography of Deceased Members was then presented.

The Report of the Publishing Committee was read by the Secretary, in behalf of John Ward Dean, Chairman, giving a particular statement of the Society's publications during the past year.

Augustus T. Perkins, in behalf of Wm. H. Whitmore, Chairman, read the report of the Committee on Heraldry. During the last year the *Heraldic Journal* has thrown new and important light upon the genealogy and heraldry of the Washington, Hutchinson, Dudley, Norton, Lowell, Temple and other families.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the President, ex-Governor Andrew, for his elegant, learned, and appropriate address, and a copy was requested for the press.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Rev. Dr. Dexter, for his services as Corresponding Secretary, he now retiring on account of the pressure of other duties. All other retiring officers were also included.

Wm. B. Trask, the historiographer, reported that during the past year twenty-two members had deceased, brief memoirs of most of whom had been prepared.

William B. Towne, Chairman of the Trustees of the Barstow Fund, reported that two hundred and thirty volumes had been bound from the income of this fund during the past year, leaving a balance of \$116.80 of the income unexpended.

Hon. Charles B. Hall, one of the Trustees of the Towne Memorial Fund, reported that the income has accumulated during the past year, and the fund now amounted to \$1215.93. The purpose of the income of this fund, in accordance with the wish of the donor, is eventually to publish a memorial volume, when the Society shall deem it expedient.

The report of the Trustees of the Bond Fund, which is devoted to the purchase of historical books, was read by Col. A. D. Hodges, Chairman.

### 3.—LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At the meeting of this Society, held on Thursday evening, the third of January, Professor ALPHONSO WOOD, the Botanist, read a paper entitled Mountain Views in Oregon.

He gave a most graphic description of the great mountain ranges of Oregon. The substance of his remarks was as follows:

Portland, in Oregon, he said, was situated on the left bank of the Willamette river, near its junction with the Great Columbia, and one hundred miles from the Pacific ocean. The site of the city was level. Although the inhabitants

numbered eight thousand persons, many stumps of trees were to be found near the dwellings, and the close proximity of the forest reminded one of the fact that the country had been comparatively recently settled. The general surroundings were like those of Cincinnati. From the heights in the rear of the city, extensive views were to be had, and thither, at a height of twelve hundred feet above the river, the speaker wended his way, and found an opening in the forest growth, at the cottage of Judge Markham. Taking a proffered chair and telescope, the scenery presented to the view of the speaker was scarcely to be described, it was so grand. To the East was a large range of mountains, the Cascade range, being sixty miles distant, and extending two hundred miles to the North and South. There stood eight grand, snow-capped volcanic pyramids, beyond the green scenery of the intervening forests; there were four in the State of Oregon and four in Washington Territory. Directly in front Mount Hood reared his lofty head, while to the south were Mounts Jefferson, Three Sisters and McLaughlin; on Diamond Peak, and to the north of Mount Hood were Mounts Adams, St. Helens, Rainier and Baker, the latter being named after the hero of Ball's Bluff. Thus the speaker had a good view of the Cascade range, particularly of Mount Hood, which it was his intention to visit. The mountain ranges of Oregon State and Washington Territory were three in number: first, the Coast range; second, the Cascade, one hundred and fifty miles distant; and third, the Blue Mountains, two hundred and fifty miles distant.

The excursion to Mount Hood was made in the month of August, according to an arrangement made some time previous with Rev. Dr. Atkinson. The party, at the start, consisted of thirteen persons, three being ladies. With provisions for eight days, guns, ammunition, etc., and two aneroids, the party took the well-known Emigrant Road, through the forest, in the direction of Mount Hood. In Oregon, the forest consisted mostly of a monotonous continuation of red fir trees, from six to ten feet in diameter, and from one hundred to two hundred feet in height. Game, such as deer and bears, was to be found in plenty; likewise fruits and berries. On the seventeenth of August, the party encamped at the foot of Mount Hood, whence rushed a clear stream of water, coming from the snow above. This stream was surrounded by beautiful flowers, and the atmosphere was delicious here, at which a height of four thousand two hundred feet above the sea was indicated. After a rest, during which divine service was held, on Sunday, eight of the party started on Monday, the twentieth, on horseback, through the trackless forest, the ascent being at an angle of twelve degrees. Soon snow banks were found and the vegetation grew

scarcer, until it almost ceased. Where the trees became scarce, a meadow of beautiful grass was found, and here the horses were left, at an elevation of eight thousand eight hundred feet above the sea. The last tree seen was a crooked pine, fifteen feet in height, a short distance beyond which was found a cedar-like vine, and then nothing but snow and soil was to be found, the latter being a sprinkling of volcanic ashes. The ascent here was from twenty to twenty-five degrees. Further on all soil was lost sight of, and a field of pure snow of vast depth, extent and acclivity lay before the travelers when they had reached a height of ten thousand six hundred and fifty feet. A warm south wind was blowing, very suggestive of an avalanche. The ascent grew still greater, and was estimated at an angle of from thirty to thirty-five degrees. After resting for a time the party got ready five snow pikes, each eight feet long, and a rope fifty yards long, and commenced the ascent, which was continued until they arrived at the brink of an awful gulf, looking down the sides of which nothing but an unfathomable glacier of blue ice was to be seen, while below could be heard the rushing of water. The breadth of this chasm at the surface was from ten to one hundred feet, and its length as far across the path of the travelers as could be discerned. Young Atkinson, about eighteen years of age, was made the leader, and by an arrangement of the pikes he crossed the awful abyss; after which all the others crossed but two, the rope being also used to assist in the dangerous task. Two of the party refused to venture, and were left behind. On the other side of the chasm commenced a glacier of ice and snow, rising at an angle of from fifty-five to sixty degrees. Up this climbed the travelers, Young Atkinson taking the lead alternately with another one of the party. The leader would go ahead the length of the rope, which he would secure, when the others would follow. This process was continued to the summit of the mountain, where the travelers found themselves standing on the northern wall of a crater, with a precipice one thousand fathoms deep on the other side. Down the side of this precipice the rock was bare, and at the base could be seen an avalanche of inconceivable vastness. To look down this precipice, it was necessary for the beholder to lay flat upon the rock. From this pinnacle of pillared rock, raised high above the ordinary region of clouds, the venturesome travelers beheld a view which truly beggared description. Nearly all of Oregon and Washington was visible at a glance. To the North and South rose spectre pyramids; to the East the horizon was clear to the Rocky Mountains; to the West rolled the Pacific Ocean; while nearer were the evergreen forests and hills,

through which could be traced the course of the Great Columbia River. It seemed as if the world was spread out to view. The wind was tempestuous in force, and at times startled the listeners with its rumblings and howlings amidst the rocks, snow and ice. To the East an avalanche started, taking rocks in its fearful course, and awakening the thunders of the grand old Hood. The aneroids failed to agree, but after twenty attempts a fire was lit, and the thermometer in boiling water indicated a height of seventeen thousand feet above the sea. This eleven miles above the base of the mountain. The crest from which the view was obtained was a volcanic rock in the form of a crescent, half a mile long and from six to sixty feet in breadth. The lava found there was of brilliant colors. The snow on Mount Hood was only superficial; the mountain itself was volcanic, and its fires were not extinct, as was proven by the steaming, sulphurous smoke issuing from an open gorge. The travelers retraced their steps until they came to the chasm, which this time they were compelled to leap, a young man named Deerdorf taking the lead, but being safely followed by the others. This leap was a frightful necessity, but was made in the first instance with the rope round the waist of the leaper. Without any casualty whatever the party of six returned to camp, where they found the two who would not cross the chasm had suddenly gone some distance on their downward journey by missing their footing. The speaker concluded by reckoning the height of Mount Hood at seventeen thousand feet; Jefferson, sixteen thousand; Rainier, fifteen thousand five hundred; Sharsa, fourteen thousand seven hundred; Pike's Peak, thirteen thousand; and therefore concluded that what Mont Blanc was to Europe and Chimborazo to South America, Mount Hood should be to North America.

Professor Wood was listened to with deep attention by a crowded audience, and at the conclusion of his paper the thanks of the Society were voted to him.

Another meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, the seventeenth of January, when Rev. JOHN W. CHADWICK, of Brooklyn, read a paper on the "Life and Times of Saint Bernard."

The following are the names of members elected in January:

*Honorary Member*—Hon. William H. Tut-hill, of Iowa.

*Corresponding Members*—Miss Frances M. Caulkins, of New London, and Hon. Nicolas Pike, U. S. Consul to Mauritius.

*Resident and Life Members*—George Allin, John N. Bonestell, Geo. S. Belknap, Rev. Henry Blanchard, Andrew G. Coffin, Frederick D. Clark, Joseph P. Davis, Edmund C. Fisher, Prof. Gil-

bert L. Hume, Samuel Hunter, Prof. C. Fred Hartt, Edward H. Kidder, E. B. Litchfield, T. D. Middleton, J. S. Redfield, Prof. Rufus Sheldon. W. H. M. Sanger, Ira N. Stanley, Milton W. Smith, Frederick Thompson, J. G. Wilbur, M. D., Thomas J. Whitman, Jere. W. Walker, Horace Waters, John G. Schumaker, Mrs. Isaac Hall, John Truslow, Augustus Ford, William Duval, Henry W. Sage, Rufus R. Graves, John Davol, Wm. W. Wickes, Rev. John C. Ager, Hon. Demas Barnes, Henry M. McCorkle, Wm. W. Hooper, Frederick N. Stanley, James L. Morris, Saml. S. Stevens, William L. Polley, M. H. R. Styles, William M. Parks, Eli Robbins, William Waring, Jr., Col. Charles O. Belden, F. W. Boell, Jr.

### VIII.—BOOKS.

#### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Advice to the officers of the British Army.* A facsimile reprint of the Sixth London Edition. With Introduction and Notes. New York: Agathynian Club, 1867. Octavo. Bastard-title, blank, title-page, blank, xx. 136, 5.

In this handsome volume, from the Bradstreet Press, we have the first issue of the newly-organized Agathynian Club, whose elegantly-printed circular recently found its way into every library of consequence in the country. It is a reproduction of Captain Grose's satirical tract, in which the different grades of His Majesty's army, from the Commander-in-Chief to the Drummer, were ironically advised concerning what were not their respective duties, as Swift had advised the servants of his day, with the reasons why they should do or fail to do just the opposite of what was expected or desired from them.

As an instance of the superior ability of this accomplished satirist, we cite his opening sentence, addressed to the Commander-in-chief: "A Commander-in-chief is to the army under his command, what the soul is to the body: it can neither think nor act without him: and, in short, is as perfect a non-entity without its commander, as a wife is without her husband. You must, therefore, through pure good-will and affection for your troops, take care of your own sacred person, and never expose it to any dangers. You have not arrived at this rank without knowing the folly of knocking one's head against a post, when it can be avoided. When any service of danger is to be performed, you should send your second in command, or some inferior officer—but whomsoever you send, if he succeed in the business, be sure to take all the merit of it to yourself."

Thus, also, he advised the Sergeant: "In any dispute respecting the enlistment of a man, you may safely give your testimony or oath for the

"fairness of the transaction, although you were not present, nor saw any thing of the matter. It is for the good of the service."

In the Notes, the distinguished Editor has traced the applicability of some of this "advice" to the Armies of the United States, as well as the precision with which that highly disciplined body has long-since practised it—like causes producing like effects.

The Introduction is appropriate and well-written; and the Editor, of whom it may only be said that he is no novice in the service, has generally performed his duty with taste and ability.

The edition numbered a hundred and twenty copies, of which a hundred were sold to subscribers, the others given away.

2. *Publications of the Narragansett Club.* (First series.) Volume I. Providence, R. I., 1866. Small quarto, viii., 60, 224. 112.

This, like the volume last described, is the first issue of a newly organized Club; and we cordially congratulate the Society on its successful establishment, and as cordially welcome the first-fruits of its labors in the cause of American literature.

The opening article is a Biographical Memoir of Roger Williams, by R. A. Guild, Esq., the librarian of Brown University—not such a paper as should have been written for the Narragansett Club, but still a generally well-written and modest sketch of the life and writings of one of the remarkable men of the world; a representative man, although by no means a consistent one, in all respects.

Our dissatisfaction with some portions of this Introductory Memoir arises mainly from what we conceive to be its Author's failure to explore new fields of material and to avail himself of the details of the evidence concerning Williams, both those which were visible, but untouched, before Knowles and Gammell, Underhill and Elton, Staples and Arnold, wrote, and those which have been more recently uncovered in the published Records of the Bay Colony and in the invaluable collection of papers belonging to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

As an instance of this unwelcome looseness we notice the following: On page 8, Mr. Guild says: "He" [*Williams*] "was admitted to orders in the established Church, and assumed, it is said, the charge of a parish, probably in the diocese of the excellent Dr. Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln," etc.; yet he tells us, on the next page—what many of us have long since known—that John Cotton of Boston, in Lincolnshire, was his intimate friend in England; that they rode, to and fro, between that market-town and the neighboring village of Sempringham; and that

they discussed, as they went, the great principles of politico-religion, without seeming to have discovered, himself, what some of us have long since seen, that this very statement, written by Williams himself, was the end of a thread, hanging from the entangled reel of evidence concerning Williams's early life, which such a man as Mr. Guild, if competent to his task, should not have left unnoticed nor unfollowed.

Mr. Guild's weakness is also evident in his observations concerning Williams's refusal to become the teacher of the Church at Boston, (p. 11) and in those concerning that gentleman's "views" relative to the yet unbroken "communion with the churches of England" which prevailed in that church—"views," which the Biographer tells us, (p. 13) "cannot now be fully known," although Williams himself has said (P. 11) he could not "conscientiously" accept the call "BECAUSE I *durst not officiate* to AN UNSEPARATED PEOPLE, AS UPON EXAMINATION AND CONFERENCE, I FOUND THEM TO BE."

We should have been better pleased than we now are, also, if Mr. Guild had given us an authority or two to prove, what he says is true, that "they [*Winthrop and his associates*]" had "dissolved all connection with the church at home, by coming to this country." We never saw any evidence to sustain such a theory; and Williams seems to have been similarly ignorant when, for the existing *opposite* cause, he declined to become their teacher: it has remained for Mr. Guild to show that the Church at Boston was really composed of genuine Separatists, and that Williams, when he not had discovered that fact, and consequently would not accept office among them, was very much of an ignoramus.

We have not sufficient space to devote to a more extended notice of this part of the volume; and we dismiss it with a regret that Roger Williams still demands a Biographer who shall do justice to his character and his conduct, as they appeared in the fens of Lincolnshire, in the two Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, and in that of Rhode Island.

*The Key unto the Language of America*, by Roger Williams, edited by Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, which follows this Introductory Memoir, will commend itself to every scholar. There is no one who is so well qualified as Mr. Trumbull, for such a peculiar task as that which was imposed on the Editor of this *Key*; and there is no more conscientious writer among those who have assumed to tell of the Past of America. Thoroughly conversant with his subject, resolutely fearless in what he shall undertake to narrate, not afraid to expose his authorities lest some others should follow him to test his fidelity, Mr. Trumbull has given in his Introduction and foot-notes to this tract, the best evi-

dence of the good judgment displayed by the Club in securing his co-operation, while he has, also, strengthened his position as one of the most accurate and judicious of our historical writers.

*Mr. Cotton's Letter on Church-membership and Mr. Williams' Reply*, edited by Mr. Guild, with no more success than appears in his first article, close the volume.

As a specimen of typography this volume is highly creditable to "The Providence Press Company" whose imprint it bears—indeed some of our noted establishments in New York may usefully take pattern from it—and we are all well satisfied with its appearance, in every respect.

The edition numbered two hundred copies at five dollars each.

3. *Records of the New York Stage, from 1750 to 1860.* By Joseph N. Ireland. In two volumes Vol. I. New York: T. H. Morrell. 1866. Octavo, pp. iv., 663.

In this well-printed volume Mr. Ireland has traced the history of the Stage in New York, from its origin, in 1733, until the year 1832, with a well-directed zeal, which is as refreshing as it is uncommon.

There are few persons—none, indeed, who have not tried the experiment—who can imagine how much hard work has been spent in the collection of the materials which have been swallowed up in each page of this volume; and, although the minute details of every cast of characters which has figured on our boards may seem somewhat similar to the display of play-bills which stare at us from every corner, we cannot but admire the laborious fidelity with which they have been properly placed in what assumes to be a permanent *Record of the New York Stage*.

Nor are we disposed to find fault with the comparatively scant supply of anecdotes and other incidental matter which we find in the book. It is very evident that Mr. Ireland was obliged to choose which of the two he would omit from his well-filled volume, the material legitimately belonging to the *Record*, or the ornamental portions; and that he wisely retained the former at the expense of the latter and of the pleasure of some of his less considerate readers. He did well in doing so; and we rejoice that another has been found who is willing to do his duty, even if he shall lose something by doing so.

There is one thing, however, which we cannot excuse—the omission to notice more fully the Theatre Royal of the Revolutionary era. This is one of the most important subjects connected with the History of the Stage in New York; and as the material was perfectly accessible, ready for his immediate use, and offered to him in a collected form, we cannot account for Mr. Ireland's sad omission of it.

The typography of this work is highly cred-



itable to the Bradstreet Press, although not equal to the best specimens of its publications; and we only regret that the Publisher did not afford a quality of paper which was more worthy of the volume.

The edition numbered two hundred and sixty copies, of which sixty were quarto, and two hundred octavo.

4. *Nathaniel Greene. An Examination of some Statements concerning Major-general Greene, in the Ninth Volume of Bancroft's History of the United States.* By George Washington Greene. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1866. Octavo, pp. 86.

If we are to judge from mere appearances, Mr. Bancroft has very suddenly fallen from the very enviable position which he formerly occupied, and become, instead of a first-class historian, a mere slipshod and unreliable scribbler.

It is not, however, our business in this place to ascertain how nearly the appearances agree with the truth, although it might be useful to inquire how this sudden change has been produced; if Mr. Bancroft was ever more reliable than he is now, or any less entitled, to-day, to the unmeasured honors of last year than he then was; and if there is not a middle course—that he is just as good a man and just as reliable a historian as he ever has been, only he has recently trodden on some gouty foot and raised a commotion among those whose feelings he has injured by the clumsiness of his movements.

We have read History with a very different result, in some instances, from that which Mr. Bancroft's studies have produced. We think Greene and Sullivan, Schuyler, and Wayne, and Reed, among others, have not merited all the censures he has heaped on them; and we are not quite sure that he has always fully understood the subjects, especially concerning military movements, on which he has undertaken to pass judgment.

As an instance, we may refer to the loss of Fort Washington—one of Greene's assumed weak points—in which we are quite sure that the chief element of that terrible disaster, at least, has been entirely overlooked in his narrative. He failed, therefore, we conceive, to do exact justice in the premises, either to Greene or Washington. He censured the former for results for which neither he nor any one under his control was justly liable; he failed to condemn those who only were liable to be censured, for both the passage of the enemy's ships up the river and the subsequent surrender of the fort; and he does not seem to have placed the Commander-in-chief in exactly the position, in his narrative, which he really occupied in the field.

In the pamphlet under consideration, the grandson of General Greene has come forward with a vindication of that great soldier and good man.

Who would have supposed, ten years ago, that such a vindication would be needed against the aggressions of the first historian in America? Who, within the recollection of school-boys of to-day, would have dared to suppose, much less to say, that Greene was "despondent" in 1776; that he cast "reflections" on Washington's conduct at Kip's Bay; that he "complained" and "murmured" to Washington or to Mifflin, when Lasher abandoned Fort Independence and the Rangers were ordered from his out-posts to join the grand army at White Plains; that he disobeyed orders at Fort Washington, was negligent of his duty, and disingenuous to his Chief; that his disposition was too "easy and sanguine;" that he "reposed" while Washington labored at Princeton; that he was of little service at Brandywine, less at Germantown, and not unwilling to escape from his duties in the field to become Quartermaster-general? Truly, the world moves; and whether these charges are true or false, who does not see that there is no longer a disposition to depend on the traditions of the fathers, concerning early men and measures; nor a dread of looking for the truth, or of telling it, lest some "established reputation" of our boyhood shall be impeached! Actions and men must be weighed and tested by the historian. They can no longer pass current for their face, no matter how base the metal; and we know no reason to relieve even General Greene from this great ordeal; while we know, also, no reason why his descendants or his country should shrink from such an examination.

As we have said, we do not concur with Mr. Bancroft in all his conclusions. Washington, it is true, was the great central figure in the armies of the Revolution; but Washington was not alone, nor was his the only arm which braved the onslaught of the enemy, nor his the only head which planned campaigns and directed instrumentalities. He was, at best, only a man—"desponding," passionate, apt to complain, by times irresolute, always formal, never assimilating himself with the masses, not remarkably profound—like many of his contemporaries.

If Greene was "despondent" in 1776, was he any worse because of it? Washington himself wrote freely, at that time, of the "game" they were playing, and how nearly he thought it was "up;" while Robert Morris did not consider it beneath his dignity to tell the Congress, in December of that year, "Some effectual remedy must be applied to this evil," [*the depreciation of the currency*] "*or the game will be up.*" These, however, were no worse because of that; nor does it seem necessary to formally vindicate any who, in those dark days, were sometimes "despondent," even while performing their duty with honor to themselves and advantage to

their country. We think the author of this Vindication need not have noticed so harmless a remark, whatever might have led Mr. Bancroft to use it.

These remarks may be applied, also, to Mr. Bancroft's words concerning Greene's "reflections" on Washington's outburst of temper at Kip's Bay, and his "complaints" and "murmurs" still later in the campaign. Mr. Bancroft probably considered it necessary to guard Washington from the effects of a fault-finding spirit, even from that of Greene, if he possessed one; but while we differ from him in this respect, we see no sufficient reason in that difference for inflicting on him the penalty of a pamphlet.

The truth is, historical writers are generally considered excellent men, etc., etc., etc., while they are humoring the weaknesses of men and families by continuing the laudation of their ancestors; but the moment they presume to think for themselves, to turn their subjects around in order to see the other side, and to do their duty by treating those subjects as men rather than Gods, they very often cease to command any respect whatever, if they do not encounter a torrent of abuse from those who had previously been most obsequious to them.

We do not say that Professor Greene is quite as sensitive as those fickle ones to whom we have referred; but we do say that he has expended too much labor on small and unimportant matters, at the expense of others which demand, as they have demanded for many years, his earnest and intelligent attention.

When the triumph of the cause in which they were engaged was doubtful, as it was in the fall of 1776, why should not both Greene and Washington have been "despondent," at least in their private correspondence? When an earnest, true, and vigilant General saw reason to fear that the indiscreet conduct of others had deprived him of material which he needed, and that the sudden withdrawal of light troops left him exposed in front or flank, and overturned his carefully-prepared plans for offensive movements or more obstinate defence, why should he not have expressed his regret—why not "complain" and "murmur," if you please? And when Washington so far gave way to passion, that the restraining hand of a friend was necessary to prevent him from committing suicide, as was really the case, when stripped of its rhetoric, at Kip's Bay, even a fool might be justly punished, if he made no "reflections" on the subject.

If Greene had witnessed all these, and been subjected to the withdrawal of the Rangers, without uttering a word which indicated feeling, warmth of feeling if you please, he might have been considered, *as he would have been*, as caring nothing for the cause, and of being a second

Charles Lee. On the contrary, the cause was near to his heart, and he naturally "desponded" when it seemed hopeless; he "complained" and "murmured" when he was prevented from promoting it, and when it was needlessly endangered by others; and he made "reflections" when its great chief, his honored friend, in a fit of passion, seemed willing to sacrifice his life or his liberty, to no good end. That Greene was thus exercised, is admitted, it seems, even by one who is assumed to think ill of him. But who does not see in this admission, the testimony, *in Greene's favor*, of one who is assumed to be an unwilling witness, of one who is reluctantly compelled to record the entire sympathy of that General with the cause of his country, of one who has found nothing more serious in Greene's character, prior to the fall of Fort Washington, than an intelligent and friendly difference of opinion from Washington, and sufficient manliness to express it? Even Mr. Bancroft, it seems, could not paint the times referred to in sufficiently sombre colors, without the contrast afforded by Greene's constant and manly patriotism—the cause was so hopeless that even Greene "desponded"; the situation of affairs at Fort Washington was so precarious that even Greene, on whom the continued occupation of the post depended, was shaken in his resolution, and led to "complain"—probably to "murmur"—at the burning of a few boards at Fort Independence, and the removal of a handful of his Light-troops to White Plains. The indiscretion of Washington at Kip's Bay was so notorious and so noteworthy that even Greene, his most devoted friend, must needs "reflect" on it.

The first, second, and fourth of Professor Greene's specifications, therefore, in the form in which he has put them, we conceive to have been uncalled for, if not unfortunate, inasmuch as we are not quite sure that in these instances, at least, Mr. Bancroft has not unwittingly paid to Greene the highest compliment he could have bestowed.

His third charge, concerning the expedition to Staten Island, we conceive to have originated in the Professor's fancy rather than in a just appreciation of Mr. Bancroft's words, in which we do not see even an insinuation that Greene had improperly abandoned Mercer during the movement on Staten Island, in October, 1776. We should be loathe to entertain the thought, but if any one was to suggest that the men of snow, which boys sometimes construct with great ingenuity, in order to have something to throw snow-balls at, had furnished the Professor with an example which he has diligently followed in this case, we should be puzzled to find a reply.

Fort Washington, the fifth of the Professor's subjects, affords a fit subject for his long-prom-

ised and long-deferred attention; but he commences the discussion of it by avoiding the main question involved.

We insist that the grandson of Greene, when he undertakes to tell us of Fort Washington, shall not shrink from the *duty* of either defending his grandfather's conduct in the case, or of allowing judgment to be taken, as confessed, against him. He must not continue to sit, as he has sat for twenty years, as a mere protestant, denying everything without offering a reason or a counter theory. If we are wrong, he must not merely say so, as he has done ever since we have been in the service, but he must show us the truth.

After a life-time of denials, he tells us, (*page 27*) "Whether Greene was right or wrong in his belief that Fort Washington ought to be held, *I shall not take upon me to say. It is a military question which none but military men are competent to decide.*" Indeed! Why then has he presumed to decide that Mr. Bancroft, in differing from him on "military questions" relating to it, has needed a pamphlet in opposition? His grandfather needed no such protracted period to understand a "military question" of this importance; why then should the Professor be still ignorant of the subject, with all the light which he possesses or can control? *It was his duty to learn the truth concerning it before he undertook to pass judgment in the case; he tells us he did not; of what value, then, is his judgment to General Greene's memory, or of what weight against Mr. Bancroft's volume? Who can tell?*

"The passing of the ships up the river," the result of a sad BLUNDER which gave to the enemy the control of the waters of the Hudson above Fort Washington—rendering nearly useless, certainly depriving of their chief importance, both Fort Washington and Fort Lee, and rendering four-fold more difficult the labors of both Greene and Washington, while it diminished the cares of the enemy to a corresponding extent—were certainly worthy of the Professor's notice in such a work as this. Why were those subjects—the great features of the question under examination—left unventilated, even unnoticed, both by Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Greene? In his letter of the ninth of November, 1776, General Greene referred to it feelingly; and gave reasons for supposing, "upon the whole," even under the new order of things, "the garrison is of advantage;" the best defence his reputation could have had—that which we have waited for so long—would have been a disclosure of the real causes which led to different results from those which he expected, and a candid and authentic and complete account of his connection or want of connection with those causes.

If the actual results were different from those which General Greene foretold, was it because

his judgment in the matter was defective, or because *other and unforeseen* causes interfered and controlled the matter, beyond his ability to save it? If the former, the Professor has a reason for not disclosing it, although he has no reason for attempting to silence those who suppose they have the truth concerning it: if the latter, he owes it to the memory of his ancestor and to the cause of truth to tell the world all about it. It is either a question of inclination or ability in the Professor: which of the two, is the question.

*Greene's judgment in the premises was ORIGINALLY right: the result of the passage of the ships—a BLUNDER for which he was not responsible—diminished the PARAMOUNT importance of the position, without wholly destroying it.* That is no valid defence of Greene which leaves untold these vital facts; and no one can justly appreciate the gigantic abilities of that great man who does not understand his reasons for that original judgment, even when opposed by many of the best of his associates; nor can the purity of his devotion to his country and the cause in which he was engaged be entirely known to those who do not understand and weigh the hazards, newly thrust upon him, to which he subsequently exposed himself. *The original circumstances had been changed by the blunders, and the control of both the river and its Eastern bank, between Fort Washington and Stony Point, had been needlessly surrendered to the enemy and to the hopelessly disaffected who inhabited the Philippine Manor: yet Greene was true to his trust; and Washington and his army, after the battle of White Plains, were saved.* Washington's letter of the eighth of November, quoted on page 32, tells a story, in this connection, which Professor Greene, although not a military man, might have studied with advantage; and Greene's reply to it, quoted on pages 28, 29, would have told him what the other did not unfold.

The fact that Washington, who knew the facts, never censured Greene, should have protected him from Mr. Bancroft's ill-will: the fact that the censures of the historian fall quite as heavily on Washington as they do on Greene in everything concerning Fort Washington, should have given courage to the vindicator of the latter, and led him to relieve, at once, his grandfather and the illustrious Chief who had sustained him. The Professor has failed to do this; and, unfortunately, the world is no wiser, on this great subject, than it was before he wrote and printed his pamphlet.

The sixth topic is a philological rather than a historical charge against Mr. Bancroft. It is of little consequence, and the glory of the victory, which evidently belongs to the Professor, will not be noticed among the well-earned laurels of his grandfather. Whether or not the General's

was an "easy, sanguine disposition," which forms the seventh division of the subject, belongs to the same unimportant class.

Mr. Bancroft's serious charge against Greene, of disobeying Washington's Order for a removal of the stores from Fort Lee, which forms the eighth division of the pamphlet, is triumphantly overthrown; and we do not hesitate to say that the license which the historian seems to have taken in mutilating the General's Order on the subject, contained in his letter of the eighth of November, betrays either an intensity of ill-will which we cannot excuse, or a looseness in the use of materials which is inconsistent with Mr. Bancroft's high standing; and whichever is true, the subject demands an explanation. It is not merely an error of judgment, but a mutilation of the written record, which neither Mr. Bancroft nor any other writer of History can be guilty of without wrong-doing.

The ninth topic in this pamphlet is an answer to Mr. Bancroft's charge of a want of vigilance in Greene, in the abandonment of Fort Lee, when a quantity of stores fell into the enemy's hands.

Mr. Bancroft had no excuse for making the charge, and Professor Greene has none for not more effectually repelling it. The latter should have so presented the facts that without the opinions of Paine, or Gordon, or any other contemporary, the intelligent reader of this pamphlet would have been enabled to see for himself that Mr. Bancroft had not fairly presented the facts of the case.

We see no great cause for complaint that during a rainy night (and therefore dark), an expedition was successfully organized under the lee of the high grounds at Fort Washington, in Spuyten Duyvel creek—both banks of which were wholly occupied by the enemy, and not within sight of our posts—nor is it very wonderful that without Greene's *personal* knowledge, such an expedition should have moved, in the darkness, not more than four or five miles, across the Hudson, to Closter, and there effected a landing. It is more remarkable, in our view of the case, as a positive evidence of Greene's untiring vigilance, that such a movement, thus organized, and led by such an officer as Lord Cornwallis, was not entirely successful in capturing the whole garrison of Fort Lee, instead of its stragglers and that portion of its baggage and stores for the removal of which there were no wagons.

In the tenth division, Professor Greene supposes he sees a phantom, and raises an alarm; but, for the life of us, we cannot see it. What if Washington did work harder than Greene and the other General officers, while preparing the plans of his proposed operations in New Jersey, in December, 1776, and January, 1777? Is there

anything unusual in such an application of his entire energies to the organization of a campaign, by a Commander-in-chief? Is there anything derogatory to the character of a subordinate, when the principal credit of a movement is awarded to a responsible Chief, no matter by whom originally suggested, or by whom directly executed? History has not yet reached that blessed state, when "equal and exact justice" shall be done to "all men" on her commemorative tablets—that we have high authority for saying, might sometimes have "a denationalizing tendency"—and there is only one History, within our knowledge, which can reasonably aspire to such a glorious distinction. It is neither Bancroft's nor Gordon's however.

In the eleventh division, we are told that General Greene condemned the American position at Red Clay Neck, in the fall of 1777; and that Mr. Bancroft says nothing about it.

There may be a point in this circumstance, but we do not see it; nor have we been able to find it in Mr. Bancroft's volume. We are inclined, therefore, to consider this as another of Professor Greene's snow-men, raised only as a target for his antagonistic snow-balls.

In the Professor's twelfth division the affair at Brandywine is discussed; and, if we understand him correctly, he has made a sad botch of it.

Mr. Bancroft seems to have said that Washington, "*taking with him* Greene and two brigades," marched swiftly to the support of Sullivan; that his approach, with one of these, "checked" the advance of the enemy, who was driving the latter before him; that the enemy rallied and compelled Greene to fall back also; and that not until supported by the other two regiments of his command, was the latter enabled to hold his position.

The Professor first introduces Gordon to show, *by innuendo*, that Washington did not go to the front at all, thus giving the credit of the day to Greene; that he had only *one* brigade instead of two; and that Greene, also, was the principal officer in command when the enemy was ultimately checked and finally withdrew from the pass.

If Washington had not been in front, Greene would have been the senior officer on the ground, and therefore in command; *but the former was in front*, and the Professor, on the next page, actually produces a witness to prove to his readers that Washington, *in person*, led his troops and commanded them,—just what Mr. Bancroft had stated;—while both General Muhlenberg (*Life*, 94, 340), Judge Johnson (*Life of Greene*, i., 73, 76), and Judge Marshall (*Life of Washington*—*Edit. Phila.*, 1805, iii., 134, 135), sustain that gentleman concerning the *two* brigades; and General Muhlenberg (*Life*, 94, 98, 340), as well

as Gordon (ii., 511, 512), and Judge Johnson (i., 76), inform us that Washington *personally* indicated the position to which Greene should fall back; and that, under like orders from Washington, the latter actually fell back and occupied it, holding the enemy in check until nightfall.

The thirteenth section relates to the Battle of Germantown, on which Mr. Bancroft seems to have said nothing concerning Greene that is worth especial attention; and it is continued, in the fourteenth, with no more reason, exculpating the General from a fancied censure concerning the subsequent retreat to Skippack.

Whether or not Greene was "reluctant" to accept the office of Quarter-master-general, does not seem to have occupied Mr. Bancroft's attention: why then did Professor Greene occupy a chapter of his pamphlet to tell us that the office was not wanted? Was it another of those snow men of which we have already spoken? or was it a pious and instructive attempt to cover the weakest point not yet assailed?

In a general survey of the subject, we think it is unquestionable that General Greene does not occupy the high position in Mr. Bancroft's regard that he is probably entitled to; and we do not deny that the grandson of the General had just and sufficient reasons for a public complaint on some parts of the subject. But there were other grounds for complaint which were more important than those which the Professor has occupied, concerning which he is silent. The occupation and loss of Fort Washington, for instance, have been standing subjects of disagreement, for more than ninety years; and the Professor has made them the subjects of long-continued, if not careful and impartial attention. Yet on the most important topics he is silent. Had he cleared up the mystery—so called—of that misfortune and told us the truth of it, his work of *vindication* would have been a most useful one; and he might have proudly pointed to such an exoneration of his ancestor from that ancient slander, to the steady confidence which the Commander-in-chief reposed in him, to the spotless character of his private record, and to the unquestionable abilities which he displayed, both in the field and as Quarter-master-general, as the unimpeachable vouchers for his grandfather's truly honest fame.

He has not done so; preferring, rather, to spend his strength on philological trifles and phantoms originating with himself, and leaving yet unsolved the great questions—Why was Mount Washington originally occupied? Why was not it abandoned when the army was moved into Westchester county? Why was its garrison strengthened instead of withdrawn, still later? Why was that garrison subsequently lost?

Who shall be General Greene's next vindicator?

5. *General John Sullivan*. A vindication of his character as a Soldier and a Patriot. By Thomas C. Amory, Esq. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. iv., 52.

6. *President Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania*. A correspondence between Hon. William B. Reed and John C. Hamilton, Esq. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. iv., 29.

The readers of last year's numbers of this work will recognize in these tracts, two articles which were widely noticed in the December number and as generally commended.

They have been re-produced in this form, for private circulation by their respective authors; and, apart from their value as contributions to American History, their beauty as specimens of book-making will render them attractive.

The edition of each was sixty copies.

7. *Abattoirs*. A paper read before the Polytechnic Branch of the American Institute, June 8, 1866. By Thomas F. De Voe. Albany: 1866. Octavo, pp. 32.

Colonel De Voe, the author of this paper, is known to his neighbors and friends as "the Historical Butcher." *The Market Book*, which he published some years since, will sufficiently indicate the propriety of the designation. He is one of the few who look before they leap; and whatever bears his name, whether concerning the History or the Contents of the Markets in New York, may be entirely relied on as true.

The paper before us is on Slaughter-houses; and we have presented to us a clear account of these establishments, in the city of New York, for the past two hundred years, together with incidental allusions to those of the Greeks, the French, the Scotch, etc.; and it closes with an elaborate and forcible defense of their unusual healthfulness, even in periods of epidemic visitation. He insists, and proves, the truth of the assertion, that those who spend the greater part of their time in slaughter-houses are healthier, as far as local diseases are concerned, than the great body of those who are engaged elsewhere.

*The Harbor of Boston and its Islands*, an important series of papers, from the accomplished pen of Doctor N. B. Shurtleff, is running through the columns of *The Boston Sunday News*.

## 2.—BOOKS IN PREPARATION.

—We have seen a proof of a portrait of Madame Reidesel, which has been engraved from one obtained in Germany, for the illustration of Mr. Stone's forthcoming edition of her *Letters*, to which we have already referred; and we promise a treat to all who are interested in such matters. Indeed, it is a beautiful portrait of a very beautiful woman, with whose devotion to her husband our readers are generally acquainted; and, between Mr. Stone and Mr. Munsell, the latter of whom is printing the volume, we have no doubt that many more, through her letters, will very soon learn to admire her.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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MARCH, 1867.

[No. 3.

## I.—HENRY LAURENS IN ENGLAND.

By GENERAL PETER FORCE.

In October, 1779, when the Continental Paper Money had almost reached its lowest point of depreciation, it was determined by the Congress to seek a foreign Loan, a Committee having reported that in their opinion one might be negotiated in Holland. In accordance with this suggestion, on the fifteenth of that month, it was Resolved that a proper person be authorized and instructed to negotiate this business on behalf of the United States.

On the eighteenth of October, Congress proceeded to the nomination of a proper person to negotiate a Loan in Holland; and Mr. John Adams was put in nomination by G. Morris; Mr. Henry Laurens, by Mr. Matthews, and Mr. Woodbury Langdon, by Mr. Sharpe. On the twenty-first, Mr. Laurens (then a Member of Congress) was elected the Commissioner to make the Loan.

By his Instructions he was "authorized to negotiate a Loan, for and in behalf of the United States, with any person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, not exceeding ten millions of dollars," Congress promising to ratify and confirm whatever he might do in the premises.

His commission was agreed to on the thirtieth of October, 1779; but he was prevented by unavoidable circumstances from proceeding on his agency, until the succeeding summer. On the sixth July, 1780, Congress, on the Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, "RESOLVED, That it is highly expedient that the honourable Henry Laurens do repair to Europe, without loss of time, in order to enter on the discharge of the Commission to which he has been appointed by Congress," and on the nineteenth of July, a Warrant was ordered to be drawn on the Treasury, in favor of the Board of Admiralty, for Thirty thousand dollars, "to enable them to procure sea stores for the passage of the honourable H. Laurens."

Provision was now made for the departure of Mr. Laurens. For his conveyance the *Mercury* Packet, (a vessel described as a Brig of sixty

tuns, with four guns and fourteen men,) under the command of Captain William Pickles, was engaged, with orders to proceed to sea immediately, under the convoy of two National ships, from the Capes of Delaware "to a good offing."

Captain Pickles, on the eleventh of August, 1780, received the following Orders from the Board of Admiralty:—

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM PICKLES.

"SIR:

"The Board of Admiralty having appointed you to command the Continental Packet *Mercury*, you are hereby ordered to proceed with all possible dispatch North about for Amsterdam in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, where, when you arrive, you are to receive on board the *Mercury* all such articles as the Hon. Henry Laurens shall by himself or his agents order to be put on board. When the *Mercury* is completely laden, you are to proceed on your return with the vessel for any safe port on the coast of North America giving Philadelphia, Chesapeake Bay, or Egg Harbour the preference; and give the Board immediate notice of your arrival.

"You will make all dispatch in your power while in Amsterdam so that you may arrive on this coast before the Winter sets in.

"You are at liberty to take passengers on your homeward bound voyage, but no articles but such as each of them may bring in a trunk of a middling size, and no private property for any person, but such as Mr Laurens may direct you to receive, and be governed by his orders during your voyage. Mr. Laurens will advance you for your crew the monies we have agreed shall be paid them at Amsterdam agreeable to your shipping bill. The Board desire you will make Mr. Laurens' passage as comfortable as possible and that you will at all times exercise Economy and Despatch.

"Wishing you a prosperous voyage

"I am Sir

"Your Hble. Servant

"by order

"JOHN BROWN, Sec."

The final instructions to Mr. Laurens bore the same date with the foregoing:—

"Aug. 11<sup>th</sup> 1780.

"THE HONBLE. HENRY LAURENS ESQ.

"SIR,

"You will receive with this a bill of Exchange on John Jay Esq for One thousand pounds sterling out of which you will be pleased to deliver to Captain Pickles the amount of the sum specified in his shipping bill which we have agreed shall be paid him in Amsterdam and also Two hundred and forty dollars which we have agreed shall be advanced him, and Five dollars and one third of a dollar per week for his subsistence while in Amsterdam, the remainder you will lay out in purchasing the articles mentioned in the enclosed list. If the bill should not be sufficient for these purposes, you are desired to make use of your credit for supplying the deficiency as all the articles are exceedingly wanted. We wish you to insure the *Mercury* and her cargo on the best terms you can to the first port in the United States of America, and give her all the despatch in your power. We heartily wish you a safe and pleasant passage to the place of your destination and are Sir,

"Your most Hble. serv<sup>t</sup>"

"FRANCIS LEWIS per order."

Captain James Nicholson of the Frigate *Trumbull* was directed by the Board of Admiralty on the same day to proceed to sea, taking the *Mercury* Packet under convoy:—

"You are directed to proceed to Sea on a cruise, taking under your Convoy the *Mercury* Packet, and keeping Company with her until you shall have given her a good offing; you are then to cruise along and off this coast;" &c.

For the greater security of the vessel conveying Mr. Laurens, the *Saratoga* received similar orders:

"To John Young, Esq. Commander of the Continental Ship *Saratoga*,

"SIR,

"You being appointed to the command of the ship *Saratoga*, are hereby ordered to fall down the River Delaware, and taking the *Mercury* Packet under your Convoy, proceed to Sea, and give her as good an offing as you can, consistent with your returning to the Capes, in four or five days," &c.

The next information we have from Mr. Laurens, states that he wrote to the Board of Admiralty on the twenty-third of August, by Captain Young, when the *Saratoga* left him on his return to the coast, and also of the capture of the ship he was in, on the third of September. His Letter is dated—

"VESTAL—BRITISH FRIGATE,  
"ST. JOHN'S, Newfoundland,  
"September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1780.

"GENTLEMEN.

"I had the honor of writing to the Board of Admiralty, from on board the *Mercury* packet, the 23d ult. by Captain Young, at parting with the *Saratoga*. On the 3<sup>d</sup> instant, the *Vestal* came in view, and after a pursuit of some five or six hours, Captain George Keppel took possession of the packet. Mr. Young, Captain Pickles, and myself, were conducted on board this ship, and yesterday we arrived here.

"Certain papers, among which were all those delivered to me by Mr. Lovell, and the board of Admiralty, fell into Captain Keppel's hands. These papers had been enclosed in a bag, accompanied by a considerable weight of iron shot, and thrown overboard, but the weight proved insufficient for the purpose intended. Admiral Edwards, Governor of this Island, and commander of the stationed squadron, has ordered me to England in the sloop of war *Fairy*, under the command of Captain Keppel. Mr. Young and Captain Pickles will probably go in the same vessel.

"I should be wanting in justice, and indeed deficient in common gratitude, were I to omit an acknowledgement of Captain Keppel's kindness to myself, and to every body captured in the *Mercury*. Captain Pickles' conduct, while he had the command of that vessel, was perfectly satisfactory to me. I have the honor to be, &c.

"HENRY LAURENS."

The following particulars relating to the capture and treatment of Mr. Laurens are furnished by the English Newspapers:

"NEW-YORK, October 13, 1780. Yesterday arrived the Ship *Patty*, Captain Marquis, from Glasgow, which place she left seven weeks ago; by her, we learn that bound from Philadelphia to Holland, in which Henry Laurens, Esquire, late President of Congress, was a passenger, was captured by his Majesty's Frigate *Vestal*, Captain Keppel, one of the Fleet on the Newfoundland Station, the 2d of September, last; the mail, containing papers of the greatest importance, was thrown overboard, but as it did not immediately sink, it was taken on board the *Vestal*, undamaged.

"The prize was carried into St. John's where the contents of the mail was found to be of such consequence, that a Frigate was immediately dispatched to carry it and the person of Henry Laurens to Britain."

"LONDON, October 2, 1780. The Brigantine *Congress*, a packet from Philadelphia, bound to Amsterdam, was taken on the Banks of New-

"foundland, by the *Vestal* frigate, Capt. Képpel. There were on board her, Mr. Henry Laurens, late President of Congress, who was several months ago appointed by Congress Envoy to the Hague; also his Secretary and another gentleman. On their being carried to Newfoundland, admiral Edwards immediately despatched the *Vestal* frigate to England, thinking the capture of these Gentlemen (together with their papers, which are said to be taken) of some importance. The *Vestal* frigate had but fifteen days passage, and is said to have landed Mr. Laurens at Dartmouth, on account of his bad state of health.

"Mr. Henry Laurens, late President of the Congress, is one of the greatest and best men America has ever produced. The temper and moderation with which he conducted himself at the first breaking out of the American contents, did honour to his wisdom and his fortitude. For his house at Charlestown was frequently surrounded in the middle of the night, by a mob determined to sacrifice him and his family, as the friend of the English Administration, or the lukewarm friend of America. He saved himself by the cool determination of meeting the rioters, and inviting them to proceed against himself, while he requested them to spare his unoffending family. Mr. Laurens always represented the apprehensions of America as groundless, till he made the tour of Europe, and learnt in England, that there was a plan in agitation, which has since almost committed suicide on the empire. This determined him to take the part he has since borne."

"LONDON, October 4, 1780. On Wednesday an Express arrived at the Admiralty, from the Officer who has the care of Mr. Laurens, acquainting their Lordships, that the reason of his not bringing that Gentleman to town, agreeably to the order given him by Captain Keppel, was the severe indisposition with which his prisoner had been seized, which confined him to his room, and rendered it highly dangerous to remove him; he therefore begged their Lordships further direction with respect to his future disposal of this distinguished captive.

"As soon as Mr. Laurens is sufficiently recovered from his illness, to admit of a removal to this metropolis, he is to be carried before the Privy Council, and interrogated as to the tenor of his commission to the States General.

"There is another American Gentleman of some consequence taken with Mr. Laurens, the late President of the Congress."

"LONDON, October 7, 1780.—Notwithstanding advice was received at the Admiralty on Thursday morning of Mr. Laurens being so bad at New-

ton Abbot, in Devonshire, that he could not undergo the fatigue of travelling without very much endangering his life, and begging an indulgence of remaining two or three days at that place, which was immediately granted; Mr. Laurens in a few hours after the express was sent to the Admiralty of his indisposition, found himself so much recovered as to proceed on his journey, under the guard of Mr. Norris, Lieutenant of the *Vestal*, and arrived in a post-coach at the Admiralty at five o'clock in the evening.

"Notice of his arrival being immediately sent to Lord Sandwich and Mr. Stephens, Mr. Laurens was ordered into the audience-room in the Admiralty, and not having dined, an elegant dinner was ordered for him from the Salopian Coffee House; but neither Lord Sandwich nor Mr. Stephens thought it consistent with propriety to be introduced to him without a previous consultation of the Cabinet.

"Advice of Mr. Laurens's arrival was sent to the American Secretary, Lord George Germaine, who immediately sent his secretary, Mr. Knox, to wait on Mr. Laurens, who was introduced to him, and they had some private conversation together. Afterwards Justice Addington and two King's Messengers were with Mr. Laurens for some time; and he remained in the Audience-room till after he had supped. He was then placed under the care of a Messenger of the Admiralty, who lives in Scotland Yard, and conveyed to his house, where he remained that night under the guard of a Sergeant, six soldiers, and a Messenger, who were constantly with him. Mr. Laurens has a black servant with him, who, however, is not allowed to attend his master, but remains in the same house.

"Mr. Laurens is seemingly about fifty years of age, of a swarthy, but keen, intelligent, yet rather a melancholy countenance, has his own hair, and is rather below the middle size.

"Mr. Laurens is said to be chagrined, not at the loss of his liberty, but on account of the whole of his papers being saved, and now in the hands of Government, as they are said to disclose the whole system of American politics, and the private conduct of all the European powers towards America. Mr. Laurens is very reserved in his conversation and very thoughtful.

"A Baronet yesterday sent his respects to him, and would be very glad to see him; but Mr. Laurens returned him a polite answer, that he was sorry he could not grant his request, as no person whatever was allowed to be admitted to him, without having an order from Government.

"Yesterday, about 12, o'clock, pursuant to an order for that purpose, Mr. Laurens was brought privately in a hackney coach to Lord George



"Germaine's office accompanied only by Mr. Addington. The Earl of Hillsborough, Lord Viscount Stormount, and Lord Germaine, three of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, attended by his Majesty's Solicitor General, being present, Mr. Laurens went under a long examination, which lasted till near six o'clock; when a warrant of commitment was made out, signed by three Secretaries of State, committing him a close prisoner to the Tower. Mr. Laurens was conveyed privately, soon afterwards, as before, in a hackney coach, accompanied by two Military Officers and two Messengers, who were likewise named in the warrant. They arrived at the Tower about seven o'clock, and delivered their prisoner into the custody of the Governor."

Subjoined is the substance of Mr. Laurens's Examination, by the Government, and his commitment to the Tower.

"Previous to Mr Laurens's appearance before the Secretaries and Justice Addington, it was settled in the interior Cabinet, what questions were to be put to him, and they were committed to writing.

"Mr. Laurens was asked, if he acknowledged himself a subject of the British Crown? To which he answered in the Negative.

"He was then asked, in what capacity he considered himself, and to what kingdom he was subject? He replied that he considered himself as an American Plenipotentiary; that he was subject to no King whatever; and owned no other superior than the United States of America, collectively represented by Congress.

"Being interrogated, if he ever thought himself a subject of the British Empire? He replied in the affirmative; but that it was the undoubted privilege of every society of men that were under the dominion of any one or more, whatever, when they found themselves aggrieved, and had no prospect of redress, to withdraw their allegiance, and either throw themselves under the protection of another, or to establish a government among themselves, on a basis of a more generous nature, that of public and general liberty, which might check the tyranny of the few, for the security of the whole body.

"He was asked where his pretended embassy was for? He answered, he was no pretended ambassador, but a legal one, and his credentials were properly authenticated for an European Court.

"Several more questions were asked, relative to the seized papers, the state of America, &c., to all of which he refused to give any answer, saying that as an Ambassador, from an inde-

pendent Power, they had no right to interrogate him in that manner.

"When he was told, that he was to be committed to the Tower, he told them that it was violating the law of nations to detain an Ambassador; and that he hoped every court in Europe would show their detestation of such conduct.

"Mr Laurens asked if he was to consider himself as a captive Ambassador; or, as they termed him, a rebellious subject of Great Britain? To neither of which questions it was thought proper to answer.

"The Deputy Lieutenant and all the other officers belonging to the Tower have received orders to give a constant attendance at that place, Mr Laurens is to be treated with every respect his situation will admit."

#### COMMITMENT OF MR. LAURENS.

"The commitment of Mr Laurens to Tower of London, by the three Secretaries of State, on Friday last, (6 October,) runs thus:

"These are in his Majesty's name to authorize you to receive into your custody the person of Henry Laurens, Esq., sent herewith, on suspicion of high treason, whom you are to keep safe until he shall be delivered by due course of Law; for so doing this is your Warrant.

"Done at Whitehall, the 6<sup>th</sup> day of October 1780.

"STORMONT,  
"HILLSBOROUGH,  
"G. GERMAIN.

"To Charles Earl Cornwallis, }  
"Constable of the Tower of }  
"London, or his Deputy. }

"LONDON, October 11, 1780.—Mr. Laurens is confined in the apartments formerly occupied by Mr. Wilkes, when in the Tower.

"The Picture of General Washington, taken, on board the *Mercury* Packet, by Captain Koppel, is a most striking likeness, and was presented by the Captain to his relation, the Admiral."

In December, 1781, upwards of fourteen months after Mr. Laurens was committed a close prisoner to the Tower the attention of the House of Commons was called to his case. On the seventeenth of that month Mr. Burke said:

"No sooner had Mr Laurens arrived in London, than he found himself treated not as a Prisoner but as a traitor, and as such was committed to the Tower; his treatment there was of a most rigorous nature; kept a close prisoner, he was not indulged with the comfort of seeing his relations and his family till that indulgence had been purchased by those relations, by submit-

"ting to the mortifications of repeated and insulging denials. The use of pen, ink, paper, was withheld from him for three months; and at the end of that period, he was so far allowed the pen, ink, and paper, as to be permitted to draw bills upon some persons, with whom he was fortunate enough to have had some transactions, and who owed him money."

After enumerating the various indignities and brutal cruelty to which Mr. Laurens had been subjected for so many months, Mr. Burke added:

"All that justice, all that repeated requisitions founded on principles of the clearest reason could not effect, had of a sudden been brought by a Star, that had risen, not in the East, indeed, but in the West, and warned the Ministry of the danger of their longer persevering in their unmanly, resentful, and rigid treatment of Mr. Laurens. This was no other, than the news arriving, that Mr. Laurens' son, a brave, worthy, and a polished officer in the American service, had lord Cornwallis in his custody, and that his treatment of his noble prisoner was directly the reverse of the treatment experienced by his father, who was then locked up in a prison, of which lord Cornwallis was governor. The moment advice of this circumstance reached the ministers, they became as full of civility to Mr. Laurens as before they had been full of severity. But, he was authorized to say, that Mr. Laurens would sooner starve, or undergo any distress the human frame was capable of supporting itself under, than be obliged to men, who had treated him so extremely ill."

On the twentieth of December, 1781, Mr. Burke presented the following Petition from Mr. Laurens, which after further debate was laid on the Table.

#### PETITION OF MR. LAURENS.

"To the Right Honourable CHARLES WOLFRAN CORNWALLIS, Speaker, and the HONORABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"The Representation and Prayer of Henry Laurens, a native of South Carolina, some time recognized by the British Commissioners in America, by the style and title of his Excellency Henry Laurens, President of Congress, now a close Prisoner in the Tower of London.

"Most respectfully sheweth,

"That your Representor, for many years, at the peril of his life and fortune, ardently laboured to preserve and strengthen the ancient friendship between Great Britain and the Colonies; and that in no instance he ever excited, on either side, the dissensions which separated them.

"That the commencement of the present war,

"was a subject of great grief to him, inasmuch, as he foresaw and foretold, in letters, now extant, the distresses which both Countries experience, at this day.

"That, on the rise and progress of the war, he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called Loyalists and Quietists, as well as to British Prisoners of war, very ample proofs of which he can produce.

"That he was captured on the American coast, first landed upon American ground, where he saw exchanges of British and American Prisoners in a course of negotiation; and that such Exchanges and enlargements upon parole are mutually and daily practised in America.

"That he was committed to the Tower on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October, 1780, being then dangerously ill; that in the mean time, he had, in many respects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the visits and consolations of his children, and other relations and friends, suffered under a degree of rigour, almost, if not altogether, unexampled in modern British History.

"That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state; and

"Therefore your Representor prays your Honours will condescend to take his case into consideration; and, under proper conditions and restrictions grant him enlargement, or such other relief as to the wisdom and benignity of your Honours shall seem fitting

"HENRY LAURENS.

"TOWER OF LONDON, December 1, 1781."

No further notice appears to have been taken of this Representation and Prayer of Mr. Laurens, by the British Parliament. But a Letter addressed to the President of Congress, written by him with a pencil, (he was not allowed pen and Ink) and delivered to a friend in London, to be forwarded, was more effectual. This Letter referred to his long confinement, and the inhuman treatment he had received while a prisoner, and even now without prospect of relief. It was written on the twentieth of December, the day Mr. Burke presented his Petition in the House of Commons, and threw out the intimation of resorting to "the only speedy and efficacious means for his deliverance," which had its effect with the British Government. In eleven days afterwards, he was released from prison in the Tower, and set at large on bail.

HENRY LAURENS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

"TOWER OF LONDON, December 20<sup>th</sup> 1781.

"SIR,

"Almost fifteen months have I been closely

"confined, and inhumanly treated, and even now have not a prospect of relief. The treaty for exchange is abortive. There has been languor, and there is neglect somewhere. If I merit your attention, you will no longer delay the only speedy and efficacious means for my deliverance. Enter this if you please, and what it may produce, on your Secret Journal, and pardon the omission of ceremony.

"I am, full of love and respect for you,

"HENRY LAURENS.

"P. S. A friend will trace the direction in ink."

Mr. Laurens was admitted to bail on the thirty-first of December, 1781; but was not released until the twenty-seventh of April, 1782, when he received from Lord Shelburne "an ample discharge" by Mr. Oswald, one of his bail. The following extract of his Letter to the President of Congress, of May thirtieth, 1782, gives a general history of his life in England, while a State Prisoner in the Tower of London:

"AMSTERDAM, May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1782.

"SIR.

"From the sixth of October, 1780, to November, 1781, I remained a close prisoner in the Tower of London, without hearing of any steps taken for my release, or for my support or consolation in that distressed state, either by Congress or by any of their servants. In the latter month I learned that Mr. Edmund Burke had, some very little time before, applied to Dr. Franklin to effect an exchange between Lieutenant General Burgoyne and myself, that the Doctor had replied that he had in his possession a resolution of Congress for that purpose, a copy of which he then transmitted to Mr. Burke; and about the same time, a letter from Dr. Franklin to Mr. Hodgson, or to Mr. Vaughan, I forget which, was put into my hands in the Tower. In this letter, the Doctor expressed some satisfaction in having heard from 'high authority,' that I was well satisfied with the treatment I had received in my imprisonment, (the contrary was notorious to the whole world) and he directed the pittance of one hundred pounds to be paid to me, if I should stand in need. To the first part I desired that it might be answered, that the Doctor had been most egregiously misinformed, and imposed upon by the 'high authority,' and that the second was to me, after thirteen months imprisonment, *like a drop of water from the very tip of Lazarus' little finger*. But I heard no more from Dr. Franklin on these subjects, or any other, while I was in confinement, nor till four months after my enlargement, and I have received no money from him at any time.

"On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December last, being still a

"close prisoner, I penciled a few lines to Congress, informing them of the ill usage I had suffered in the Tower; that the proposed treaty for exchange had proved abortive, slightly intimating there had been a neglect of me somewhere, and entreating that the only efficacious measure might be adopted for my release. I penciled seven copies of this letter, passed the whole into the hands of a friend in London, and desired he would forward them to Holland, and France, in moiety, for distribution on board eight vessels bound to America. From this precaution, I trust one has gained the place of address.

"Within a day or two after the British Ministry had determined against accepting Lieutenant General Burgoyne in exchange for me, an inquiry was made of me, from them as I believe, whether Dr. Franklin had power to exchange Lord Cornwallis for me, to which I could give no positive answer, and there the subject dropped. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, being, as I had long been, in an extreme ill state of health, unable to rise from my bed, I was carried out of the Tower to the presence of the Lord Chief Justice of England, and admitted to bail 'to appear at the Court of King's Bench, on the first day of Easter term, and not to depart thence without leave of the Court.' This measure it seems had been preconceived, and determined upon without my solicitation or knowledge, but I refused to enter into that, or any other obligation, until I had previously made the following declaration to Mr. Chamberlain, Solicitor of the Treasury (who had been sent by the Secretaries of State to notify me in the Tower of their intention to enlarge me upon bail) in the audience of several officers of the Court, the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Tower, and other persons who attended upon the occasion at Sergeant's Inn. 'In order to prevent, or to save trouble, as I do not know the nature of the obligation to be required of me, I think it necessary to premise, that I will do no act that shall involve me in an acknowledgement of subjection to this realm, and that I save and reserve to myself all the rights and claims of a citizen of the united, free, and independent States of North America.' This solemn second abjuration of the King in one of his own Courts, was going as far as decency would permit, and I was at that moment in so very low and languishing a state, that I could express myself no further. None but God knows what I have suffered, and I expected nothing less than to be remanded immediately to the Tower. The Solicitor concluded by saying that some violence had been done to the laws for my relief.

"About ten or twelve days before the first day

"of Easter term, being still in a very bad state of health, I obtained permission to leave England, in order to hold a conference with Mr. Adams, having a warrant from under the hand of Lord Shelburne to leave England, and for putting off the day first assigned for my appearance at the Court of the King's bench. Mr. Adams met me at Haerlem (within twelve miles of Amsterdam) and, in a conversation of a very few minutes, confirmed me in opinions, which I had firmly and uniformly delivered to the British Ministry, that the United States of America would not enter upon any treaty with Great Britain, but in terms of the treaty of alliance between France and America. On the 23<sup>d</sup> of April I returned to London, and repeated the next day to Lord Shelburne, what I had formerly assured his Lordship on that head, in which his Lordship had supposed, or perhaps only hoped, that I had been mistaken for want of better information. I left his Lordship apparently disappointed and chagrined.

"On the 25<sup>th</sup>, I peremptorily declared my intention to surrender myself to the Court of King's Bench, the Court being then sitting, to discharge my bail, and submit my person to the will and disposition of the Court. This having been signified to Lord Shelburne, his Lordship sent to me by the hands of Mr. Oswald, one of my bail, an ample discharge on the 27<sup>th</sup>."

## II.—NEW JERSEY AND THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION OF 1769.

### I.—"THE STATE OF THE MATTER ON BEHALF "OF NEW JERSEY."

TO

The HONOURABLE,

THE

## COMMISSIONERS

"Appointed by his most Gracious Majesty, for Ascertaining, Settling, Adjusting, and Determining, the Boundary, or Partition Line, Between the Colonies of New York, and Nova Cæsarea or New Jersey."

*May it Please your Honours,*

**H**IS Majesty by his Letters Patent, bearing Date, on or about the seventh Day of October, in the seventh Year of his Reign; having nominated, authorized, and appointed, you, or any

five, or more of you, to be his Commissioners, for ascertaining, settling, adjusting and determining, the Boundary, or Partition Line, between his Colonies of New York, and Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey, from the *Station on Hudson's River*, to the *Station on Delaware River*;" And, having been pleased, to order and direct, by his said Letters Patent, that, "At your first, or second Meeting, a plain and full State in Writing, should be made out, and signed, by two or more of the Agents, named on each Side, of the Demand or Pretension of his said Colonies, respectively describing, where and in what Place, the Boundaries in Question do begin, or terminate; whether that Termination, be by a Line, or Lines of Latitude, or Longitude; by Rivers or other Waters, by Branch or Branches, of Rivers and Waters; by Hills or Mountains, or by any other Mark or Marks whatsoever; and to what other Station, or Stations, the said Boundaries ought to run; and in what Manner, and how far, the same ought to run, and extend."——We John Stevens, James Parker, Henry Cuyler, and Walter Rutherford, four of the Agents, on the Part of the Province of New Jersey, in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, beg Leave to lay before your Honours, a State of the Claim of the said Province, with the Grants, Deeds, Evidences and Proofs, or authentic Copies thereof, ready to be produced, under which, a Title to the said Colony, call'd Nova Cæsarea or New Jersey is derived, and upon which, the Claim herein after, more particularly mentioned, is founded, to the Boundary or Partition Line, between the Colonies aforesaid, from the *Station on Hudson's River*, to the *Station on Delaware River*.

First, We beg Leave to shew, That the States of Holland and their Subjects, with the Leave of King James the First of England, were in the Year 1663, and long before, possessed of all those Tracts of Land, on the Continent of North America, now called New York and New Jersey, on the East Side of Delaware River, and the Province of Pennsylvania, or a great Part thereof, and the three lower Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on the West Side of the said River; That his late Majesty King Charles the Second, by his Letters Patent, bearing Date the 12th Day of March, 1663-4, for the Consideration therein mentioned, did grant, to his Brother, James Duke of York, among other Things, the said Tract of Country by the Bounds, and in the Words following, that is to say, "All that Island, or Islands, commonly called by the several Name, or Names, of Mattowack or Long Island, situate, lying and being, towards the West of Cape Cod, and the narrow Higansetts, abutting upon the main Land, between the two Rivers, there called or known by the several Names of Con-

"necticut, and Hudson's River; together also, "with the said River, called Hudson's River, and "all the Land from the West Side of Connecticut, to the East Side of the Delaware Bay," together with all Royalties and Powers of Government.

That, about the Time of granting said Letters Patent to the Duke of York, his said late Majesty King Charles the Second, with an armed Force, dispossessed the Dutch of that whole Tract of Country, then called the new Netherland.

That, it being, as we apprehend, the Intent and meaning of his said late Majesty King Charles the Second, by his said Letters Patent, to grant to the Duke of York, all the Lands which the Dutch held and possessed, and by them called new Netherland; the said Duke of York soon afterwards took into his Possession, not only all the Lands lying between Connecticut River, on the East, and the Bay, and River Delaware on the West, but of the three lower Counties, and such Parts of the Province of Pennsylvania, as had been in the Possession of the Dutch, on the West Side of the said Bay and River Delaware; and by himself, his Governour and Agents, exercised Acts of Propriety, and Powers of Government therein.

That, the Duke of York being so seized, by Deeds of Lease and Release, bearing Date respectively the 23d, and 24th Days of June, 1664, did, for the Consideration therein mentioned, grant and convey, to John Lord Berkely Baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret, both of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, in Fee, Part of the said entire Tract of Land, by the following Bounds, Viz. "All that Tract of Land "adjacent to New England, and lying and being, "the Westward of Long-Island, and Manhitas-Island, and bounded on the East, Part by the "Main Sea, and Part by Hudson's River; and "hath upon the West, Delaware Bay or River, "and extendeth Southward, to the Main Ocean, "as far as Cape May, at the Mouth of Delaware Bay; and to the Northward, as far as the Northernmost Branch of the said Bay, or River of Delaware, which is in *Forty one Degrees, and Forty Minutes of Latitude*; and crosseth over thence, "in a Straight Line, to Hudson's River in *Forty one Degrees of Latitude*; which said Tract of Land, is hereafter to be called by the Name, or "Names, of New-Cæsarea or New-Jersey."

That Lord Berkely and Sir George Carteret, immediately took Possession of the said Province of New-Jersey, and early in the Year 1665, sent out from England, Philip Carteret Esq; their Governor, and were at a considerable Expence, in sending over Persons, to settle and improve the said Colony; in which they succeeded so well, That, on or before the Year 1671, the Settlements extended from the Sea Coast, up

along Hudson's River to Haverstraw, near to the Highlands.

That his said late Majesty King Charles the Second, was not only privy and consenting to the Duke's Grant of the said Province of New-Jersey, to Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret, and gave them his Countenance and Protection, in the Settlement thereof; but was pleased so far to interpose his Authority, to compel a due Obedience and Submission to them, as lawful Proprietors of the said Province, as to write a Letter, dated the 9th Day of December, 1672, to the then Deputy-Governor and Council, in the following Words, to wit:

"Charles, R.—Trusty and well beloved, we "greet you well: Having been informed, that "some turbulent and disaffected Persons, living "and inhabiting within the Province of Cæsarea "or New-Jersey, (the Propriety whereof, we "have granted, to our right trusty and well beloved Councillors, John Ld. Berkely, of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret, Knight and Baronet,) do refuse to submit, and be obedient to "the Authority, derived from us to the said Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret, as absolute "Proprietors of the same, to the great Prejudice "of the said Lords Proprietors, the Disturbance "of the Inhabitants, and Hindrance of the whole "Plantation there designed: We, do therefore, "hereby require you, in our Name, strictly to "charge and command all Persons whatsoever, "inhabiting within the said Province, forthwith "to yield Obedience to the Laws and Government there settled and established by the said "Lords Proprietors, having the sole Power under "us, to settle and dispose of the said Country "upon such Terms and Conditions as they shall "think fit: And we shall expect a ready Compliance with this our Will and Pleasure, from "all Persons whatsoever, dwelling or remaining "within the aforesaid Province, upon Pain of "incurring our high Displeasure, and being proceeded against with due Severity according to "Law; whereof you are to give public Notice to "all Persons, that are, or may be concerned; and "so we bid you Farewell.—Given at our "Court at Whitehall, the 9th Day of December, "1672, in the Twenty-fourth Year of our Reign."

By his Majesty's Command.

HENRY COVENTRY.

That, War breaking out between England and Holland, in the Year 1672, the Dutch reconquered and possessed themselves again, of the Provinces of New-York, New-Jersey, the Lower-Counties, now New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, and Pennsylvania, which had been taken from them, as aforesaid, in the Year 1664; and restored them again to the English by the Treaty of Westminster, in the Year following; upon which it was

thought prudential to procure new Grants for the said Country, from the Crown.

That, King Charles the Second, by his Second Letters Patent, bearing Date the 29th Day of June, 1674, did again, nearly in the same Words, grant and confirm unto the Duke of York, in Fee, the several Tracts of Land in America, which by his former Letters Patent he had granted.

That, The Duke of York, afterwards, by his Deeds of Lease and Release, bearing Date the 28th and 29th Days of July, 1674, did for the Consideration therein mentioned, grant and convey to the said Sir George Carteret, in Fee, as and for his Moiety of the said Province of New-Jersey; a Part thereof, described in the following Words, to wit: "All that Tract of Land adjacent to New-England, and lying and being to the Westward of Long-Island, and Manhattan's-Island, and bounded on the East Part by the Main Sea, and Part by Hudson's River, and extending Southward as far as a certain Creek, called Barnagat, being about the Middle between Sandy-Point and Cape-May; and bounded on the West, in a straight Line from the said Creek, called Barnagat, to a certain Creek in Delaware River, next adjoining to, and below a certain Creek in Delaware River, called Rancocas-Kill, and from thence up the said Delaware-River, to the Northernmost Branch thereof, which is in *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes of Latitude*, and on the North, crosseth thence in a straight Line to Hudson's-River, in *Forty-one Degrees of Latitude*."

That, John Lord Berkely, by his Deed dated on or about the 18th Day of March, 1673, granted his Moiety of the said Province of New-Jersey, to John Fenwick, in Fee.

That, The said John Fenwick, by Deeds of Lease and Release, dated the 9th and 10th Days of February, 1674; conveyed the said Moiety unto Edward Byllynge, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, reserving a Tenth Part thereof: Afterwards conveyed to the said Byllynge, Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas.

That, The last abovementioned Grant, from the Duke of York, to Sir George Carteret, containing within its Bounds, more than a Moiety of the said Province; the said Sir George Carteret, afterwards entered into an Agreement with the said Edward Byllynge, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, for an equal and just Partition of the said Province: In Consequence of which, a Division was accordingly made, and a Line of Partition settled and ratified by an Indenture Quintipartite, bearing Date the First Day of July, 1676, between the Parties aforesaid; by which the said William Penn and others, release to the said Sir George Carteret, "All that Easterly Part, Share, or Portion, and all those Easterly Parts, Shares, and Portions of the said

"Tract of Land, and Premises so granted and conveyed by his said Royal Highness the said James Duke of York, unto the said John Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret, as aforesaid, extending Eastward and Northward, along the Sea Coast and the said River, called Hudson's-River, from the East Side of a certain Place or Harbour, lying on the Southern Part of the same Tract of Land, and commonly called or known in a *Map of the said Tract of Land*, by the Name of Little Egg-Harbour, to that Part of the said River called Hudson's-River, which is in *Forty-one Degrees of Latitude*, being the *furthermost* Part of the said Tract of Land and Premises, which is bounded by the said River, and crossing over from thence in a straight Line, extending from that Part of Hudson's-River aforesaid, to the Northernmost Branch or Part of the before mentioned River called Delaware-River; and to the most *Northerly Point* or Boundary of the said *Tract of Land and Premises*, so granted by his said Royal Highness James Duke of York, unto the said Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret."

That, The Duke of York, by Deed dated the 6th of Day August, 1680, reciting the Quintipartite Deed, conveyed to William Penn and others, Assigns of and claiming under Lord Berkely, "All that Part, Share, and Portion, and all those Parts, Shares, and Portions, of all that entire Tract of Land; and all those entire Premises, so granted by his said Royal Highness, unto the said John Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret, and their Heirs as aforesaid, as in, by, and upon said Partition aforesaid, was and were vested in the said William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, and their Heirs, and then agreed to be called by the Name of West New-Jersey;" "and therein divided and separated from East New-Jersey, by a straight Line from the North Partition Point to the South Partition Point: And, which North Partition Point, is, in the said Deed from the Duke of York, to the said Assigns of Lord Berkely, particularly described to be, a certain *other Point*, there, "Now called the *North Partition Point*, being the *most Northerly Point Branch*, or Part of the said River, called Delaware-River."

That, The said Sir George Carteret, being seized as aforesaid, of the Eastern Division of New-Jersey, by his Testament and last Will, dated on or about the 5th Day of December, 1678, authorized the Right Honourable John Earl of Bath, and divers other Persons therein appointed, to sell and convey his Estate and Interest, in the said Province of New-Jersey, and died.

That, the said John Earl of Bath, and the other Trustees for that Purpose named in the said Will, by their Deed, dated the Second Day of February, 1682, and in the Thirty-fourth Year of the Reign

King Charles the Second, for the Consideration therein mentioned, conveyed the said Eastern Division of New-Jersey to William Penn, and Eleven others in Fee.

That, the said William Penn, and the other Grantees in the last mentioned Deed, on or about the Month of September 1682, sold and conveyed one Moiety of the said Eastern Share, or Division, to Robert Barclay and Eleven other Proprietors, by their several separate Deeds in Fee.

That, The Duke of York afterwards by Deed, dated March 14th, 1682; and in the Thirty-fifth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second, for and in Consideration of a competent Sum of lawful English Money, "and for the better Extinguishing all such Claims and Demands as his said Royal Highness, or his Heirs may anywise have, of or in the Premises aforesaid now called "East New-Jersey, or any Part of them," did grant and confirm unto the said Twenty-four Proprietors, their Heirs and Assigns: "All that Part Share and Portion, and all those Parts "Shares and Portions, of all that *entire* Tract of "Land, and all those *entire* premises so granted "by his said Royal Highness, unto the said John "Lord Berkely, and Sir George Carteret, and "their Heirs, as in, by, and upon the said *Parti-* " *tion*, was, and were vested in the said Sir George "Carteret, and his Heirs, and then agreed to be "called by the Name of East New-Jersey; and in the said Deed, from the Duke of York, to the said Twenty-four Proprietors, the before mentioned Indenture Quintipartite, is recited and referred to, and the Bounds of East New-Jersey, is therein described, in the following Words, to wit: "All that Easterly Part, Share and Portion, and "all those Easterly Parts, Shares and Portions, "of the said Whole, and *entire* Tract of Land, "and Premises before mentioned, extending "Eastward and Northward, along the Sea Coast "and the said River, called Hudson's River, from "the East Side of a certain Place or Harbour, "lying on the Southerly Part of the same Tract "of Land, and commonly called or known in a "Map of the said Tract of Land, by the Name of "Little Egg Harbour, to that Part of the said "River, called Hudson's River, which is in *Forty-one Degrees of Latitude*, being the *further-* "most Part of the said Tract of Land, and Premises which is *bounded* by the said River; and "crossing over from thence in a Straight Line, "extending from that Part of Hudson's River "aforesaid, to the *Northermost* Branch of the "aforementioned River, called Delaware River, "and to the *most Northerly* Point, or Boundary "of the said *entire* Tract of Land, and Premises "now called the North Partition Point; and from "thence, that is to say, from the North Partition "Point, extending Southward unto the most "Southerly Point, by a straight and direct Line

"drawn through the said Tract of Land, from "the said *North* Partition Point to the said *South* "Partition Point."

That, His said late Majesty Charles the Second, being fully acquainted with, and approving of the several Sales, Conveyances, and Partition of the said Province of New-Jersey, above stated; and more especially of the just Rights and Title of the said Twenty-four Proprietors, to the Eastern-Division of New-Jersey; was pleased to signify such his Royal Approbation, by a Letter under his Hand, bearing Date the 23d November, 1683, to the Governor and Council of East New-Jersey, in the following Words, to wit:

"Charles R—. Whereas his Majesty for divers "good Causes and Considerations, him thereunto "moving, by Letters Patent, bearing Date the "29th Day of June, Anno Domini, 1674, in the "Twenty-sixth Year of his Majesty's Reign, was "pleased to give and grant unto his dearest "Brother James Duke of York, several Territories, Islands, and Tracts of Land in America, "Part of which were since called by the Name "of *Nova-Cesarea* or *New-Jersey*; and was vested "in John Lord Berkely, of Stratton, and Sir "George Carteret, Knight and Baronet; who "were both of his Majesty's most honourable "Privy-Council, and in their Heirs and Assigns, "and the East Part or Portion of the said Province of New-Jersey, by a certain Deed of *Partition* afterwards made, became the Share of "the said Sir George Carteret, his Heirs and Assigns, and was agreed to be called *East New-Jersey*, and was since assigned to the present "Proprietors: And, whereas his Royal Highness "James Duke of York, by his Indenture, bearing "Date the 14th Day of March, Anno Domini "1682, in the Thirty-fifth Year of his Majesty's "Reign, (for the Consideration therein mentioned) "did *grant and confirm* the said Province of East "New-Jersey, extending Eastward and Northward along the Sea Coast and Hudson's River, "from Little Egg-Harbour to that part of *Hudson's-River, which is in Forty-one Degrees of Northern Latitude*; and otherways bounded and limited as in said Grant and Confirmation, Relation being thereunto had, may more particularly and at large appear, unto James Earl of Perth, John Drummond, of Lundie, as also unto "Robert Barclay, of Urie, Esq; Robert Gordon, of Clunie, Esq; and others his Majesty's loving "Subjects in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, "to the Number of Twenty-four Grantees, and to their Heirs and Assigns forever, together with "all Powers and Jurisdictions necessary for the "good Government of the said Province. His Majesty therefore, doth hereby declare his "Royal Will and Pleasure, and doth strictly "charge and command the Planters and Inhabitants, and all other Persons concerned in the

"said Province of East New-Jersey, that they do submit and yield all due Obedience to the Laws and Government of the said Grantees, their Heirs and Assigns, as *absolute Proprietors* and Governors thereof, who have the sole Power and Right derived under his Royal Highness, from his said Majesty, to settle and dispose of the said Province, upon such Terms and Conditions as to them shall seem good; as also to their Deputy, or Deputies, Agents, Lieutenants, and Officers, lawfully commissioned by them according to the Powers and Authorities granted to them: And of this, his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure, the Governor and Council is required to give public Notice; his Majesty expecting and requiring forthwith, a due Compliance with this his Royal Will and Pleasure, from all Persons, as well *without the Province* as within the same, (whom these Presents do or may concern) as they will answer the contrary thereof at their Peril.—Given at the Court at Whitehall, the 23d Day of November, 1683, in the Thirty-fifth Year of his Majesty's Reign."

By His Majesty's Command.

SUNDERLAND.

Under these several Letters Patent, Deeds, Confirmations, and Evidences; we the Agents for the Province of New-Jersey, humbly contend,

That, The said Province is, and ought to be limited and bounded to the Northward, by a straight Line drawn from the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees* on Hudson's River, to the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes* on the *Northernmost* Branch of the River Delaware; and that the said Line, and *no other*, can, consistent with the plain and true Intent and Meaning of the said Deeds, be established as the Northern Boundary and Partition Line between New-York and New-Jersey: And, we have the Pleasure to find, on looking back into the Records and public Proceedings of the said Colonies, that we are supported in the present Claim, and in the Constructions of the Deeds before stated, not only by the uniform Opinion of some of the first Grantees of the Province of New-Jersey, and their Successors. But by the concurrent Sense and Concessions of the several Governors, and Councils of New-York, and the Legislature of both the said Colonies, from the first Settlement thereof until about the Year 1755, when, for the *first Time*, Objections were made to the said Boundary on the Part of New-York; but, upon what Foundation or Pretence, we, on Behalf of the said Province, now most humbly and cheerfully submit to your Honour's Judgment and Determination.

As we do not think it necessary to enter into particular Arguments and Observations on the several above stated Grants and Deeds; we shall

only trouble you for the Present with a few Proofs, to show that the Claim now made by the Province of New-Jersey, was not only undisputed but universally agreed to, and acknowledged for the Course of at least Ninety Years after the first Grant thereof made by the Duke of York.

In the Year 1686, it appears by the Council Minutes of New-York, That, Col. Thomas Dongan, Governor of New-York, Gawen Lawrie, Esq; Deputy-Governor of East New-Jersey, and John Skene, Esq; Deputy-Governor of West-Jersey, agreed to run the Partition Line between the said Provinces; in Consequence of which, on the first of September, 1686, the following Instructions were given to Philip Wells, Surveyor, on the Part of New-York.

At a COUNCIL, September 1, 1686.

PRESENT—The GOVERNOR,  
MR. STEPHEN VAN CORTLANDT,  
MR. NICHOLAS BAYARD,  
Major G. BAXTER,  
J. SPRAGGE.

"The following Instructions were given to Philip Wells, Esquire, Surveyor of his Majesty's Province of New-York:

"YOU are carefully, and with Exactness to run the Line between this Province, and that of East-Jersey, *beginning* in the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes*, upon Delaware-River.

"That being done, you are to make the best Mark you are able, where the Bounds of the Government fall, and to give a punctual Report thereof, under the Hands of yourself, and the other Surveyors concerned, with as much Speed as conveniently may be, into the Secretary's Office: And, because it is very requisite to know the Nature of the Soil; you are also to take notice of, and observe the Nature of the Country, and to give me a Description of it.—Given under my Hand at Fort-James, in New-York, this First Day of September, 1686."

"To Philip Wells, Esquire, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Province of New-York:

Nothing final being done in Pursuance of the above Agreement and Instructions; in the Year 1717, an Act of General Assembly was passed by the Legislature of New-York, which among other Things, directed and made Provision for the running and ascertaining the said Partition Line, in Conjunction with the Province of New-Jersey,—which Act received the Royal Assent on the 19th of May, 1720.



An Act of Assembly of like Import, with that of New-York, being passed in the Province of New-Jersey the Year following; Commissions were soon afterwards issued in both Governments, appointing Commissioners and Surveyors, to ascertain and run the said Line; in which Commissions, they are among other Things directed, "Carefully and diligently to Inspect and Survey, all or such of the Streams of Water that form the River Delaware, which they the said Commissioners, or the Surveyor or Surveyors, may esteem necessary to be inspected or surveyed, in order to find out and determine which of the Streams is the *Northermost Branch* of the River Delaware; and that, then when such Branch is so discovered, that, the Surveyor or Surveyors, carefully according to the best of their Knowledge and Understanding, discover and find out that *Place* of the said *Northermost Branch* of Delaware-River, that *lies* in the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes*, which is, *The North Partition Point of New-York and New-Jersey, &c.* And further that they "Carefully find out and discover, that Part on the West-Side of Hudson's-River, that lies in the *Forty-one Degree* of Latitude; and that, when that *Place* is known, which is the *furthermost Place* of the Province of New-Jersey, that is bounded by said *Hudson's-River*;" then the said Commissioners and Surveyors, according to the best of their Skill and Knowledge, shall run, survey, and mark out a straight and direct Line from that *Part* of Hudson's-River in the *Forty-one Degree* of Latitude, unto that *Place* aforesaid, called the *North Partition Point*, upon the *Northermost Branch* of Delaware, which is in the *Latitude of Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes, &c.* As by the exemplified Copies of the said Commissions ready to be produced, may more at large, appear.

The Commissioners and Surveyors, being thus fully and legally authorized and commissioned, (and the Surveyors being first sworn) they entered upon the Work committed to them in the Year 1719, and after agreeing that the Stream or River, which is commonly called or known by the Name of Fishkill, was the *Northermost Branch* of the River Delaware, they with great Care and Accuracy ascertained and fixed the *Latitude of Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes*, upon the East-Side of the said *Northermost Branch*, as by the Copy of an Indenture Tripartite, under the Hands and Seales of the said Commissioners and Surveyors, ready to be produced, may more at large appear.

The Surveyors then proceeding, agreeable to the before in Part recited Commissions, to Hudson's-River, in order there to ascertain the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees*; Allane Jarratt, the Surveyor, on the Part of New-York, discovered or

pretended to discover some Defect in the Instrument made use of in taking the Observations at that Place and the Fishkills; for which Reason only, a Stop was put to the said Work by the Government of New-York, until a better Instrument could be procured: and it is very remarkable, that in the Course of the Debates between the said Governments, the Reports of Council, and Assembly, and Petitions of Persons principally interested on the Part of New-York, in the Lands near the Line which appear on the Books and Records of both Provinces, and which are (if judged necessary) ready to be produced to your Honours, there was not the least Objection made against the Extension of the Boundary of New-Jersey, to the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes*, on the *Northermost Branch* of Delaware, and the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees* on Hudson's-River; but on the contrary, the said Bounds were ever admitted, and the whole Matter in Contest was confined to two Points; whether the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes*, had been truly ascertained? and whether the Branch called the Fishkill, was the *Northermost Branch* of the River Delaware?

And, That, these continued to be the Sentiments of the Legislature of the Province of New-York, till very lately, will appear by the Minutes of the Assembly of that Province, of the 29th of October, 1754; wherein a Report of the Committee on this Matter, is entered in the following Words, to wit: "That, it appeared to them, that in the Year 1686, two stations were fixed, as the terminating Points of the Line of Division to be run (tho' the same, as far as they can discover, never was run) between the Provinces of New-York, and New-Jersey, viz. The one on the *Northermost Branch* of Delaware-River, in *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes North Latitude*, and the other on Hudson's-River in *Forty-one Degrees North Latitude*, which is due West from Lower Yonker's Mill's." And in the said Report, they further say, "That, as to the Station on Delaware-River, notwithstanding it appears to have been fixed in *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes North Latitude*, on the Most Northwardly Branch of Delaware-River; yet, which is the *most Northerly Branch* of that River, or what Part thereof is in the Latitude of *Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes*, they cannot certainly discover."

And also by a Report of the Council of that Province to the Lieutenant-Governor thereof, dated the 17th of December, 1754; wherein they say, "we come now to the Report of the Committee of the General Assembly of this Province, and do humbly report unto your Honour, that we have considered the same, and observe its Agreement with our Sentiments relating to the Stations of 1686."

And in the said Report, further say, "Which Station on Delaware appears to have been fixed on the then esteemed Northwardmost Branch of Delaware, and on such Part thereof as at that Time was found by the Surveyors of East and West-Jersey, and New-York, to be in the Latitude of Forty-one Degrees and Forty Minutes North."

We shall here close the State of this Matter on the Behalf of the Province of New-Jersey, hoping that we shall be indulged in offering such further Matters as may be found necessary, either for the better Elucidation of the Facts, or the Constructions herein set forth, or in Answer to whatever may be offered on the Part of the Province of New-York: And, we can with great Truth say, that the Government of New-Jersey hath ever been desirous of bringing to an Issue this important Matter; and it gives us the highest Pleasure that his Majesty has now been graciously pleased to submit the Decision of it to Judges whose Impartiality and Abilities cannot fail to secure to the contending Parties, a Determination founded in Wisdom and Justice.

JOHN STEVENS	} Agents on the
JAMES PARKER,	
HENRY CUYLER,	
WALTER RUTHERFORD,	

Part of the Province of New-Jersey.

New-York, July 18, 1769.

### III.—WHO KILLED GENERAL BRADDOCK?

The disastrous defeat of this famous general on the ninth of July, 1755, in the expedition against Fort DuQuesne, now Pittsburg, is well known. In his extreme self-confidence and presumption, disregarding the warnings of Washington, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, seven miles from the fort; and after having five horses shot under him, was mortally wounded, and the whole army then retreated in great disorder, leaving their wounded and baggage to the mercy of the savage foe.

Now, I am informed by a most respectable gentleman, a native of Iredell County, North Carolina, where he has always lived—James S. Allison, Esqr., now fifty-four years old—that when he was a small boy, his father lived on the same farm with his grandfather William Allison, and his grandmother Agnes Allison, whose original name was Allison, and the cousin of her husband. That she was born in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, her parents having come from Ireland and settled there, and that she died in 1834, aged about eighty years. That she told him, the

said James S. Allison, many a time, that she had an older brother by the name of Robert Allison, who was a captain in Braddock's army, in the advance guard; and that this brother—who was also in several skirmishes with the Indians, in connection with General, then Colonel Washington; and also a captain in the Pennsylvania troops in the Revolutionary War, and was killed near the close of it—always told her, that when they fell into the ambuscade in Braddock's campaign, and many had been killed, and especially the officers, they could not see the enemy among the trees and bushes, nor defend themselves; and the General would not let them retreat; then that he, the said Captain Robert Allison, directed his orderly sergeant to shoot him, in order that they might get out of the difficulty without any further useless sacrifice of life. This officer, instead of shooting the General, shot several horses under him: and then that he, the said Captain Robert Allison, took the gun out of the hands of the officer, and shot Braddock himself. That he told her, his sister, Agnes Allison, not to make this public, at that time, for he would be hung for it.

My informant, however, born in 1812, often heard her speak of it, up to 1834, when she died; and he had more knowledge of it than the other grandchildren, for he was the oldest grandchild, and was often in the company of his grandmother. The two families used water from the same spring, in the lower end of Iredell County, North Carolina, to which his grandparents had emigrated from Pennsylvania, before the revolution.

The name Robert is a prevailing name in various branches of the extensive Allison family in this country; the writer has known of at least six of that name. The allegations of this old lady on other points, so far as they go, correspond with the various histories, but she never read any history of the transaction. And no family, either in Pennsylvania or in several adjacent counties in North Carolina, is of higher respectability than the name of Allison. There is no essential improbability in the statement, and it is believed that in both the Mexican War, and the more recent War in our land, cases of this kind have often occurred where officers in the army have been purposely shot by their own men.

There would seem to be no motive for Captain Robert Allison to claim this deed for himself, if it were not the fact. He would be liable to condign punishment if the matter came to light; hence a good reason for not having it known out of the family for a long time, and till the danger was past.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C., Sept. 1866.

## IV.—REV. JOHN ASHLEY OF DEERFIELD.

[This distinguished minister was born in 1713, graduated at Yale College in 1730, and, on the eighth of November, 1732, was ordained Pastor of the church at Deerfield, Mass.]

He was widely known and greatly respected; and few of his contemporaries exercised a greater influence in the churches.

The following notes of one of his sermons, preached at Deerfield, on the twenty-third of January, 1749, are copied from the original Manuscript, in the possession of the Rev. E. H. Gillette, D.D., of Harlem, N. Y.; and will serve to illustrate the views of the Clergy of New England, concerning the duties of Masters and Slaves, a century ago.—[Ed. Hist. Mag.]

I. Cor. 7. 22. *For he that is called in ye Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's Freeman; likewise also, he that is called, being free, is Christ's Servant.*

DEERFIELD January 23. 1749.

*Preached on an evening Lecture to the Negroes.*

God has no regard of persons in the affair of our Salvation; whosoever will is invited to come and take of the waters of life freely. Is. 55, beg. Rev. 22.

There are none of the human race too low & despicable for God to bestow Salvation upon. Yea it is the mean & base things of this world whilst God is pleased to elect to eternal life—whilst the rich are sent empty away, & y<sup>e</sup> great and honorable are left to perish in their sins.—There are some of the children of men, however wretched and miserable y<sup>r</sup> case is, [*that*] have no sense of y<sup>r</sup> need of a Saviour.—They are satisfying themselves with earthly things—They glory in the enjoyment of this world—They say who will show us any earthly good—They pant after the dust of y<sup>e</sup> earth, but they have no desires after Spiritual and eternal things—Some look upon themselves [*as*] too good to trouble themselves about the pardon of Sin. Fruits of [*the*] Spirit, meekness, humility, repentance towards God are too much beneath them, so some are ready to look upon themselves [*as*] above the duties of Xtianity.

On the other hand, there are some who are tempted to think themselves beneath the offers of mercy, & they are ready to think—God will not have mercy on them, because they are such poor miserable creatures. It may be they are poor and despised—and will God think on them whom the world will take no notice of—or it may be they are ignorant, and cant know and understand like other men—and it is not worth while for them to trouble themselves much about Salvation.

Or it may be they think y<sup>r</sup> are Servants & y<sup>r</sup> han't time or advantages, & they are such poor creatures that it is not likely they shall ever obtain mercy. But let us take notice of the riches of grace to the children of men—The poor may

be rich in faith and heirs of Glory—The ignorant may understand and know God in Christ, whilst the wise perish in their own understanding.

Servants who are at the dispose & Command of others, who, it may be, are despised in the world, may be the Lord's freemen and heirs of glory.

1<sup>st</sup> I will show that Christianity allows of the relation of masters and Servants.

2<sup>dly</sup>. I will show that such as are by Divine providence placed in the State of Servants, are not excluded from Salvation, but may become the Lord's freemen.

3<sup>dly</sup>. I will show what a privilege and advantage it is to be a freeman in the Lord.

4<sup>thly</sup>. Will give some Directions to such as are servants to become the Lord's freemen.

5<sup>thly</sup>. Will show what motives there are for such to seek to be the Lord's freemen.

1<sup>st</sup>. I will show y<sup>t</sup> Xtianity allows of y<sup>e</sup> relation of masters and Servants.

When the Gospel was first preached to y<sup>e</sup> Gentiles, & y<sup>e</sup> partook of the glorious privileges of it, the Devil endeavored to puff them up with pride & to lead them into an abuse of the liberties of the Gospel. Servants who became believers, were ready to despise their unbelieving masters—and began to proclaim liberty to themselves, and declare it unlawful for such as were Xtians to be Servants. But the Apostle by the direction of God's Spirit, considers and determines this point—They who were servants were not to forsake y<sup>e</sup> masters, but to abide in that Station—Nor would he have them trouble themselves about being Servants. So when Onesimus, a Servant, ran away from his master, and was persuaded to be a christian by Paul, he does not tell him to forsake his master, but sent him home to him, and tells Philemon in his epistle he would be profitable to him for time to come,—What a temptation of the Devil is it therefore to lead Servants into Sin, and provoke God; to insinuate into them they ought not to abide in y<sup>e</sup> place of Servant,—and so either forsake their master or are uneasy, unfaithful, slothful Servants, to the damage of masters and the dishonor of religion—the reproach of Xtianity.

Secondly I am to show that Such as are by Divine Providence placed in the place of Servants are not excluded from Salvation, but may become y<sup>e</sup> Lord's freemen—The offers of Salvation are made to Servants as well as masters—There is no distinction among men. Whosoever will, is invited to come and be saved by X Jesus—he will cast out none if they have no money to buy—nothing that this world value—if they have no righteousness or goodness of y<sup>e</sup> own, yet y<sup>r</sup> shall find rest in X to y<sup>e</sup> Souls. The Gospel is not sent to one nation or people, but to Gentiles as well as Jews, to Barbarians Scythians—bond

and free are all alike welcome to X—tho they are under bonds to earthly masters—yet they may be free in X. Spiritual liberty is not inconsistent with a State of Servitude—men may serve their masters, and yet be free from the law of sin and death, and be free to serve X.

Thirdly I am to Show what a privilege it is to be the Lord's freeman, and it includes these things.

1<sup>st</sup> They who are the Lord's freemen are delivered from the Covenant of works. They are not under the law, but under grace.

2<sup>dly</sup>. They are free from the condemnation of death that is passed upon them.

3<sup>dly</sup>. They are freed from the power and dominion of sin, and are enabled to Serve X.

4<sup>thly</sup>. They are freed from the hands of Satan and set at liberty from his Kingdom.

5<sup>thly</sup>. They are freed from the bondage of fear and have good hope through grace—a sure refuge in X Jesus,—these are great privileges were there nothing more,—but as in cities or in Commonwealths, freemen have great privileges, so it is in the will of God Xts freemen have great privileges.

6<sup>thly</sup>. They are children of God, adopted into his family.

7<sup>thly</sup>. They are friends of God, and have liberty of access to him at all times, to lay open their wants and grievances to him.

8<sup>thly</sup>. They are entitled to all the great and precious promises which God has made to his people in his word.

9<sup>thly</sup>. They who are Christ's freemen are led by the Spirit of God—his Spirit dwells in them to guide, quicken and comfort them.

10<sup>thly</sup>. Xts freemen are heirs of eternal glory & y<sup>e</sup> are training up by providences and ordinances to eternal life and happiness.

11<sup>thly</sup>. Xts freemen have the holy angels to guard them & minister to them in the world.

12. Xts freemen when they come to die enter into everlasting rest and glory. They go to be with the Lord.

Fourthly I will give some directions to you that you may become Christ's freemen.

1<sup>st</sup> You must break off from all sin and sincerely repent of all your past wickedness.

2<sup>dly</sup> You must believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and accept of him on the terms of the Gospel, subjecting yourselves to his Government.

3<sup>dly</sup> You must be holy in all manner of life and Conversation—if you live in sin you are the Servants of sin & are not Xts freemen.

4<sup>thly</sup> You must watch against Sin and Keep at the greatest distance from it.

5<sup>thly</sup> You must be contented with your State & Condition in the world and not murmur and complain of what God orders for you.

6<sup>thly</sup> You must be faithful in the places God

puts you and not be eye Servants—in vain to think to be Xts freemen & be slothful Servants.

7<sup>thly</sup> If you would be the Lord's freemen you must resist all temptation to sin and be exemplary in your lives and Conversation.

8<sup>thly</sup> Be constant and diligent in the uses of the means of Grace—read pray meditate—hear the word preached.

Fifthly for motive consider 1<sup>st</sup> if you are not Xts freemen you will be the Slaves of the Devil.

2<sup>dly</sup>. If you are Xts freemen you may contentedly be servants in the world—3<sup>dly</sup> X is come into the world and died to free you—4<sup>thly</sup> God has done much for some of you to make you free—5<sup>thly</sup> you are under good advantages to obtain your liberty by X. 6<sup>thly</sup> The time is that you know not what may be on the morrow. 7<sup>thly</sup> Think what it is to die in sin—not freed by X.

## V.—GEMS FROM THE DIADEM OF MASSACHUSETTS.—CONTINUED.

### 3.—WHAT MASSACHUSETTS IS.\*

A CONSTITUTION OR FRAME OF GOVERNMENT, agreed upon by the Delegates of the People of the STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

#### IN CONVENTION,

Begun and held at Cambridge, on the First of September, 1779, and continued by Adjournments to the Second of March, 1780.

\* \* \* \*

### PART THE SECOND.

#### *The Frame of Government.*

The people, inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay, do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other, to form themselves into a Free, Sovereign, and Independent Body-politic or State, by the

\* From the Appendix of *The Journal of the Convention for framing a Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay*. Published by order of the Legislature. Pp. 222, 228, 249.

By reference to the Amendments proposed by the Convention of 1820, and ratified in 1821 (*Ibid.* 250-252), to those proposed by the Legislatures of 1829-30 and 1830-31, and ratified by the People in 1831 (*Ibid.* 252, 253), and to those proposed by the Convention of 1853, and rejected by the People (*Journals of the Convention*, iii., 737-768), it will be seen that Massachusetts is now, what the Fathers left her, in 1780, a "Free, Sovereign, and Independent Commonwealth."—ED. HIST. MAG.

JAMES BOWDOIN  
President

BARRETT  
Secretary.

## AN ACT against Jesuits and Popish Priests.

**W**HEREAS divers Jesuits, Priests and Popish Missionaries have of late come, and for some Time have had their Residence in the remote Parts of this Province, and other His Majesty's Territories near adjacent; who by their subtle Situations, industriously labour to debauch, seduce and withdraw the Indians from their due Obedience unto His Majesty; and to excite and stir them up to Sedition, Rebellion and open Hostility against His Majesty's Government:

For Prevention whereof:

BE IT ENACTED BY HIS EXCEL-  
LENCY THE GOVERNOUR, COUN-  
CIL AND REPRESENTATIVES IN  
GENERAL COURT ASSEMBLED, IN  
IT IS ENACTED BY THE AUTHOR-  
ITY OF THE SAME, That all and every  
Jesuit, seminary Priest, Missionary, or other  
spiritual or ecclesiastical Person made or or-  
dained by any Authority, Power or Jurisdic-  
tion derived, challenged or pretended from  
the Pope or See of Rome, now residing within  
this Province, or any Part thereof; shall de-  
part from and out of the same, at or before  
the tenth Day of September next, in this  
present Year, One Thousand and seven Hun-  
dred.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED  
BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID,  
That all and every Jesuit, seminary Priest,  
Missionary, or other spiritual or ecclesiastical  
Person, made or ordained by any Authority,

This Act was passed by the Great and General Court or  
Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay  
in New England, B-gun and Held at Boston, on Wednesday,  
the ninth Day of May, 1700.  
It is found in Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Prov-  
ince of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Ed. 1742,  
120.

AND FURTHER BE IT ENACTED  
BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID,  
That if any Person shall be found  
every Justice of the Peace, to cause ar-

Power or Jurisdiction, derived, challenged, or  
pretended from the Pope or See of Rome; or  
that shall profess himself, or otherwise appear  
to be such by practising and teaching of oth-  
ers to say any popish Prayers, by celebrating  
Masses, granting of Absolutions, or using any  
other of the Romish Ceremonies and Rites of  
Worship, by or of what Name, Title or De-  
gree soever such Person shall be called or  
known; who shall continue, abide, remain,  
or come into this Province, or any Part  
thereof, after the tenth Day of September  
aforesaid; shall be deemed and accounted an  
Incendiary, and Disturber of the publick  
Peace and Safety, and an Enemy to the true  
Christian Religion, and shall be adjudged to  
suffer perpetual Imprisonment: And if any  
Person being so sentenced and actually im-  
prisoned, shall break Prison and make his  
Escape, and be afterwards re-taken, he shall  
be punished with Death.

AND FURTHER IT IS ENACTED,  
That every Person who shall wittingly and  
willingly, receive, relieve, harbour, conceal,  
aid or succour, any Jesuit, Priest, Missionary,  
or other ecclesiastical Person of the Romish  
Clergy, knowing him to be such, shall be  
fined two Hundred Pounds; one Moiety  
thereof to be unto His Majesty, for and  
towards the Support of the Government of  
this Province, and the other Moiety to the  
Informers; and such Person shall be further  
punished by being set in the Pillory on three  
several Days, and also be bound to the good  
Behaviour, at the Discretion of the Court.

AND BE IT ALSO ENACTED, That  
every Offence to be committed  
against the Tenor of this Act, shall  
be inquired of, heard and deter-  
mined in the Court of Assize and General Goal  
or before Commissioners of the Peace, or  
in any County where the Offence is committed, or where the  
Offender is apprehended or taken; as in any  
Law, Usage or Custom to the contrary con-  
taining.

AND FURTHER BE IT ENACTED  
BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID,  
That if any Person shall be found  
every Justice of the Peace, to cause ar-

AND FURTHER BE IT ENACTED  
BY THE AUTHORITY AFORESAID,  
That if any Person shall be found  
every Justice of the Peace, to cause ar-

son or Persons suspected of being a Jesuit, seminary Priest, or of the Romish Clergy, to be apprehended and conveyed before himself, or some other of His Majesty's Justices. And if such Person do not give a satisfactory Account of himself, he shall be committed to Prison, in order to a Trial.

Also it shall and may be lawful to and for any Person or Persons to apprehend without a Warrant, any Jesuit, seminary Priest, or other of the Romish Clergy as aforesaid, and to convey him before the Governour, or any two of the Council, to be examined and imprisoned, in order to a Trial; unless he give a satisfactory Account of himself.

And as it will be esteemed and accepted as a good Service done for the King, by the Person who shall seize and apprehend any Jesuit, Priest, Missionary, or Romish Ecclesiastic as aforesaid; so the Governour with the Advice and Consent of the Council, may suitably reward him as they shall think fit.

*Provided*, This Act shall not extend or be construed to extend unto any of the Romish Clergy which shall happen to be Shipwreck'd; or through other Adversity shall be cast on Shoar, or driven into this Province; so as he continue or abide no longer within the same than until he may have Opportunity of Passage for his Departure; so also as such Person immediately upon his arrival shall forthwith attend the Governour, if near to the Place of his Residence, or otherwise on one or more of the Council, or next Justices of the Peace, and acquaint them with his Circumstances, and observe the Directions which they shall give him, during his stay in the Province.

## VL.—ABORIGINAL INGENUITY.

### THE TEPITI.

BY HON. THOMAS EW BANK.

[Of devices peculiar to American Indians, this one has been referred to (in the September number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE); and as it is believed to be the most original mechanical conception of the aborigines, and, so far as known, *unique*, a description of it will be acceptable to most of our readers.—*Ed. HIST. MAG.*]

Were all the contrivances of untutored tribes collected together, they would present a greater range of research, and inventions more beautifully simple, than we are apt to imagine. Some are

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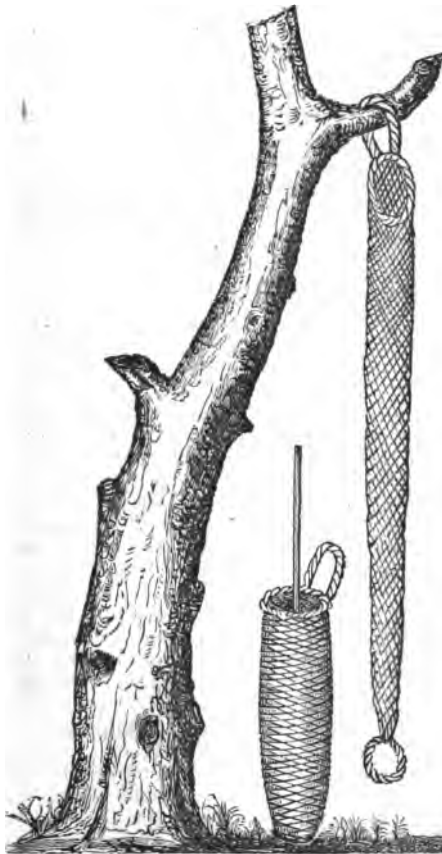
such as science is glad to adopt, many which she is slow to supersede, and others, as the boomerang, that she is puzzled to explain. Barbarian patriarchs of our species were the parents of the arts, spinning and weaving rose with them; elemental metallurgy and earthen ware are theirs. The chisel and drill, the hatchet and adze they gave us, and from them the most precious of primitive conceptions were received—the means of producing and using fire. In their condition they evinced as fine talents for invention as have their descendants under more favorable circumstances. With them every device was original, and the arts of civilization are, in the main, improvements on their suggestions—expansions of their ideas. We build on a foundation they laid, and cultivate a field they began to plant.

Amid the furor attending modern inventions, primitive ones are neglected, much as letters are by those who have learned to read. We inherit the mechanical alphabet from barbarians, and, considering the times, places, and circumstances in and under which the elements of the world's machinery were disclosed, an account of their origin and early applications would form a brilliant chapter in the romance of history and of the first rude struggles of genius. If scholars can learn nothing from children's "first lessons," the wild man's horn-book of inventions may be consulted with advantage by those who are in quest of new ideas or even new principles. The Tepiti, a very ancient contribution of some mechanical Cadmus of the tropics, is an example. Having had occasion recently to refer to it, I have thought, as illustrating a principal little known or used, a description of it might be usefully suggestive to inventors.

On their discovery, the red race was found in possession of two chief elements of vegetable food; one the seeds of a grass *maize*, the other the roots of a shrub, *cassava*. The first was cultivated in the temperate, the second in the warmer zones, and throughout the same parallels they are still prepared and used by the natives as by their ancestors immemorially. Every one knows how northern Indians pounded their corn in mortars, and how often, among other relics turned up by the plough, stone implements for that purpose occur. The treatment of the southern product was different. The mandioca, or cassava root, is a species of potato, resembling, in its long, irregular figure and dimensions, the sweet potato. It cuts like our Mercers, white, firm, watery, and somewhat fibrous. It is cultivated as extensively throughout Spanish and Portuguese America as maize is with us. Farina prepared from it resembles in appearance and qualities our Indian meal. It is "the bread of Brazil." There slaves live chiefly on it, and planters, merchants, and all classes have it always

on their tables. In the process of converting the root into flour, a higher and more varied order of mechanical resource was displayed by primitive millers of the south than is revealed in the "corn-crackers" or "bread-pounders" of the north.

The root is first washed, scraped, and then grated to a pulp. This they do on a slab of wood prepared by smearing over one side with a thick gum, in which they insert a multitude of sharp particles of flint or granite broken up for the purpose. The gum hardens like stone and produces a rasp or grater that lasts a life-time. On one of these a root is rubbed down in a moment, and when any required quantity is thus treated, in order to get rid of the poisonous water, the pulp is put into the Tepiti, a coarse, basket-like tube, made of thin splits of cane or bamboo, three-fourths of an inch wide and rather loosely interwoven. (See figure.)



A common size is five feet long, five to six inches diameter at the mouth or open end,

and three or four at the bottom or closed one. A large loop, or a couple of strong withes, is formed at each end. When used, the first thing is to wet it if dry. The operator then grasps the edges of the mouth with both hands, and, resting the bottom on the ground, throws the weight of his body on the basket till he has crushed it down to about half its previous length or height, and, consequently, swelled out its diameter. A smooth stick, like a broom-handle, is then introduced, the pulp put in and packed round it till the basket is filled. It is then suspended from a hook or the limb of a tree and a heavy stone or basket of stones fastened to the bottom, the weight of which stretches the tube till it becomes longer than at first. The capacity, of course, diminishes with the extension, and the contracting sides press the pulp against the unyielding stick and squeeze out the water. Instead of stones, one end of a log of wood is inserted into the lower loop and loaded with a papoose or two, or anything else at hand, or the squaw herself puts a foot in the stirrup and serves as the weight.

Such is the Cassava press, an invention dating back to the earliest settlers of Central and South America, or coeval with their knowledge of the root. It was as common among the Caribs of the Islands as it was and is with Indians on the Amazon and Orinoco, and throughout the vast regions from Mexico to the Plata. In Brazil there are those who prefer it to screw presses imported from Lisbon and Malaga at a cost from two to three hundred dollars. I purchased one at a venda, for sixteen cents, of the above dimensions, and for it the Indian manufacturer probably received only three or four, certainly not over five or six. It is also used by planters on the Amazon, for expressing oil from cantanha nuts.

If there is a current primitive invention evincing closer and happier reasoning out of common tracks, we know not where to look for it. Nor is that all; fabricated before metals or tools were known, Indians still bring it out of the woods with little but their hands to produce it. Were it proposed to compare the amount of originality and ingenuity in two aboriginal devices, representing the eastern and western hemispheres, I would select the Tepiti. Confront it with the analogous original one of the old world, the wine-press common throughout Egypt in her highest estate: a sack filled with grapes and twisted in contrary directions as washerwomen wring out wet linen. A stick was thrust through or attached to each end. They were turned by four men, two at each stick. Had the Tepiti ever been known there, it would most likely have been found figured with the foregoing at Thebes or Beni Hassan, and at Herculaneum or Pompeii with screw and wedge presses of the Romans.

The capacity of the basket decreasing as the length increases may not be instantly obvious to every one. Without reflection, it might be supposed that extension in one direction would compensate for diminution in the other, that if elongation reduced the diminution one-half and at the same time doubled the length, the capacity would be little affected. The action and effect are, however, perceived by supposing the instrument made of a highly elastic material—india rubber, for example. It might then be stretched till the sides came together and formed a solid thread.

I am told the difference between a low and wide measure and a high and narrow one is not unknown, among others, to proprietors of drinking-saloons, as appears from the substitution of tall and tapered glasses for old Dutch-bottomed ones, over which they soar, that the change is a literal deduction from and a profitable application of the principle by which the cassava pulp is squeezed in the Tepiti. Admitting this, it is but one of a thousand interesting instances of physical principles little known creeping almost imperceptibly into extended use. It shows how pecuniary interest makes men of different professions active, though unconscious, promoters and elucidators of them. It is the working of the same beneficent law which in the natural world "from seeming evil still educes good." Thus, cupidity, awake to new chemical and mechanical facts, and alert in applying them to every purpose that promises to pay, is an efficient diffuser of useful knowledge. Like the rapacious instinct in some of the lower tribes, it contributes to the general good, and, as with them too, its eagerness occasionally leads to disappointment and loss.

#### VII.—CORRESPONDENCE OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM BEATTY, OF THE MARYLAND LINE. 1776-1781.

[From the original Manuscripts in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.]

##### 1.—CAPTAIN BEATTY TO HIS PARENTS.

CAMP NEAR KINGS BRIDGE September 18<sup>th</sup> 1776  
HONOURED FATHER AND MOTHER

as it Was your desire that I should Write to you every opportunity that I Could and to tell you How things Went With us I have Endeavored now to let you Know how I and Henry are Which I hope Will give you Satisfaction to hear that We both are in good Health and I hope these few lines may Find you and all the Family

in the Same, and Like Wise all Enquiring Friends and Relations I Wrote to you from New York by Elijah Beatty Which I hope you have received by this time, it Would make me Very glad if I Could receive a letter from you that I Could Know how you and the Family are and if you and John Beattys had Setled that affair between you, I have Something Worth telling you of What happined this Week Last Sunday the Enemy landed about three Miles below us and at the Sight of about 150 of them One Brigade and a half of New England Troops ran away in the Most Precipitated Manner and Chist of them Lost their Baggage, if they had Stood their Ground they Might have Cut them off But by their landing they Surrounded Many of our Troops in York Which had no time to get out But they have a Strong fort Near York Were they are and Have three Months provision and ammunition a plenty and the Commander declares that he Will not Surrender While he has either, On Monday Last the Enemy thought to Drive Our Troops farther Salleyd Out and Were attact By Major Mantz With the three Rifle Companies of our Battalion under his Command and Major price With three of the Independant Companies of Maryland Troops and three other Companies of Maryland Flying Camp and a Battalion of Virginians and Some Northern Troops the attact Was Very Sharp on Both sides for One hour and a half and then the Enemy Retreated One Mile and a half to their lines in all the action We Lost but about 20 Men Killed and about as Many Wounded among the Dead is One Colonel of the Northern Troops The Men all behaved With Much Bravery In Capt Goods Company there Was but two men Wounded Capt Reynolds One Capt Grooh two one of Which is the blind Cuppers Son in Fredktown, The other lernt the hatters Trade With Major Price his Wound is in the Breast the other On the back of his arm above the joint of his Wrist and so down to his fingers the Bone is not Broke Our Company Lay out from Our Tents from Sunday Morning till teusday Night Bill Witnell and his Child is both dead four of our Men Deserted from us in Philadelphia One of Which is Thomas Henissee and One got Drownded Comeing from New York to this place I have no More to tell you at present but that you Would Write the first opertunity

I am Sir Your Most Obedient

Son W BEATTY Jnr

[ADDRESSED] Col. W<sup>m</sup> Beatty

living in

Frederick County  
Maryland, near  
Frederick Town



## 2.—CAPTAIN BEATTY TO HIS FATHER.

SKIPACK BUCKS COUNTY Monday  
October 6<sup>th</sup> 1777

## HONNOURED FATHER

I Embrace this Opertunity of informing you of the late Engagement that happened On Saturday last near Germantown On Fryday last the army Was Ordered to March about Dusk towards Philadelphia and Reached Chesnut Hill about Day break next morning at Which time Our advance Guard attacked the Enemys Piquet and Drove them after Which Our Division fell on the left flank of the Enemy and Drove them near two Miles at Which time they Received a Strong Reinforcement Which forced us to retreat Which Was done in Very good Order there Was about 4000 of Our Side Engaged Which began about Sun rise and lasted till 9. O,Clock, I Cannot pretend to tell the Loss on Either Side Except Our own Regiment Which had four Men Killed and 28 Wounded and four Officers Wounded I was in the action the Whle time and in the hottest of the fire, I Received a Dead Ball On my thigh the Very first fire the Enemy made, But did me no harm Only made the place a little Red, I Know no Body fell Except Unkle Michael and he fell Dead on the Spot, Capt Naff Received a flesh Wound On the thigh but is like to do Well I Expect We Shall Soon have another touch With them Which Will Soon lessen their numbers the Morning Was Very foggy Which Was Greatly to Our Disadvantage and the Cause of the Engagement ending So Soon, I am Well at present and I hope this Will find you and all the family Like wise

I Remain With Respect your  
Most obedient Son  
W<sup>m</sup> BEATTY

## 3.—CAPTAIN BEATTY TO HIS FATHER.

SKIPACK October 13<sup>th</sup> 1777

## HONOURED FATHER

I Received yours of the 24<sup>th</sup> of last month in Which you inform me of your health and of all the Familys Which gives me Great Satisfaction, you likewise inform'd me of Your not Receiving a letter from me Since I rote from Hanover in the Jersey but I beg to be excused and am not to blame for I rote a Second letter from that place just Before I Went On Staten Island and Since that time We Have never laid One Week at One place but Continually marching, the particulars of Statten Island and Brande Wine as far as lays in my power I have Sent by Dr Thomas Except a Return that Was taken at Germantown Battle Which gives an ac-

count that the Enemys loss at Brande Wine Was 1976 Killed and Wounded Since I Wrote to you Concerning the Battle of Germantown it is reported by the best authority that the Enemys loss is 2000 Killed and Wounded beside the loss of two Generals Killed and two Wounded the Killed are Kniphausen and Grant, Egners and Erskine Wounded Mortally Our Success to the Northward Still Continues Except the loss of Fort Mountgomery Which Was taken by Storm by a body of the Enemy that landed at Dobsons ferry on the North River, There has been a Smart Cannonading this three days past at the fort On Delaware and it is reported that the Enemy Were Building a Battery On Province Island But Our fire Was So heavy the Enemy Were forced to Strike and Surrender them Selves Prisoners at that place Were taken 3 Brass Twelve pounders, 1 Capt of the artillery and Six Men 50 of the light Infantry and Officers accordingly, it is Daily Expected that We Shall have the other tryal for Philadelphia Our army are in high Spirits and Wait With impatience for the other Brush — I have no More at present Only that I am in Verry good health and in high Spirits I hope this may find you and all the family in health, I Remain With Respect and Obedience your Dutiful Son,

W BEATTY,

N B  
the Breeches I hope you Will procure  
for I Want them Verry Bad

[ADDRESSED] Col. W<sup>m</sup>. BEATTY

Pr. favour<sup>d</sup>. Fred<sup>k</sup>. County  
by Symm Maryland

## 4.—CAPTAIN BEATTY TO HIS FATHER.

ENGLISH TOWNSHIP June 30<sup>th</sup> 1778

## HONNOURED FATHER

I With Pleasure take this Opertunity to inform you that I am in health Hoping this Will find you and the Family in the Same State the Day before yesterday Was our Glorious Day, for after an action of Six hours Our Troops made the Enemy leave the Field With about 300 Dead besides 40 Wounded that they could not carry off there Was 1 Captain and 3 Subalterns among the number and Col Monckton Killed With a number of Other officers of the Enemy Our loss is not Supposed to be More than 100 Killed and Wounded Capt Bayly By Whom this Comes Will be able to inform you the particulars of that Days action for he Was in the Heat of it, Our Division form'd the rear line Which Was Not Engaged at all, I am Verry Sorry that I Could not See you When

you Was at Wilmington for I am informed You Was Verry Uneasy on account of Some Scandalous Reports Raised to injure my Carrachter but thank God I Hope that I Can produce Recommendations in the regt that Will make every Raskal hang his head that Ever attempted to injure Me, I hope you Will not make yourself uneasy On that account for I Defy any Scandalous Reports that they Can Make, I have no time to Continue at Present but the next Opertunity I Will indeavour to let you Know how things Stand With respect to Myself, I now Conclude With remaining your most obedient Son

W BEATTY

[ADDRESSED] Col. W<sup>m</sup>. BEATTY  
 favored by { Maryland  
 Capt. Bayly. }

#### 5.—CAPTAIN BEATTY TO HIS FATHER.

CAMP GUILDFORD COURT HOUSE, Feby 8<sup>th</sup> 81.

HONOURED FATHER

The last time I Wrote You Was from Hicks Creek Which place We March'd from With the troops that lay there On the 29<sup>th</sup> of last Month this Move of Ours Was in Consequence of the Enemies moving Up the Kataba River Which they Cross'd the first instant and Made a Quick March by Salisbury to Sloinsford On the Yadkin Where they have lain ever Since till Yesterday When they Moved higher up the Yadkin & by Some reported to have Cross'd Or about Crossing, The Situation of Our army When We left Hicks Creek being much divided Obliged us to Make a very rapid March to form a Junction With Our light troops under Genl Morgan Who at this time Were retiring before the Enemy—this day the Whole of Our Continental troops Will be assembled at this place, Our Continuance here Will entirely depend On the Movements of the Enemy, as to the Strength of the Enemy I dont immagin it to be much above 2000 regulars Which to the Shame of the States be it Said are too many for us to Engage Without Some Providential advantage—Genl Sumter With a body of Militia tis Said are in the rear of the Enemy disturbing their rear daily Col Campbell, Shelby & others from up Wards are expected With Some rifle men—Should We Engage the Enemy & obtain a Victory I am fully of opinion they Will not be able to Make a retreat for all our friends in these States are ready to take the advantage of Our Success, Just before We March'd from Hicks Creek Col Lee With his Legion took George Town, Commanded by Lt. Col Campbell Who is prisoner, Campbells Major Was Killed as to other particulars I am unacquainted With them, I hope the next time You hear from me Will be after We

have expell'd Our Enemies untill Which time I Continue your most dutifull & obidient Son

W. H. BEATT

N B all our heavy Baggage  
 is Sent to Hillsborough

[ADDRESSED] Mr. Luckett will be pleased  
 to forward this to Fredk Town by  
 the first opportunity.  
 Feb. 8<sup>th</sup>. 81.

Col. W<sup>m</sup> BEATTY  
 Fredk County  
 Maryland.

#### 6.—CAPTAIN BEATTY TO HIS FATHER.

CAMP BUFFALO CREEK, 10 Miles from Guildford  
 Court House 3<sup>d</sup> March 81

HONNOURED SIR

about the 8<sup>th</sup> of last Month While on our retreat to Virginia I Wrote you from Guildford Ct House. Our army the 10<sup>th</sup> following left that place & On the 14<sup>th</sup> Crossed Boyds & Irvins ferries On Dan river the Enemy pursuing us Closely all this Way Our retreat Was Covered by Col Lee's Legion, Whites & Washington's Horse, five Companys of Light Infantry & Some Rifle Men, Militia the Whole Was Commanded by Col Williams Who Was appointed to that Cominand Genl Morgan being Sick absent Notwithstanding the Enemies Superior Strength & the Close pursuit they gave us Our Retreat Was So Well Conducted that We lost nothing in it but Some extent of Settlement Which if it Was not for the effect it Might have in the general Cause & On Some Individuals it had Much better be in the possession of a British Tyrant than in that of a free & Independant State for Certain I am that above three fourths of the people Where the British has been in this State are the greatest Villians On Earth, therefore a tyrant ruler Would become them better than an Independant Government, The day after We retreated from Guildford the Enemies advance being So near Our light troops Rear that Col Lee found an abuscade With Some of his Horse & entirely two officers & 22 Men He killed a Lt & 14 Men & took a Capt & 8, all belonging to Tarletons Horse besides those Many other prisoners have been taken While they lay in Hillsborough Where they March'd to after We had Cross'd the Dan, they had a Piquet Cut off Consisting of an officer & between 20 & 30 Men, Yesterday Was brought into Our Camp prisoners a Lt Col of new levies & a Lt of the 23<sup>d</sup> Regt the Cols name is fields he Was a prisoner in Fredrick When the n, c, tories Where there, after Our army had Cross'd Dan We Cross'd another Small river Called Banister

about Seven Miles from the former & March'd as far as Virginia as Halifax Court House Which is about Six Miles north of Banister at this place We lay Untill the 20<sup>th</sup> of Febr'y on Which day We began to return to n. c, by the Same Way We left it ever Since Which time We have been manuvering the night before last We lay all night & all day Yesterday Within 10 Miles of the Whole British army they Have left Hillsborough & lay at that time on the ground Where the Battle Was fought between Govenor Tryon & the n, c, Regulators in the year 70 We lay on the road leading from Hillsborough to Guildford Ct House about 15 Miles from the latter, last night We mov'd to this place Which is north of the road We lay in Yesterday & it is reported the Enemy have mov'd across roads 22 Miles South of Guildford. Our light troops Who have been Considerably Strengthened by Militia & Riflemen from Virginia & this State are Some Where between us and the Enemy Yesterday there happened a Skirmish, between Some of ours & the British Parties there Was nothing Material but a few Wounded On each Side, Lees Legion & Some Riflemen the parties Conversd on our Side, Our army has been Considerably Reinforced by the Militia of this State & Virginia We expect daily to be join'd by 1000 Back Woods Rifle Men under Col Campbell When he joins it is generally thought that We Shall press the Enemy early & perhaps bring on a general Engagement Which I think they Will try to avoid untill they Recross the Yaddin Which Seems to be their intention by the Rout they March, We have reports in Camp that Genl Sumter & Marion are Driving all before them in S Carolina that Lord Rawden March'd from Camden With about 4 or 500 Men to join Lord Cornwallis in this State So Soon as the former left Camden tis Said Sumter took it, it being garrisoned by none but Invalids & a few new levies—On the 25<sup>th</sup> of last month Col Lee being informed of about 300 Tories Who Were assembled about 25 Miles from Hillsborough On the road leading to Guildford to Join the British he March'd & fell in With them in the Evening & Killed about 200 few of the others Escaped Without a Wound, I have never received a line from You Since I left home Should be extremely glad to hear how You & all the family are also how the State of Maryland Comes on in raising recruits to Compleat their Regiments, I Wish With all my heart the States in general Would exert themselves in that particular I am Sure We Want nothing but a few Expell the Enemy from our Country I wrote by Lt Price for Some articles they will be Sent for I am in the greatest Want of them & there is not a possibility of getting them here Please to remember my best respects to all the Family Who I hope With Yourself are all in per-

fect Health I have been in a Very good State of Health ever Since I left Home, Believe me Sir to be With the Sincerest respect your most  
obt & Dutiful Son

W. BEATTY

[ADDRESSED] Col. W<sup>m</sup> BEATTY  
Fredk County  
Maryland

favoured  
by Mr WILHERN

#### VIII.—ANNE HUTCHINSON—A REMARKABLE WOMAN.

READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 5, 1867; AND BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 21, 1867.

By EUGENE LAWRENCE, ESQR.

It is sometimes said that the beautiful landscapes that surround us, in our native land, are wanting in those historical associations that redouble the charms of the older continent; that our wonderful rivers flow onward in their grandeur, uninspired by graceful recollections; that no halo of legendary glory crowns our mountain chains; and that our fertile fields are only memorable as the source of material prosperity. But this, I think, is an error. The historical enquirer, who wanders along the streams and valleys of his native land, will scarcely find a spot, however secluded, that does not possess some touching legend or stirring tale connected with its early history; he will find everywhere new traits of interest to reward his careful researches, will be struck by the abundance of historical material existing in the most commonplace and unpromising scenes, and must often lament that, as time passes away, so many of these local traditions will be neglected and forgotten.

The narrative which I shall have the honor of reading before you this evening is well known in the annals of Massachusetts; but its final catastrophe took place in our neighboring county, Westchester; and it has become, therefore, a part of the local history of New-York. It abounds, too, in details suggestive of the manners of an early period; it was, in fact, a theological tragedy, whose various scenes occurred in Boston, Rhode Island, and Westchester, and lead us back by an easy association into the first settlements of our ancestors amid the unbroken wilderness.

A few miles from Harlem, in the township of Pelham, there runs a narrow stream, not more than four or five feet in width, called "Hutchinson's River." The term "river" seems quite

inappropriate to so small a rivulet; but the name has been preserved from the earliest maps of the country, and seems to indicate that some remarkable event connected with its history had given to this little stream an importance beyond its natural desert.

Tradition, in fact, asserts that a woman of rare mental powers and singular elevation of purpose wandered away from the more civilized settlements to the eastward, made a home for herself and her young children by the side of Hutchinson's river, and there met with a cruel death from the savages, who still possessed the wilderness beyond the borders of New Amsterdam. It was about the year 1642, more than two centuries ago, when this event occurred. The border country between Connecticut and New Netherland was then scarcely explored. No towns nor villages broke the desolate scene along the shores of Long Island Sound; and when Anne Hutchinson raised her rude cottage by the river that bears her name, she was far from human help, and trusted, no doubt, to the Divine Protection alone.

She must long, indeed, have relied upon no other power; for among men she had met only bitter persecution and constant injustice. Spotless in character, generous in disposition, wise, forbearing, tender-hearted, and learned in the polemic literature of her time, this remarkable woman met with a fate unparalleled in the history of her sex. In search of religious freedom, she fled from England to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; from thence she was driven by the ruling theocracy, and took refuge in Rhode Island. But even there she feared for her safety; and at length, leaving the English settlements, sought protection from the tolerant Dutch. She came to New Netherland; but fearful, perhaps, that the hand of the persecutor might reach her even there, she hid herself in the solitude around what is now New Rochelle; and here falling an easy victim to the savages, who were at war with the Dutch, was burned to death in her cottage, together with her children.

I purpose to review the mental history of this gifted woman, who died as she had lived, a sincere searcher after truth. Anne Hutchinson had so delicate a spiritual organization that the future world was ever more real to her than the present. A constant sense of the presence of the Deity made her indifferent to the praise or blame of man. Wealth, luxury and ease had for her no charm. She lived in the universe, rather than in the world. She associated through life with the immortal spirits more than with the coarse and cruel tenants of the earth; the common joys of life, domestic ease, refined society, and material splendor, she cast aside with disdain. Truth was fairer to her than diamonds, and liberty of speech and thought than luxurious chambers and downy

rest. So long as she was near Heaven, she cared little upon what portion of the earth she was forced to dwell. A wilderness, with freedom to worship God, was sweeter to her than the fairest landscapes of England, and the lonely hut by Hutchinson's river was her palace and her temple rather than the comfortable dwelling she possessed in Massachusetts Bay. I confess I have never passed the little stream at Pelham without dropping a tear over the fate of Anne Hutchinson, and sometimes striving to form a faint conception of that unbending spirit which there left forever the companionship of its unworthy race on earth.\*

But let us endeavor to revive for a moment the landscape amid which this important mental tragedy was enacted. In the year 1636, the coast line from Boston to New York was almost an unbroken solitude. Plymouth Colony, projecting into the lonely ocean, had maintained, under the vigorous guardianship of Governor Bradford, a doubtful existence. But no other refuge of civilized man appeared to the mariner along those desolate shores, until he reached the scattered settlements and plantations of Rhode Island. A few feeble colonies occupied Connecticut. New York was represented by a cluster of huts gathered around the fort, at the extremity of Manhattan Island. The brown savage, wandering beneath his woodland coverts, looked with jealous and malignant eyes upon the ill-defended settlements of the white man; and the colonists themselves, famine-stricken and often terrified at their own isolation, were weighed down by imaginary terrors, and lived as if in a horrible dream. Never had theological controversy a less favorable resting-place, and one might well suppose that in such a solitude, and amid such pressing dangers, doctrinal differences would have been forgotten, and universal charity and brotherhood have ruled the hearts of men.

Boston itself, when Anne Hutchinson entered it, in 1636, was composed of a few wooden houses and a larger number of tents for newly arrived emigrants. Mr. Coddington's brick house, the first of its kind in the town, was just built. The streets of the city were then only crooked lanes, the Common was a public pasture, and Boston, although the seat of government, was inferior in wealth and importance to the other colonial towns.

The government of the Colony was at this time a pure theocracy.† The Church controlled the State.‡ Church members alone had a vote at the General Court; and to be admitted a

\* See T. Shepherd's *Lamentation*, Samuel Gorton, Hubbard, Callender, Backus, Savage, Knowles.

† Palfrey, i., 344, 345; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, i., 87.

‡ Four General Courts were held every year—Winthrop, i., 132—three of them being by deputies.

church member was a privilege dealt out with singular caution. No heretic, skeptic, or adherent of a different creed, could become a citizen of Massachusetts Bay. To the early Puritan, the Church was an object of pure and undivided allegiance. The Puritan spoke as constantly of the Church as the strongest Papist or Prelatist. "I profess myself an obedient son of the Church," said the erratic Governor Henry Vane.\* Even the despotic Winthrop trembled, confessed his errors, and hastened to make amendment when he found himself exposed to the animadversions of the ministry; and if these eminent men were so powerless before the censures of the Puritan Church, we may well conceive how strong must have been its influence over the lower orders of the community. Feared at home, the Church was terrible even in Plymouth Colony, and in the distant plantations of Rhode Island; it hunted poor Anne Hutchinson beyond the limits of the English pale.

One other power was even still more terrible to the early Puritan, and that was Satan. The Puritan believed that the New World was the peculiar abode of the Prince of Darkness, and he had come thither expecting to hold constant conflicts with the great enemy of mankind. Of his personality he never doubted. Satan appeared to him in horrible shapes, in the gloomy wilderness and the stormy seas; and the wild people of the forest were supposed to be his imps and his offspring. The Puritan attributed all his trials to the direct interposition of his active foe. If a congregation grew dissatisfied with their minister, it was Satan that had stirred up the discord.† To Satan the solid Winthrop attributes most of the disorders of his time. The gravest divines of the period united in asserting the actual presence of the demon in the heretic or the witch, and the natural deduction from their preaching was that there were but two controlling influences in the world—the Church and its restless foe.

A very important consequence resulted from this conviction. Those who opposed the Church must be the instruments of Satan, and those whom the Church condemned were necessarily ranked among the lost. It was before this logical deduction that Winthrop and Vane trembled and obeyed. Nor do I remember in history a more perfect theocracy than was the government of Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century. The Puritan priest possessed a power not surpassed by the Etruscan diviner, or the Roman Pontifex, and far greater than was ever claimed by the oracles of Delphi or of Cumæ.

The Puritan, too, was aristocratic in his taste. He loved old names and high lineage, provided

their possessor shared his own religious convictions. When young Henry Vane, son of the Controller of the King's household, came out to Massachusetts Bay in 1635, he was received by the people with singular favor. He was a convert of high rank. His genius was bold and erratic, and he was at once admitted to the Church membership, and soon supplanted the grave Winthrop and the severe Dudley in the popular regard. At the next election (1636), Winthrop was set aside, and Vane, then only twenty-four years of age, made Governor; and thus a young man of little experience, and recommended chiefly by his high connection in England, was placed in charge of the destiny of the new colony.

In the same year a ship was sailing over the ocean to Massachusetts Bay, laden with a peculiar freight; it was filled with a company of Puritan pilgrims, hastening to seek freedom of prophesying in the New World. The Pilgrims relieved the monotony of the sea-voyage by discussing the various points of religious doctrine. But no good feeling resulted from these discussions. Sharp controversies arose among them, and at length a lasting hostility between the two chief disputants, one of whom was the Rev. Mr. Symmes, the other Mrs. Anne Hutchinson.

Narrow-minded, overbearing, and vindictive, Symmes was evidently no match in argument for his gifted opponent; but her peculiar opinions filled him with horror and affright. Mrs. Hutchinson advocated a more perfect liberty of prophesying than the dull intellect of the English Puritans had yet ventured to entertain. She contended for complete freedom of thought and speech. Each mind was to be a law to itself; the true believer was in constant communion with his Divine Head; the Holy Spirit dwelt within him; the believer was greater than the Church. Anne's vigorous defence of her peculiar opinions made Symmes her enemy for life. No sooner had he landed than he denounced her to the Governor as a heretic and a prophetess; and Symmes was ever afterwards the most relentless of her persecutors.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was born, or at least lived in early life, at Alford, near Boston, in England. Her father's name was Marbury. Her mother was the sister of Sir Erasmus Dryden; and she was therefore related in the collateral line to two of England's most eminent intellects. John Dryden, the poet, who was himself accused of having been an Anabaptist in his youth, was Mrs. Hutchinson's second cousin. Jonathan Swift was more distantly related to her. And thus from the Drydens of Canons Ashley descended one of the greatest of England's poets, the purest of her prose writers, and one of the most remarkable of her women.

\* Winthrop, i., 208.

† Winthrop, i., 127.

Anne's husband, Mr. Hutchinson, was a mild, amiable and estimable man, possessed of a considerable fortune, and in high standing among his Puritan contemporaries. For his wife he entertained an unchanging affection, which she seems to have perfectly deserved. Never, in fact, was there a more united pair. Both exiled themselves from England together and sought the bleak shores of Massachusetts Bay. Together they abandoned their Eden of wealth and ease in Lincolnshire, to find God and heaven amid the wilderness. Together they bore the unlooked-for calamities that fell upon them in their New England home. No afflictions could part them; no persecution won them from each other. They bravely bore their common misfortunes, and lived and died in undivided unity.

The Hutchinsons, upon their arrival, were received by the Puritans with unusual favor. Mr. Cotton, the favorite preacher of the Colony, was their old friend, and everywhere extolled them. Mr. Coddington, one of the richest men among the Puritans, became their chief supporter. Dunmer, Underhill, Morris, and many others of influence, were numbered among their friends. Vane, the young and ardent Governor, sought their intimacy; and very soon the remarkable gifts and graces of Mrs. Hutchinson gave her a power over the people of Boston such as no other woman has ever possessed.

She threw a spell over the whole town.\* Scarcely had she landed before she began to teach. Every week she gathered around her in her comfortable dwelling a congregation of fifty or eighty women, and urged them to repentance and good deeds. "All the faithful," says Cotton, "embraced her conferences and blessed God for 'her fruitful discourse.'†" Soon her meetings were held twice a week; a religious revival swept over the Colony. All through the year 1636 an unusual fervor of devotion stirred the hearts of the Bostonians. Even men of eminence sought her house for religious instruction; but these must content themselves with mere conversation, for when men attended her meetings, the proceedings were conducted by the clergy. Anne was careful not to offend against the decorum of the Church, and would consent only to address her own sex.

To these exhortations Mrs. Hutchinson joined extensive charities and unceasing benefactions. She watched with the sick, aided the poor, breathed hope to the dying and cheered the bed of pain.‡ Her life was as spotless as her doctrines; she was an example of the purity she taught. The faithful looked upon her with wonder, delight,

and love. An angel seemed to have descended among them; a spotless spirit was once more found upon earth.

Yet this was the woman whom the bitter Welde called "an American Jezebel," whom even the cautious Winthrop believed to be a minister and perhaps familiar of Satan; whom the grave Puritans resolved to destroy, and whom they treated with a persevering barbarity not surpassed by a Spanish inquisitor.

It was a question in theology that roused up the rancor of the Church against this helpless woman; a point so nice and finely drawn that the modern intellect passes it by in disdain; a difference so faint that one can scarcely represent it in words. Mrs. Hutchinson taught that the Holy Spirit was a person and was united with the believer; the Church that the Spirit descended upon man not as a person. Mrs. Hutchinson taught that justification came from faith, and not from works; the Church scarcely ventured to define its own doctrine, but contented itself with vague declamation; and on these two distinctions the religious warfare began.

The people of Boston adopted generally the views of Mrs. Hutchinson. Cotton, the gifted preacher, lent her his countenance; Coddington, the rich magistrate, sustained her; Vane, brilliant and daring, adopted her most extreme views; and the gallant old campaigner, Capt. Underhill, professed to hold to the Covenant of Grace. A fierce controversy soon arose, and all through the infant Colony nothing was talked of but the nice and difficult points of religious doctrine. For the moment the Hutchinsonians ruled triumphant.\* They reproached their opponents as defenders of a "Covenant of Works;" they criticised their sermons, mocked at their theology, and fired "pistol-shots" of sharp satire, as Welde calls them, at the gravest divines. It was the fashion in Boston to denounce the "Covenant of Works." The very children echoed the controversy, and talked of the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace; and thus the year 1636 passed away.

Against the Hutchinsonians, however, was ranked a powerful and vindictive party. At its head stood Winthrop, the master-spirit of the Colony. Grave, stern, reasonable—except upon religious topics—a man of intelligence and reading, but chiefly self-educated, a rich and patriotic citizen, a narrow but vigorous intellect, Winthrop had seen, not without secret indignation, his former power torn from him, and young Henry Vane raised to the chief place in the government of the Colony. The Puritans were not without ambition; pride had never been expelled from their breasts. They loved high of-

\* The whole church of Boston, a few members excepted, were her converts. Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass.*, ii., 63.

† Cotton, *Way of the Congregational Church cleared*, London 1648, 51.

‡ Cotton, *Way of the Congregational Church cleared*, 51.

\* Winthrop, i., 206.

fice and the magistrates' seats; and Winthrop, the proudest of them all, was now condemned to take rank below a young man of twenty-four, in the eyes of all his countrymen. Vane and Winthrop, therefore, were rivals, and perhaps enemies; but Winthrop concealed this sentiment under a dignified calmness, while Vane exhibited his animosity with all the petulance of youth. He took frequent opportunities to insult openly his political and theological opponent.

Winthrop had no doubt resolved to destroy the Hutchinsonians. Their doctrines he looked upon as fearful heresies, fatal to the good name of Puritanism; their political influence he justly feared, since it must finally subvert the theocracy and introduce a general license; and Winthrop stood, therefore, with his usual firmness, at the front of their opponents.\*

But Winthrop, who was a dignified and well-bred man, would never have proceeded to extreme measures of cruelty unless he had been urged on by the ministry. It was Welde and Wilson, Symmes and Peters, who began and continued the persecution of Mrs. Hutchinson. The clergy, indeed, were united against her. She had deserved their bitterest enmity. Her acute intellect and bold and ready wit had already won away from them the allegiance of the Bostonians, and that powerful town was in revolt against the Church; their despotism was in danger. If Anne Hutchinson remained in the Colony, her followers would soon control the congregations and remove from high seats those spiritual despots who now ruled without appeal. The Hutchinsonians, indeed, had already nearly unseated the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the first congregation in Boston, and placed Mr. Wheelwright, Anne's relation, in his pulpit; the people were fast becoming corrupted; the Church was rent in two, and the clergy saw that the moment had come when they must strike down their opponents, or lose their power forever.

The country, however, still remained under their control. If Boston had revolted, Salem, Roxbury, Newtown, and the rural settlements, sustained the Church. The General Court was wholly governed by the clergy, and with its aid they resolved to crush the Hutchinsonians, and reduce heretical Boston to subjection.

They aimed their first blow at Wheelwright, the popular preacher of the new doctrines. Wheelwright was summoned before the General Court,† censured, and found guilty of sedition and contempt, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of Governor Vane and a well-written "Remonstrance," signed by the chief citizens of Boston.

The clergy, elated by their success, next resolved to remove Vane himself from office. Hugh Peters had already openly insulted him. He told Vane that before his coming the Church had been at peace, bade him reflect upon his own youth and short experience, and told him that pride and idleness were the true causes of the new opinions.\* The spirit of Peters animated all the clergy. A violent political dispute arose between the Bostonians, who supported Vane, and the country party who were led by the ministry. Afraid of violence in Boston, the clergy held the next General Court at Newtown;‡ and here, after a disorderly election, in which even blows were exchanged,§ Vane was defeated, and Winthrop once more made Governor. The Bostonians saw in this success of their opponents their own danger; exile, imprisonment, or even death threatened their most eminent citizens. Vane himself could no longer hope to live at ease among his enemies. Coddington, Dummer, and their associates were exposed to immediate danger. Even the popular Mr. Cotton was no more safe from exile or imprisonment. But for Mrs. Hutchinson the bitterest persecution would be reserved; and Welde and Symmes were already denouncing her as a heretic, if not a witch.

When, therefore, the new Governor, Winthrop, the leader of the persecutors, made his entry into Boston, its hostile population received him with gloomy contempt.¶ No shouts of welcome greeted the former favorite. The city refused to provide him with the usual guard of honor; violence was threatened; a sedition might at any moment arise; and Winthrop withdrew to his house in alarm, uncertain whether he might not be driven by force from his hostile capital.||

Anne Hutchinson, meanwhile—the busy intellect that had created this strange excitement—was still wrapt in her religious fervor. She still continued her meetings twice a week. Her teachings were still sought after by eager crowds, and as the storm darkened around her, she no doubt grew more earnest and effective than ever before. The head of a powerful religious sect, the chief priestess of Boston, the defender of civil and religious liberty, her mental vigor rose with the danger, and inspired her followers with a courage that led them still to hope for triumph.

It was, in fact, a solemn season for the infant Colony. The Pequot war was raging along its borders, and horrible massacres had frequently occurred. Its very existence seemed at stake;

\* Winthrop, i., 209.

† May 17, 1637.

‡ "Laying on of hands," says Winthrop, i., 220. Vane, Coddington, and all the Hutchinsonians were left out of the magistracy.

§ Winthrop, Hist., i., 220.

|| Winthrop, Hist., i., 220.

\* Jan. 29, 1637, N. S., a fast was appointed for the Pequot War and the religious dissensions.

† March 9, 1637.

while the religious controversy divided its defenders into two hostile parties, almost ready to rise in arms against each other. Among the military men, several of the most eminent were Hutchinsonians. Captain Underhill, one of the chief leaders in the Pequot war, was an open advocate of the new doctrines. His Lieutenant, Morris, was also a convert, and many of the soldiers shared the opinions of their leaders. If these men chose to turn their arms against Winthrop and the Church, there seemed little hope that the Colony could be saved; and the Pequot or the Narragansett might once more rule over the desolate sites of Roxbury and Boston.

The Bostonians were apparently determined in their rebellion. They condemned all persecution for religious opinions. They had sent in their famous "Remonstrance" against the condemnation of Wheelwright, and they still sustained him when he defied the authority of the Church; and when Wilson, Wheelwright's opponent, was appointed Chaplain to the forces sent out against the Pequots, none of the leading citizens would go with him, or even bid him farewell. Boston submitted gloomily to religious tyranny, and would do no honors to its Puritan defenders.

But the Church was equally resolute: the hostile city must be subdued. The clergy met in the famous Synod of Cambridge, on the thirtieth of August, 1637, and here were gathered all the spiritual rulers of the Colony. The object of the Synod, the first held in the New World, was to determine the true doctrines of the Church, and to discover and denounce the errors of the Hutchinsonians. Of the latter, a number sufficiently alarming was soon found. Eighty-two heresies were defined and condemned. From doctrines, the Synod proceeded to assail persons. Cotton was admonished, and escaped by humbly explaining away his errors. Wheelwright, more obstinate, was condemned to imprisonment and exile. Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings were declared disorderly, and forbidden; and the Pequot war having ended in success, the Synod appointed a day of thanksgiving, and separated, rejoicing in its double victory over the heretics and the savages.

In the mean time, the Hutchinsonians had lost their chief protector, Henry Vane, who had gone to England, on the third of August, together with his friend, Lord Ley. England, indeed, was at this moment in need of all her worthiest sons. The great rebellion was just about to break out. In five years, all England was to be in arms. In 1640 began that general revolution which drove Charles I. to the scaffold, and made Cromwell the creator of a new era. The gifted Vane, brilliant, ardent, impulsive, returned to his home to share in the perils and triumphs of republican-

ism, saw the fall of the monarchy, and murmured under the despotism of Cromwell, was himself raised to great eminence and then imprisoned in the Tower, and at length died upon the scaffold, the victim of the treachery of the second Charles.

Vane, indeed, through all his career in England, showed constant traces of the teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson. An acute and dexterous politician, in religious matters he remained an enthusiast and an idealist to the end. He believed himself inspired. He thought that he had attained perfection, and was raised by his spiritual graces above his fellows. He was persuaded that he was ordained by the Deity to direct the consciences of men; and when he was led to execution, he never lost this conviction, but died, says Hume, in the certain assurance of eternal felicity.

In Massachusetts, meantime, the Puritan clergy openly avowed the doctrine of religious persecution. The "*Bloudy Tenant*," as it was called by Roger Williams, was loudly proclaimed in the pulpits of Boston, and its terrified citizens were reminded that they lived under a despotic Church. Cotton was the defender of persecution, Roger Williams of religious freedom; and in his ingenious dialogue between "Truth and "Peace," Williams unfolds the argument in favor of perfect toleration. He asserts "that "civil magistrates have no power to control the "soul;\* that the temporal should never be subject to the spiritual power;† that "the soule "killers or heretics of to-day may prove the "soule savers of to-morrow." These principles Williams maintains with great clearness and humanity, founding his argument upon the plain tendency of the Gospel towards the law of universal charity and love.

But Cotton defended the opposite doctrine with equal vigor; he drew his arguments from the Old Testament. He urged that the Jews, the peculiar people of God, had punished idolaters with death, had spoiled their lands and desolated their cities. He entitled his reply to Williams, *The Bloudy Tenant washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb*. He asserted "That it is moral equity "that blasphemous and apostate idolaters seducing "others to idolatry, should be put to death."‡ But even Cotton was thought too tolerant by Welds and Wilson, and being suspected of heresy, very nearly fell a victim to his own doctrines and the envy of his contemporaries.§

The "bloudy tenant" of persecution, therefore, was now employed to terrify Boston into sub-

\* *The Bloudy Tenant*, 143.

† *Ibid.*, 110.

‡ *The Bloudy Tenant*, 55.

§ *The Way of the Congregational Churches cleared*, by Mr. John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston. London, 1648. 33.



mission. Whoever spoke against the clergy was imprisoned and fined. The ferryman over the Charles river was deprived of his ferry because he was a Hutchinsonian. William Aspinwall, author of the Boston "Remonstrance," was banished. Several emigrants from England, who held Antinomian opinions, were refused admittance into the Colony, and sent back. A perfect religious despotism prevailed; Boston seemed terrified into silence, and Anne Hutchinson, alone, still defied the power of the Church, kept up her weekly meetings, and was still supported by her brave coterie of New England women, who every week threaded the crooked lanes of Boston, in storm or sunshine, towards the house of their spiritual guide.

But the departure of Vane had left Anne without a powerful friend. Welde and Symmes had resolved to effect her ruin. When Vane sailed for England, Welde exclaimed, that it was "a special providence;" he meant that it left Mrs. Hutchinson wholly in the power of her enemies. Preparations were at once made for her trial, or, rather, condemnation.

Cambridge, or Newtown, as it was at first called, was the scene of this famous trial. It was then a cluster of wooden houses surrounding a Puritan church. In our own day, Cambridge is one of the fairest of New England towns; its scholastic walks, its venerable halls, its graceful foliage, its costly villas delight the eye of the traveler. But the chief charm of Cambridge is an intellectual one; its name is associated with the renown of New England's noblest sons. In Cambridge the lute-like voice of Channing was often heard, breathing forth the tenderest strains of philanthropy and love. The Attic elegance of Everett still seems to linger over its learned seats, where his humane and temperate eloquence was so often displayed. The very dust of the academic city has been hallowed by the tread of Webster, Choate and Story; Prescott, Bancroft and Ticknor, too, are associated with its renown; while ever and anon the nightingale strains of Longfellow, or of Lowell, breaking through their silence, remind us that two of the purest and sweetest of poets hide amid the groves of Cambridge. These, and the names of many eminent and cultivated New Englanders, mark the striking contrast between the ancient and the modern town. Now radiant with literary and artistic glory, then it was the scene of a bitter persecution; now the chosen home of liberal thought, then it was the seat of a Puritan inquisition; now adorned with the renown of the leaders of progress, then it was the centre of a dark superstition which sought to confirm its power by inflicting cruel tortures upon a woman. The contrast is indeed suggestive; for which of the sharers in that memorable trial is it that has won a lasting

triumph? Not, certainly, the stern, relentless Puritans, for their mental despotism died with them. The bloody tenet of Cotton has been abandoned in disgust by his successors; the bitter reviling of Welde and the foul tales of Clarke and Symmes now awaken only indignation. But that freedom of thought for which Mrs. Hutchinson lived and died, has baffled its persecutors and become the ruling principle of the descendants of the severest Puritans.

The trial took place in November, 1637. It was autumn, and the golden glories of the dying year hung over Cambridge. The proceedings were open to all, and it is most probable that the inquisitive people of Roxbury, Charlestown, and Boston, attended its sessions with unflagging interest: the Puritan gentry, clad in their sad-colored cloths, broad ruffs, and high-crowned hats; the soldier, in buff coat and ample sword; the women, dressed in tight-fitting boddices and lofty hats; the halberdiers, with pole-axes on their shoulders; and a throng of the inferior order, clothed in coarse and homespun stuffs.

The scene was, indeed, an imposing one. All the men of eminence were gathered together in that plain building at Cambridge. The Governor, Deputy-Governor, and all the Assistants, were there; the Magistrates' seats were filled with the greatest and best of the Puritans. Winthrop, calm, decided, and never shrinking from duty, conducted the prosecution; at his side sat the severe Dudley, the renowned Endicott, Bradstreet, Nowell and Stoughton. Divided upon many other matters, they united in the work of persecution, and were resolved to crush sedition by punishing its powerful leader.

But the zeal of the civilians was as nothing compared with the fierce vindictiveness of the clergy. The ministry were all there: Wilson, of Boston, eager for revenge; the infamous Welde; the unforgiving Symmes; Hugh Peters, of Salem, bold and pitiless; and the once-loved teacher of Boston, John Cotton, now become the timid instrument of the persecutors.

Among the throng, however, were seen one or two saddened faces: Coddington, the early friend and disciple of Mrs. Hutchinson; Elder Leverett, and Deacon Coggeshall, of Boston; and some among the common people, perhaps, who had felt her benefactions, and now wept over her approaching doom.

It was into this hostile assembly that Anne was led a prisoner and a criminal. All the proceedings mark the bitter feeling that prevailed among her judges against her. Although in a condition of health that might well have awakened manly sympathy, and that even barbarians have been known to re-

spect, her enemies showed her no compassion. She was forced to stand up before the judges until she almost fell to the floor from weakness. No food was allowed her during the trial, and even the members of the court grew faint from hunger. She was allowed no counsel; no friend stood at her side; her accusers were also her judges; her feeble body and anxious mind were tormented by incessant questionings. No specific charges were prepared which she might have answered with care and forethought; no crime was alleged against her; no breath of calumny touched her reputation. But her persecutors strove, by the use of prolonged mental torture, to drive her into self-condemnation, and to extract from her a confession of her fault.

Winthrop began the prosecution by bringing against her a general charge of heresy; Anne demanded a specific charge. He then instanced her meetings, but Anne denied that they were unlawful. Winthrop soon gave over; and Dudley, rising, accused her of having said that "all the ministers, save Mr. Cotton, preached a Covenant of Works." The whole body of the ministers now joined in the accusation, and three of them swore to her guilt. Cotton interposed a few words in her favor; Coddington, Leverett and Coggeshall strove to save her; but the malice of the clergy grew more violent at this faint opposition. They charged her with falsehood, assailed her with rude reproaches, and Symmes, her ancient enemy, repeated the story of the unlucky voyage; until, at last, Anne, wearied by the ceaseless attacks of her tormentors, turned upon them with fierceness, declared that she was, indeed, in communion with her God, and reproached them all as the pitiless persecutors of the elect.

She had borne herself bravely in the midst of her foes, and showed no womanly weakness, no mental indecision nor want of ready arguments. Her clear answers to the various charges made against her are, indeed, wonderful. She had met the keenest polemics of the Church and confuted them. Her "bold and ready wit," to Welde and Winthrop, seemed almost demoniac. It was Satan, they said, that gave to Anne her uncommon mental vigor. She was condemned at once by a unanimous vote, and her punishment was indeed severe. She was to be imprisoned during the winter at the house of Joseph Welde, at Roxbury, the brother of her worst enemy, and in the spring was to be banished forever from Massachusetts Bay.

As if fearful that Boston might rise in revolt against its spiritual rulers, the General Court next resolved to disarm that rebellious settlement. A decree was passed that all the suspected should give up their arms. The most eminent citizens were deprived of their firelocks and pistols. Even Captain John Underhill was

forced to give up his sword that had done such excellent service in the Pequot war. A military tyranny was extended over Boston; and during the winter of 1637 it must have worn the aspect of a conquered town.

For Mrs. Hutchinson the winter passed heavily away. Broken in health and shut out from her usual occupations, she sank into a deep melancholy. Her enemies, the clergy, still tormented her with their visits and rude questionings; but she repelled them with her usual vigor. They renewed against her the charge of falsehood, and the records of the First Church of Boston show that she, the most truthful of women, was excommunicated for "telling a lie."

The Hutchinsonians now felt that they must fly from the military and spiritual tyranny which had been established in Boston. Wheelwright was already settled in New Hampshire. Coddington led a Colony to Rhode Island. On the twelfth of March, 1638, the General Court ordered that "shee (Mrs. Hutchinson) be gone by the last of the month; and if she be not gone before she is to be sent away without delay," etc. The Hutchinsons now sold their estate in Boston, and on the twenty-eighth of March, 1638, left that city forever.

They went to Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, and joined Coddington in his new settlement at Pocasset. Here they probably endured many hardships; and the *Glass for the People of New England* asserts that the Colonists were forced to dig caves in the ground to escape the severity of the season. The next year, Coddington led a new Colony to Newport, and William Hutchinson became the chief magistrate of Pocasset.\*

Anne, according to Winthrop, was now the master-spirit of the Colony. She addressed an admonition to the hostile church of Boston; she assumed an independent tone, and when emissaries from Massachusetts came to discuss with her her peculiar doctrines, and to spy out the weakness of her people, she met them with her usual acuteness. But fate was now urging her to her doom. Her husband died in 1642, weighed down by exile and calamity. The conduct of her enemies in Boston grew more threatening as her own power declined, and Anne felt that she must seek another resting-place. Once more her bold and enterprising spirit looked out for a new home. But whither should she go? Within the pale of the English settlements, her enemies were everywhere threatening her. With her usual resolution, she determined to emigrate to the Dutch territory, where that religious freedom she had so long sought might at last be found.

In 1642, she came to the side of Hutchinson's

\* Arnold, *Hist. of Rhode Island*, 1., 133.

river, together with her family, and there founded a little colony of sixteen persons. It consisted of her own younger children, of her son-in-law, Mr. Collins, his wife and children, and a few devoted followers. The fate of the colony is lost in obscurity. It was founded at a most inauspicious moment. Governor Kieft, of New Netherland, had just then, by his inhuman and treacherous massacres, aroused the wild fury of the natives. The savages resolved to exterminate the Dutch. An army of fifteen hundred warriors swept over Long Island, and ravaged Manhattan Island to the gates of the fort at the Battery. Bloomingdale and Corlear's Hook swarmed with brown warriors, and the flames of blazing bouweries and the shrieks of dying men and women spread terror over Manhattan Island. The savage, for the moment, seemed to have recovered his old domain.

Anne Hutchinson's settlement, seated far out across the Harlem river, in the wilderness of Pelham, was soon swept away in the rapid tide of war. An Indian, it is said, came in the daytime, professing friendship, to observe the little colony. At night a band of savages attacked it, and massacred the colonists. Mrs. Hutchinson was burned to death in her cottage. All her family were killed except one of her daughters, eight years old, who was made a captive, and was afterwards given up to her friends and sent to Boston, through the kind intervention of the Dutch.

It was the custom among the Indians to take the name of the person they had killed. Wampage, the owner of the land around Pelham, was proud to call himself "Ann's Hoeck," and it is believed that he was the murderer of Anne Hutchinson. A neck of land at Pelham was also called, after her, Ann's Hoeck, and the river still bears her name. Material traces of her existence still linger around the scene of her obscure doom.

When the news of Anne's sad fate was told in Boston, her clerical enemies rejoiced over it as a new proof of her guilt. The ruling faction smiled at the recital, if never before, like Philip II. at the news of St. Bartholomew. "The Lord," said Welde, "heard our groans to 'heaven, and freed us from our great and sore affliction.'\* Heaven, they thought, had avenged them of their sharp-tongued foe. They even invented shocking calumnies to prove that she was Satan's minister. No tales were too gross and shameless even for the wise Winthrop and the haughty Dudley; their hate pursued her to her lonely grave, and they sought to hold her up for the execration of posterity as the heaven-detested enemy of the Church.

Anne's family did not wholly die out. One of her sons had remained in Boston, and was the ancestor of Hutchinson, the Tory Governor of Massachusetts in the Revolution. A daughter, too, was married, and settled in Boston; and the blood of Anne Hutchinson still flows in the veins of several New England families.

Such, then, was Puritanism in 1642; but the death of Anne Hutchinson seems to have proved the source of its downfall. In his famous tract, *Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians*, Welde exults in the belief that the blood of Anne had sealed the triumph of his persecuting party. But how different has been the result! The "Bloody Tenant," though prevailing for many years afterwards in Massachusetts Bay, has at length given place to a liberality almost unequaled among nations. Boston has become the centre of political and religious freedom. The spirit of Williams, Vane and the Hutchinsonians rules over modern New England. Liberty of prophesying, in its fullest extent, is asserted by the modern Puritan; and the charms of literature and the elegance of artistic culture have softened, without enfeebling, the vigor of the Puritan race. Yet it should never be forgotten, as one of the chief glories of the New England metropolis, that it contended, almost at its very birth, for that freedom of speech and thought which at last it so painfully attained.

Two hundred and twenty-five years have passed since Anne Hutchinson turned her weird and sorrowful eyes westward, asking protection from the friendly Dutch. To-night we sit in judgment upon her persecutors. The cruel Welde, the shameless Symmes, the feeble Cotton, once the spiritual tyrants of Massachusetts Bay, have now sunk, beneath the indignation of posterity, into a dishonored obscurity. A cloud of infamy rests upon all those Puritan magnates who took part in the inquisitorial trial at Cambridge, or pursued with their coarse revilings the shade of an injured woman; while New England and New York unite in applauding that doctrine of universal toleration which she sacrificed her life to maintain.

Her story is full of meaning. It teaches that persecution is feeble and the persecuted strong; that harshness, violence, and force are the traits of inferior intellects; that the pure in heart, of every age, linked together in a common brotherhood, are the ruling spirits of their race; that the mild teachings of Pythagoras and Numa, of Plato and Cicero, were nearer the divine revelations of Christianity than the rack of Loyola or the bloody tenet of Cotton! It teaches, in fine, that gentleness is greatness, and that humanity is truth.

\* *Rise, Reign and Ruin*, Preface.

## IX.—THE ANTIQUITIES OF NEW YORK.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON THE SECOND OF MAY, AND REPEATED BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON [THE EIGHTH OF JUNE, 1865.]

BY GENERAL PROSPER M. WETMORE.

This subject may properly be divided into two branches—the men and the incidents of the Past. The first of these has been treated with considerable ability in the columns of a city newspaper, in a series of articles on the character and career of the men who had largely assisted in making New York the metropolis of a continent.\*

It is doubtless true that all the industrial interests had originally united in the work of building up a great city; but to the merchants of the Olden Time and their successors must be conceded the larger portion of the credit for what has been accomplished.

The Island of Manhattan, with its opulence of waters and countless accessories of lesser islands that dot the bays and sloping shores which fringe the broad estuaries, seems to have been designed by nature for a great mart of commerce; and nobly did the early residents respond to the natural advantages spread so invitingly before them.

The commercial sceptre at one time was about to be grasped by Rhode Island, Newport offering unusual advantages of access and climate. Massachusetts soon became an earnest competitor, Boston retaining the prestige of the Revolutionary era; while Virginia was not without a claim to ultimate triumph, for Jefferson founded great hopes on the Potomac and the never-freezing waters of the Chesapeake.

Finally, the mingled blood of the Puritan and the Hollander produced the elements of enterprise, resolution and persistent energy which determined the imperial question. The crown descended upon Manhattan. The character of her princely merchants became known and respected wherever the seas rolled and the winds blew. The whitened canvas shining under the Starry Flag drove their swift barks into every port that offered profitable traffic. Homeward the loaded argosies came, freighted with Europe's choicest products—lustrous silken tissues from the looms of France; glossy fabrics woven of the Saxon fleece by British hands; and generous juices

crushed from luscious grapes born of the Southern skies; ivories and gems,

"Barbaric pearl and gold,"

from Africa's burning coasts; spices and myrrh, fragrant herbs and precious jewels, undying attar of rose, the princely bridal shawl, and all the priceless treasures of the Indies.

It was fitting, therefore, that some skilful hand should paint the pen-portraits of the men who had shared in the perils, braved the vicissitudes, and won the rewards of all this golden enterprise. The premature loss, by death, of the writer who had opened this new field of letters, it is to be hoped may be supplied by others competent to continue, and more accurately to complete, the grateful task. But our purpose at this time is to discuss the second branch of the question—that which relates to the local incidents, and the visible objects, which connect the present time with the City of the Past.

The casual observer will find but few existing memorials of the early days of New-York.

Occasionally the removal of an ancient edifice attracts attention, calls for a newspaper paragraph, and so another relic of by-gone days passes forever from our sight and is forgotten.

The writer of these pages is somewhat given to searching out the few remaining landmarks which remind the present generation that the City of its Pride was not built in a day; and he proposes to share with others, who may feel an interest in the subject, the information gleaned in his desultory rambles.

It has been justly remarked that our community has little veneration for antiquity. Yet we are not wholly without missionaries in a field of grateful duty which seeks to preserve the memory of long-vanished events.

Valentine, Lossing, Dawson, and Davis—earnest, truthful, accurate and genial Davis, now resting from his labors—have won the gratitude of all true antiquarians by persistent researches among the records, traditions, and incidents of our early history. Winthrop, in his interesting reminiscences of Old New York, has pleasantly and graphically pictured to us the domestic life, habits and customs of the descendants of the Stuyvesants; while the libraries and collections of the public-spirited members of the Bradford Club are affluent in memorials of the past and lyrical treasures which our hearts "would not willingly let die."

To present before the Society, in logical connection, the sketch of an ancient Homestead, with which this paper will conclude, it becomes necessary to reproduce a few passages which have already appeared in VALENTINE'S *Manual*, under the title of

\* The writer probably referred to the series of papers in *The New York Leader*, on "The Old Merchants of New York," by Walter Barrett, Clerk—the late Joseph A. Sooville.—ED. HIST. MAG.

## PAISLEY.

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"Every person at all familiar with the history of Scotch manufactures will readily call to mind a busy, prosperous town, bearing the above name, in Renfrewshire, and chiefly known by its extensive trade in cotton and woollen goods.

"There is another PAISLEY, much less distinguished in history, of which it is our purpose to speak at this time.

"The mutations in commerce and manufactures which have occurred in a space of time but little more than is allotted to a generation, are remarkable for their importance in the light of social progress, and are not undeserving of notice.

"Reference must be had to the uninviting tables of the Statistician for full information on this topic. But it may not be out of place to remark, that forty years ago the cotton sheetings, brown and white muslins, checks, stripes and drills, the substantial materials essential to the wants of the thrifty and well-ordered household, were mostly woven in hand-looms, and not as now the products of immense manufacturing establishments, around which have clustered populous cities and villages, in New York and in New England.

"Inventive genius, inspired by the examples of Watt, and Whitney, and Arkwright, conceived and executed the complex machinery by the aid of which American enterprise now largely supplies the world with cotton goods, indispensable to most nations, but which were comparatively unknown to the commerce of this continent at the commencement of the present century.

"Before that time the household appliances were principally of linen and woollen fabrics, imported from the British Islands and Continental Europe, while India, in exchange for our silver dollars, sent us sparingly of her delicate muslins, but abundantly of coarsely-woven 'Baftahs,' 'Gurrals' and 'Mammoodies,' the handiwork of a patiently laborious, but most uninventive people.

"From these distant teachings we drew our early lessons in cotton manufactures. Weaving soon became a prosperous branch of national industry, and it followed, as a natural sequence, that the workmen we needed resorted to our shores to ply their handicraft.

"Scotland sent over her hundreds of frugal and thrifty weavers, who speedily set up their looms to prepare the required commodities. The yarns for their use became an important branch of trade; and as each piece of muslin reached its destined length, and each fragment of the apron-check, coveted by the industrious

"housewife, grew to its proper dimensions, they were transferred to the custody of the merchant, in exchange for current coin, or a fresh supply of yarn.

"The hand-weavers had become a community of themselves in our city at the period referred to, and had won and maintained good repute as an industrious, useful and orderly people. These qualities have proverbially marked the Scottish character at home and abroad, and the national attributes were well sustained in the habits and conduct of the little Paisley community, of which we are to speak.

"The year 1822 forms an epoch in our municipal history.

"The yellow fever, which had so often spread suffering and death among the inhabitants, made its last eccentric visit to our city in the autumn of that year. It brought, of course, its wonted terrors. The people of the lower Wards fled at its approach. The banker closed his doors; the merchant packed his goods; and churches no longer echoed the words of Divine Truth. Many hundreds of citizens abandoned their homes and accustomed occupations, that they might seek safety beyond the reach of pestilence, putting their trust in broad rivers and green fields.

"But a few days elapsed from the first alarm, and business had found a refuge and a resting-place. What was then the village of Greenwich, and is now the Ninth Ward of the city, became the improvised centre of trade and commerce.

"The village of that day is not easily traceable on the city map. At a little distance from the spot where the larger merchants had made their temporary homes, ran a secluded country lane, which bore the somewhat pretentious name of Southampton Road. Ancient trees, of a growth anterior to the Revolution, lent their welcome shade in the sultry days of summer, and their protection from the inclement storms of winter, to the sparsely scattered dwellers in this pleasant suburb of the city.

"A convenient nook by the side of this quiet lane was chosen by a considerable number of the Scotch weavers as their place of retirement from the impending danger. They erected their modest dwellings in a row, set up their frames, spread their webs, and the shuttles flew merrily from willing fingers.

"With the love of Scotland strong in their hearts, and the old town, from which they had wandered far away, warm in their memories, they gave their new home the name of PAISLEY PLACE.

"The writer of this sketch, who well remembered and had dealt with the weavers of 1822, chanced to pass, a short time since, through

"Seventeenth street, from the Sixth to the Seventh avenues. Thoughts of the present, and not of the past, occupied his mind. An open gateway attracted attention and invited entrance.

"Listlessly, he sauntered within a charmed circle of ancient memories. He had unwittingly wandered into the pathway once known as Southampton Road. The elms and poplars had suffered the doom of city trees; the old chestnut, from whose gnarled branches the little urobins of the past had gathered the nuts of autumn, lived only in antiquarian memories; but there stood, plainly visible, the Weavers' Row, dim with the marks of age, yet fresh in the observer's mind as an object of interest forty years ago. The paint had faded away from the time-worn materials which formed the humble structures, but the simple sign-words remained to mark the spot where once the busy weaver sat, humming his Scottish airs, while, swiftly as flew the ebbing hours of life, the checkered webbing grew beneath his plastic hands.

"Paisley Place' survives its fourth decade of years, yet no shuttle flies under its fast-decaying roofs. The moldering frames remain, the broken threads hang swaying in the breeze that enters the crevices of the shattered walls; but the weaver's song is hushed: time and death have done their work, and the little primitive fraternity has vanished before the advancing march of associated enterprise."

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In the preceding sketch, attention was specially directed to the year 1822.

The office of Mayor of the city of New York, for that year, was filled by Stephen Allen, a man singularly gifted by nature and self-culture with qualities which eminently fitted him for public station.

Of stern and unbending integrity, indomitable perseverance in the discharge of all duties, and a resolute determination to forbid the intrusion of private interests into any public trust, he was a rare example of an upright and efficient magistrate.

Living to a ripe and honored old age, in the enjoyment of the fruits of a well-won independence, he perished, at fourscore years, by the accident which destroyed the steamer *Henry Clay*, on the Hudson River, in the summer of 1852.

The mention of this venerable and respected name recalls vividly to the mind of one who knew them well the persons and characters of a class of citizens long associated with Stephen Allen in the conduct of public affairs, each of whom has left the memory of a life of usefulness and honor.

The city of New York may well be proud of a municipal record which contains the names of

William Paulding, Walter Bowne, Richard Riker, Benjamin Bailey, John T. Irving, Saul Alley, Preserved Fish, Eldad Holmes, Abraham Van Nest, Cornelius W. Lawrence, Myndert Van Schaick, David Bryson, John Targee, Isaac L. Varian, Churchill C. Cambreleng, and Jacob Lorillard.

The time will come, if it be not now, when some practised hand shall rightly depict the services rendered by these and other citizens who illustrated an epoch honored in its traditions of fidelity to public duty.

In this digression upon the men of past times, we are in danger of losing sight of the topic under discussion.

Mr. Valentine has fortunately rescued from the oblivion of private archives a rare and curious map, which indicates the precise locality of Paisley Place.

Southampton Road appears to have been a continuation of Great Kill Road, and extended circuitously from a point near the intersection of Seventh avenue and Sixteenth street to Abingdon Road (familiarily known in former days as Love Lane), which ran nearly on the line of the present Twenty-first street, from Broadway to Fitz Roy Road, near the commencement of the Eighth avenue.

The map alluded to is accompanied, in the *Manuals* for 1852 and '3, by an explanatory table, giving the numbers affixed to the several estates situated on the lower portion of Manhattan Island, with the names of their respective proprietors in the Olden Time.

The information thus furnished will serve to elucidate many of the questions which interest the antiquarians of the present day.

Number sixty-seven on the map, it will be seen, refers to the Greenwich estate of Sir Peter Warren.

This English family resided for a number of years on their extensive property, and gave their name to one of the city streets.

Admiral Warren, who seems to be but little known in written history, was an adopted citizen of New York, and exercised considerable influence in the affairs of the Colonial government.

It is a mooted question with the antiquarians of the day, whether or not the house known as No. 1 Broadway, so long and intimately associated with interesting local traditions, was the property and town residence of Admiral Warren. It is undoubtedly true, that, during the Revolution, these premises, which originally extended to the river,\* were in possession of Captain Ken-

\* If our friend, the writer of this paper, had said, instead of his remarks in text, that *the river, in the days of the Revolution, washed the rear of these premises*, he would have conveyed to the reader, more clearly than he has done, the truth of the case. The premises have not been so much changed as has been the water-line in that vicinity.—ED. HIST. MAG.

nedy, who afterwards became the Earl of Cassillis; but it is believed by many that they had been previously occupied by the Admiral.

His connection with the operations against Louisburg are incidentally alluded to by Mr. Bancroft, in the closing chapter of the third volume of his history.

The Admiral was knighted for his services in the Royal Navy, while in command of a fleet on this station. He married a daughter of Stephen De Lancey, an eminent New York merchant, and, besides his city possessions, was the proprietor of large estates in the Mohawk Valley.

A good deal of interesting information in regard to the Warren family may be found in a valuable historical work recently published by Mr. William L. Stone, on the *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, the celebrated Indian Commissioner, who was a nephew of Admiral Warren, and in early youth came to this country to undertake the management of his uncle's landed interests.

It has almost an air of romance, in alluding to a house still standing unchanged in the city of New York, in the year 1865, to quote from Mr. Stone's book, that the Colonial Assembly being driven from the city by the prevalence of small-pox, adjourned over from the twenty-eighth of November to the seventeenth of December, 1745, "then to meet at the house of Rear-Admiral Warren in Greenwich."

One of the daughters of the Admiral married the Earl of Abingdon; another the Earl of Southampton; and a third, Colonel Skinner of the King's Army. From these sources were derived the names given to the pleasant country roads indicated on the map.

Soon after the death of Sir Peter, which occurred in Ireland in 1752, a division was made of the Warren estate on this Island.

The Abingdon portion, comprising over fifty acres, had become the property of an Englishman by the name of Mallows, a resident of this city, and was purchased from him in 1794 by a well-known citizen, the late Abijah Hammond, who was not destined to realize the advantages due to his sagacious foresight of the coming greatness of the city.

About the commencement of the present century, this property was subdivided and the square formed by Bleeker and Fourth, Perry and Charles streets was sold by Mr. Hammond to Whitehead Fish, by whom it was occupied for about twenty years.

On this ground still stands, under the shade of venerable sycamores, willows and locusts, the old family mansion, known more than a century ago as the Lady Warren House.\*

It is a rare pleasure to find so charming a spot, with every feature of its antiquity faithfully preserved, in the midst of a densely populated section of the city.

The very atmosphere of the place is filled with the associations of a past age. No one has ever invaded the sanctity of its groves. The moldering trunks of trees that perished years ago still cast their shadows on the ground over which their youthful branches once answered with music to the breeze. The primitive garden-walks recall the hues and fragrance of ancestral flowers, while the old dovescotes on the barn, swarming with airy life, restore the murmuring notes that were sweet in long-forgotten years.

Terraces are still green that have felt the foot-prints of unremembered generations—maidens and matrons, soldiers and civilians, subjects of a King and citizens of a Republic, many of whose forms have lain so long in the earth that their burial-places have faded away from the memories of the living.

Alas! how few of the dwellers in these crowded haunts of Commerce, immersed in the daily concerns of life, surrounded by its pleasures, sometimes overshadowed by its great sorrows, have ever thought of the days and nights when, over the green lawns and through the lighted courts of the Warren Mansion, flashed far and wide the splendors of its gayety and fashion!

Nothing remains to recall these faded glories, save the venerable edifice within whose halls crowds of titled lords and noble dames once held high festival.

All have departed; domestic legends are forgotten; titles and those who bore them exist no longer.

This interesting homestead—a fitting place of retirement for the closing hours of declining age—has been for nearly forty years the property and residence of ABRAHAM VAN NEST, one of the oldest and most esteemed of the elder New York merchants.\*

A considerable portion of the original Warren estate, including the little Paisley nook, now forms a part of the vast possessions of the Astor family. What a record of indomitable perseverance, unequaled sagacity, and matchless enterprise must be recognized and honored in the mercantile career, out of which has grown the colossal fortune founded by John Jacob Astor!

All the ancient landmarks which connected us with Colonial times are rapidly passing away. The city has absorbed the suburbs far beyond the locality indicated in these sketches, and it is remarkable, indeed, that even one spot should have been spared to gladden the hearts of those who love to study the features of the past.

\* It is thus designated on Ratzert's Map of 1767.

\* While the pen drops these words upon the paper, this venerable citizen has passed to his rest.

Yet a little while, and the surging waves of aggressive progress will doubtless have swept away forever even the few remaining vestiges of the days when this people dwelt tranquilly under the shadow of the British Crown.

The sudden growth in population, wealth and influence which has made the city of New York the marvel of a century, is but a type of the National advancement in physical and moral greatness.

Out of a brief period of imminent peril to free institutions, the American Union emerges before the world with a strength, vigor and self-reliance which establish its rank among the foremost nations of the earth.

The decrees of Divine Providence, which control the destinies of men and nations, are alike inexorable and inscrutable. When George the Third of England, for the mere enforcement of an unequal tax, tightened the reins of despotic power over a Colony, he was unwittingly founding a Republic destined to span a Continent. By a fierce intestine revolt which, in the interest of human servitude, struck a parrioidal blow at the heart of a Nation, an Empire of thirty millions souls has been forever consecrated to the sacred principle of human freedom.

*Abstract of Title to a Block of Ground situate at Greenwich, in the Ninth Ward of the City of New York, conveyed by the Executors of Whitehead Fish, deceased, to Abraham Van Nest, by Indenture bearing date the Twenty-third day of November, 1821.*

The Right Hon. Willoughby,  
Earl of Abington, of the  
Kingdom of Great Britain,  
by John Watts, Junr., his  
Attorney, of the first part,  
the said John Watts, Junr.,  
Trustee for the said Earl of  
Abington, of the second part,

to

David H. Mallows, of the City  
of New York, Bolter, of the  
third part.

Indenture dated  
May 1st, 1788,  
with full cov-  
enants.

Recorded in Register's Office, in Liber 50 of Conveyances, page 351, April 18th, 1795.

This deed recites that the premises therein (and herein) after described was part of the Estate of Sir Peter Warren; that in or about the year 1768, the Earl of Abington intermarried with Charlotte Warren, one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Sir Peter Warren; that in pursuance of a marriage settlement bearing date

the twenty-ninth day of June, 1768, and made previous to and in contemplation of said marriage, the said Earl and Countess, by lease and release, dated the fourth and fifth of September, 1785, conveyed unto Samuel Eastwyck, Esqr., the share, right and estate of the said Countess in the lands and real estate of which the said Sir Peter Warren was seized or entitled to in the Provinces of New York or New Jersey, or elsewhere in America, to hold the same to the use of the said Earl of Abington, his heirs and assigns forever; which indentures were duly acknowledged by said Earl and Countess before the Lord Mayor of London, and recorded in the Secretary's Office for the State of New York, in Liber Deeds No. 1, page 392, &c.; that in virtue of the said marriage settlement and of settlements made in contemplation of marriage between Ann Warren (one other of the daughters of the said Sir Peter Warren) with Charles Fitz Roy, then Lord Southampton, and also of the marriage of Susannah (the other daughter of Sir Peter Warren) with Colonel William Skinner (in each of which said settlements there was a clause authorizing the Trustees to make partition of the estate of the said Sir Peter Warren) a partition had taken place of the estate of the said Sir Peter Warren lying in America, whereupon certain lands, tenements and hereditaments, of which the premises therein (and herein) after described is part and parcel, were conveyed to the said John Watts to the use of the said Willoughby, Earl of Abington, his heirs and assigns forever, free from the dower of the said Countess of Abington, and in lieu of his undivided share of the estate whereof the said Sir Peter Warren died seized in the States of New York and New Jersey, as by the said conveyance thereof executed by Francis, Earl of Hertford and others, Trustees in the said several marriage settlements named, and again duly acknowledged by the said Countess of Abington before the Lord Mayor of London, bearing date the thirtieth of August, 1787, would appear; that the said Willoughby, Earl of Abington, by his certain Deed Poll or Letter of Attorney, duly executed under his hand and seal, and then lately recorded in the Secretary's Office of the State of New York, did constitute the said John Watts his attorney, either in the name of the said Earl or in his own name, to sell and convey, all together or in parcels, the said lands and premises so conveyed to him, and of which that therein (and herein) after described is part and parcel.

Therefore, in consideration of Two thousand two hundred Pounds, the said parties of the first and second parts convey to the said David H. Mallows, his heirs and assigns:

"All that certain Mansion House, Barn and "Plantation situate, lying and being in the Out "Ward of the City of New York, between the



"Main Road leading to Greenwich and the Lane called Old Greenwich Lane; and is bounded to the Eastward by said Old Greenwich Lane; to the Southward, partly by a Road called Skinner Road and partly by a lot of Land in the occupation of the Widow Amos; to the Westward, partly by the said Main Road leading to Greenwich and partly by the Land in the occupation of the said Amos; and to the Northward by Ground belonging to Daniel Ludlow now in the occupation of Yellis Mandevil; containing Fifty-one Acres, three Roods, and thirty-four Perches. And also a Lot of ground lying on the West side of the Main Road leading to Greenwich; and is bounded to the Eastward by said Road, to the South partly by said Road and partly by a lot of ground in the occupation of said Widow Amos, to the Westward by Hudson's River, and to the Northward by ground late of James Jauncey, and containing Four Acres and nine Perches."

David H. Mallows, of the City  
of New York, Bolter,

to

Abijah Hammond, of the said  
City, Esquire.

Full Warrantee  
Deed, dated  
June 16, 1794.

Recorded in Liber 155 of Conveyances, November 16, 1821.

Abijah Hammond and Wife

to

Whitehead Fish.

Deed dated  
April 21, 1802.

Executors of Whitehead Fish

to

Abraham Van Nest.

Deed dated  
November 21,  
1821.

## X.—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By FRIEDRICH KAPP.\*

Washington's character was among the purest and noblest known to history. He is a brilliant example of what may be accomplished for the welfare of a people and of humanity, even without the aid of transcendent abilities, by concentration of effort and determination to be useful. Merit and success were so marvelously blended

in his career as to make it difficult to distinguish their respective influences; and if he had a misfortune, it consisted in the excessive and indiscriminate encomiums of his countrymen and contemporaries, which have provoked the suspicions of later times and other countries. The fulsome adulation practised by many Americans when they profess, and in many instances really believe themselves to be inspired with patriotism, envelops the images of their great men in a false mirage of idealism. To render honor to whom honor is due is, in their eyes, to divest of all human attributes, and to deify. Whatever is incompatible with an apotheosis, is either smothered by silence or absolutely misrepresented. Some autograph letters of Washington, which have come under the writer's personal inspection, prove that the publisher of his papers, Jared Sparks, of Cambridge, has suppressed and toned down a number of passages, in order to make his hero appear a more devoted Christian than he was, and more conversant with or observant of the requirements of modern etiquette and fashion. Under this code it would have been in bad taste to swear an oath, or even to call by its right name the cowardice once exhibited by certain New England regiments otherwise of good repute. Sparks considered this a sufficient reason for falsifying the record of Washington's life and of American history. There is more virtue, at times, in a round, hearty curee, than in a dainty phrase; and while it is easy to imagine Washington in a torrent of rage at Monmouth, intercepting the premeditated flight of Lee with the words, "In the devil's name, Sir, go back to the front, or go to hell," we can hardly picture to our mind a General at such a moment demonstrating to his insubordinate Lieutenant, in choice and dignified language, that it would hardly do to lose the battle on purpose. Although it was not early in life that he attained the eminence ever since accorded to him, yet the practice of romancing and prevaricating at his expense was well established before his death, and extended even to external matters. He is known to have had a well-formed head, with marked manly features (Wertmueller's picture is probably the best representation of him in his prime), and a powerful bust, on which account he showed to great advantage on horseback and in a sitting posture. On the other hand, his lower extremities were a trifle too small. To conceal this disproportion, the artist who, just before the conclusion of peace in 1783, painted Washington leaning upon his white horse, requested one of the handsomest men of the army, Lieutenant-colonel W. S. Smith, who subsequently became the son-in-law of John Adams, to stand for him in place of the real subject of the portrait. Smith himself jokingly mentions the circumstance in one of his

\* It is with no ordinary degree of pleasure that we introduce to our readers the accomplished biographer of Steuben and DeKalb. We have reason to hope for frequent contributions from his pen.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

letters, lamenting that nothing of him would descend to posterity except his pedestal, and that under a false label. Be that as it may, Washington's character has suffered in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity more by the super-serviceable zeal of his friends than by the hatred of his enemies. And yet it is by no means difficult of delineation.

In the first place, his social position was well-defined, and brought him out in relief before the masses. He belonged to a family of the rich and aristocratic planters of his parent Colony, at that time one of the most cultivated and refined portions of what subsequently came to be the United States. Relieved of the cares of subsistence, he found leisure to cultivate his mind, and took an interest in public affairs. Strangely as the remark may sound at the present day, the giant abuse of slavery, which ultimately destroys the moral and material prosperity of all communities, had not then challenged free labor to the struggle of life and death, and was even of service to the ambitious and high-toned scions of the aristocracy, in enabling them to give their undivided attention to study and to politics. It is owing to this fact, also, that the Slave States produced the leading men of the Revolution. The patrician and the planter is surrounded by a body of retainers and dependents from his cradle. In such an atmosphere coarse natures steadily degenerate, while fine organizations improve in self-control and in the arts of command—qualities indispensable to the general and statesman, and in which Washington attained a rare proficiency.

Another valuable result of this pecuniary independence was the opportunity thus afforded him of serving his country without reward. While under ordinary circumstances nothing could be more unreasonable than to expect a military commander to act gratuitously, still, in a popular war like the American, the unqualified adherence to the Revolution of a leading member of the Colonial aristocracy was of the utmost consequence. Not only did it attract the irresolute and hesitating to the popular side, but it imbued the people with a firm conviction of his disinterestedness and with implicit confidence in his leadership. It was the very best means that could have been devised by a Southern commander to conciliate the Northern masses; it predisposed every one in his favor, and enabled him to point to his own example as an argument for exacting a support equally unreserved and constant.

Far be it from us to assert that these external advantages constituted the greatness of the man; but they contributed to place him at the head of his people, while, on the other hand, they assisted in inducing the people to cast the lion's share of the labor upon his genius and energy.

Superficial historians have thought to dispose of Washington with the remark that he was not a man of great mind, but only of solid parts, integrity, and patriotism. If history were made by men of genius alone, so purely external a view of the case might be less open to animadversion. But inasmuch as the progress of human affairs depends upon the co-operation of minds of every order and degree, the office of men of genius is on the whole subordinate, and often inconsiderable. In all that he did and all that he was, Washington exactly filled his niche; he was perfect and great in his way. It is a contradiction in terms to compare him with the Royal statesmen and captains of the past century, or even with a modern conqueror, with whom he had no opinions, motives or purposes affording any standard of comparison in common. Ever since Napoleon and his Marshals have stormed over the stage in top-boots, amid the clatter of steel and the smoke of cannon, our judgments have been blinded, and our tastes depraved by the *glories* of French enthusiasm. Our standard of heroism has become warped. The most meaningless and turbulent assault and battery, if on a scale sufficiently colossal, is worshiped as heroic. What advantage has the world of Murat or of Ney, the most brilliant of these Marshals, and what heritage was left us by the first Napoleon but an organized police and an iron despotism?

As seen beside these "mighty hunters," the figure of Washington is classically simple and severe. To him the art of war was never more than a dire necessity, a means to an end. He was the citizen-soldier whose like the world has not yet seen; the modern Cincinnatus who, at his country's call, exchanged his plowshare for a sword with no greater alacrity than he returned to his rustic seclusion when his country's work was done. As a strategist, he greatly excelled the English commander opposed to him; and he shows to greater advantage in his letters to Congress than in his operations, in which it is difficult to make sufficient allowance for the infinite exigency of his resources. His inaction was in general compulsory. Whenever circumstances permitted, he assumed the offensive, as is exemplified in the surprises of Trenton and Princeton. Not one in a hundred would have remained undaunted in the face of obstacles such as he encountered; he was ever the same, steadfast in the faith that his cause must eventually triumph; and his troops could not resist the infection of his fortitude. His knowledge of mankind was excellent, and he was an adept in the art of probing the sentiment of the masses, and of adapting the war to the spirit of his people.

It was long before he succeeded in silencing clamor and detraction, and in securing an ascendancy over the minds of Congress, sufficient to

set bounds to their interminable debates and petty cavils. Misled by the systematic adulteration of history, to which the majority of American authors are addicted, Europeans have almost accepted the traditional view of the Revolutionary period as one of stoic virtue and self-denial; and to look upon the "sires of '76" as so many reproductions of Cato, Socrates, Aristides, and Brutus. Never was a simple faith more wide of the unvarnished truth. Then, as now, there was no lack of intrigues and cormorants who fattened on the public distress, of blockade-breakers, and speculators in general; in fact, a regular shoddy aristocracy contemplated the misery of the public with philosophical composure, and devoted themselves with single souls to their individual welfare. While the starving troops were staining the wintry battle-fields with the blood that trickled from their shoeless feet, the husbandman sold his products for ready cash to the English commissariat, and the towns and cities rang with festivities. This was particularly true of Philadelphia, the seat of Congress, where extravagance in clothing, carriages, dinners and wines became the recognized measure of social position. A cotemporary letter describes a banquet at which eight hundred pounds were paid for pastry alone: and this at an early period of the war, when the currency had as yet but slightly depreciated. Another eye-witness compares the fashionable society of that day with the passengers of a sinking ship, who break into the store-room, in order to perish drinking and feasting. In all Philadelphia, then the metropolis, not a bookbinder could be found, because piracy had proved a better and less exacting business. Added to this, the natural jealousy of politicians, the impotence of the Confederation, the animosities between the different States, each of whom looked with an evil eye on the importance of the other, and the successes of the enemy, made the condition of the army and of its chief such as can be better imagined than described. Yet he was so far from faltering that his firmness at length overcame all opposition, and no further attempts were made in Congress to direct or influence the conduct of operations in the field.

At the close of the war, it was once more the quiet dignity of Washington that disarmed the impatience of officers and men, and bridged over the transition from a state of war to one of peace. This done, he cast far from him the burden of honor and of place, and buried himself in the peaceful quiet of his farm. His second departure was no less painful to himself, personally, than the first; he made the sacrifice to preserve the country he had called into existence. His merits as a statesman are of a value, at least, equal to those of his exploits as a warrior. Without him, the infant Union would have died in its cradle;

through him, it was fitted for the growth it has since attained. There is not an instance in history of greater self-discipline, consistency and perseverance, of a capacity to make every act of life a means of still further ennobling and elevating the character of the actor, of a greater love of activity for its own sake, of a more conscientious love of country, of more sober and steady pursuit of the noblest aims of life, of greater disregard of self and endurance of hardships and privations, of a more ready resignation of public honors, or of a more eager appreciation of the comforts of domestic life.

His position in the history of his country is well indicated in the famous epitaph, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." In the development of mankind, he marks the close of the period of the Reformation, having established in the domain of politics the supremacy of the doctrines flowing from that great religious movement. In every part of Europe, and in England more than elsewhere, the spirit of the Reformation had been forced into compromises with feudalism and with hierarchy. In America, the Puritans had erected a political structure upon the foundations of that freedom of the individual judgment postulated by Luther and Calvin as the corner-stone of intellectual and ecclesiastical existence. Washington's military achievements released this new political organization from its formal subjection to the European systems, and thereby completed the circle of the Reformation; where this latter had failed to penetrate, Revolution now took its place.

#### XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED—CONTINUED.

##### 18. FURTHER PAPERS CONCERNING THE EVACUATION OF THE CITY BY THE BRITISH, IN 1783.

###### 6.—Address to Governor George Clinton.

To his Excellency GEORGE CLINTON, Esq; Governor of the State of New York, Commander in Chief of the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same;

The ADDRESS of the CITIZENS of New York, who have returned from Exile, in Behalf of themselves and suffering Brethren:

SIR

WHEN we consider your faithful labours at the head of the government of this State, devoid as we conceive every free people ought to be of flattery, we think we should not

be wanting in gratitude to your vigilant and assiduous services in the civil line.

The State, Sir, is highly indebted to you in your military capacity.—A sense of your real merit will secure to you that reputation which a brave man exposing himself in defence of his country will ever deserve.

We most sincerely congratulate you, on your happy arrival at the Capital of the State. Your Excellency hath borne a part with us in the general distress, and was ever ready to alleviate the calamities you could not effectually remove. Your example taught us to suffer with dignity.

We beg leave to assure your Excellency, that as prudent citizens, and faithful subjects to the People of the State of New-York, we will do everything in our power to enable you to support order and good government in the community over which you have, by the suffrages of a free and discerning people, been elected to preside.

Signed, at Request of the Meeting,

THO. RANDALL,  
DAN. PHOENIX,  
SAM. BROOME,  
THO. TUCKER.  
HENRY KIPP,  
PAT. DENNIS,  
WILL. GILBERT, SENR.  
WILL. GILBERT, JUNR.  
FRANCIS VAN DYCK,  
JEREMIAH WOOL,  
GEO. JANEWAY,  
ABRAM. P. LOTT,  
EPHRAIM BRASHIER.

NEW YORK, NOV. 22<sup>d</sup>, 1783.

### 7.—*The Governor's Reply.*

GENTLEMEN,

**A**CCCEPT my most sincere thanks for your very affectionate and respectful Address. Citizens who like you, to vindicate the sacred cause of freedom, quitted their native city, their fortunes and possessions, and sustained with manly fortitude, the rigours of a long and painful exile, superadded to the greivous calamities of a vengeful war, merit, in the eminent degree, the title of patriots, and the esteem of mankind; and your confidence and approbation are honours which cannot be received without the utmost sensibility or contemplated without gratitude and satisfaction.

To your sufferings, and to the invincible spirit with which they were surmounted, I have been witness; and while I sympathized in your distresses, I have deeply lamented that I had no means to alleviate them equal to my inclination.

The assurances of your firm support in the administration of government, gives me singular pleasure. A reverence for the laws is peculiarly essential to public safety and prosperity, under our free Constitution; and, should we suffer the authority of the magistrate to be violated for the sake of private vengeance, we should be unworthy of the numberless blessings which an indulgent Providence hath placed within our reach. I shall endeavour steadily to discharge my duty, and I flatter myself that this State will become, no less distinguished for justice and public tranquility, in peace, than it has hitherto been marked, in war, for vigour, fortitude and perseverance.

GENTLEMEN :

Your kind congratulations on my arrival at this metropolis, after so long an absence, are highly acceptable; and I most cordially felicitate with you on the joyful events, which have restored us to the free and uncontrollable enjoyment of our rights. While we regard with inviolable gratitude and affection, all who have aided us by their council or their arms, let us not be unmindful of that Almighty Being, whose gracious Providence has been manifestly interposed for our deliverance and protection; and let us shew by our virtues, that we deserve to partake of the freedom, sovereignty and independence, which are so happily established throughout the United States.

GEO. CLINTON.

NEW YORK, Nov. 26, 1783.

### XII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES—CONTINUED.

#### 22.—SAMUEL ADAMS TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.\*

BOSTON Dec<sup>r</sup>. 17. 1785.

MY DEAR SIR.

It gave much Pleasure to find that your Countrymen had again honour'd you with their Confidence in Congress. My most earnest wish is, that the Seats in that Sacred Hall may ever be filled with Men of true Wisdom. This Wish, I know, cannot be gratified when the United States shall become debased in Principles and Manners. How much then depends upon the Exertions of the present members to perpetuate the Honour and Happiness of our Country by guarding its Virtue!

I beg leave once more to trespass upon your Time by calling your attention to my Friend Capt<sup>a</sup> Landais. You and I patronized him when he first came into this Country: and I have never

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq.

for a Moment repented of the small share I had in his Promotion in the American Navy, although he has met with the Fate which sometimes has been the Lot of honest Men, through the errors, to say the least, of Courts. He had long suffered as other virtuous Men had, by a Faction on the other side of the Atlantick, which found Means to extend itself to this Country, and as you well remember, to the very Doors of Congress!—But enough of this—Your kind Assistance was greatly beneficial to him in his late Application to Congress, and he and I gratefully acknowledged it. But he remains still embarrassed, and as I conceive, not without Reason—His Pay as Commander of the *Alliance* is offered to him in a Certificate. But what is such a Piece of Paper worth. If it be said, all our brave Sea Officers & Men are thus to be paid, should it not be remembered, that those who continued in the service to the end of the War are allowed a Gratuity. This Allowance was Established several years after he left the Service, and cannot include him, nor does he desire it—But he was broke by a Court Martial—True. And if a private Gentleman discharges his domestick servant even for a Fault, does he not in Justice pay him his due wages? And are not States bound by the Rules of Justice? Captain Landais has been obliged to pay an interest on money on money\* he has borrowed for his support and other necessary expenses, more than the Value of his Pay, and the want of his just Dues has kept him out of Business—He also suffers by a short Allowance of Interest on the Gratuity granted to him for an important service Congress ordered 12,000 Livres to be paid him for that service, in *France*. The Payment there would have been and it was intended to be an advantage to him. It was paid to him in America, and not till the last year—Should not the interest on that sum have commenced in 1777 when the service was performed instead of 79 as it is now settled? But his greatest Grievance, in which indeed he is a sufferer in common with others is the Detention of Prize Money— You recollect this mysterious Business and how often we were written to, and very pressingly by my worthy Friend your Brother, We have been lately told that Capt. John Paul Jones has received a large sum on that account This Jones Capt. Landais looks upon as his inveterate Enemy & he has not the least Confidence in him—If you think as I do that he has a Right to authentick copies of Letters written by Jones to Congress or any of the Boards on an affair so interesting to him, on his proper application, your Advice to him on this as well as his other concerns will add to the obligations I am already under to you.

\* Repeated in original.

Will you be so kind as to transmit me the names of the present Members of Congress and the States they severally represent,—

I am

Your affectionate Friend  
S. ADAMS

To  
RICHARD HENRY LEE

23.—PRESIDENT JEFFERSON TO CHRISTOPHER ELLERY.\*

WASHINGTON, May 9, 1803.

DEAR SIR:—

I have lately received a letter from Ingraham, who is in prison a ca. sa. on a judgment for 1400 dollars & costs, one moiety (I presume) to the U. S. for having been the master of a vessel which brought from Africa a Cargo of the Natives of that country to be sold in slavery. he petitions for a pardon, as does his wife also on behalf of herself, her children & his mother. his situation so far as respects himself, merits no commiseration: that of his wife, children & mother, suffering for want of his aid, does: so also does the condition of the unhappy human beings whom he forcibly brought away from their native country, & whose wives, children & parents are now suffering for want of their aid & comfort. between these two sets of suffering beings whom his crimes have placed in that condition, we are to apportion our commiseration. I presume his conviction was under the act of 1794. C. II. which inflicts pecuniary punishment only, without imprisonment. as that punishment was sometimes evaded by the insolvency of the offenders, the legislature in 1800, added, for subsequent cases, imprisonment not exceeding 2 years. Ingraham's case is exactly such an one as the law of 1800 intended to meet; and tho' it could not be retrospective, yet if its measure be just now, it would have been just then, and consequently we shall act according to the views of the legislature, by restricting his imprisonment to their maximum of 2 years, instead of letting it be perpetual as the law of 94, under which he was convicted, would make it, in his case of insolvency. he must remain therefore the two years in prison: & at the end of that term I would wish a statement by the Judges & District Attorney, who acted in the cause, of such facts as are material, & of their judgment on them, recommending him, or not, at their discretion, to pardon at the end of 2 years or any other term they think will be sufficient to operate as a terror to others meditating the same crime, without losing just attention to the sufferings of his family. this of course can

\* From the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

only respect the moiety of the U. S. The interest you took in this case during the last Congress has encouraged me to hope you would lend your instrumentality to the bringing it to a close, which would gratify me, so far as it could be done without abusing the power of pardon, confided to the discretion of the Executive to be used in cases, which tho' within the words, are not within the intention of the law. the law certainly did not intend perpetual imprisonment. Accept my friendly salutations and high respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

The Honble. CHRISTOPHER ELLERY.

24.—GENERAL BENJAMIN MOOERS TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.\*

PLATTSBURGH, 2<sup>d</sup> Jan'y 1815.

SIR

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>, coving the Unanimous resolutions of the Honorable the Senate and Assembly of this State approving my Conduct and that of the officers and Soldiers under my command at the Battle of Plattsburgh on the 11<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> last. To have aided in repelling the invading foe was a duty incumbent upon us as Citizens and as Soldiers and the Success accompanying our Efforts was a double source of gratification to myself and to my companions in Arms—And be assured sir that the recollection of that day thus United with the Expression of Public Sentiment by the Representatives of the State will always be felt with Emotions of pleasure and Satisfaction.

To the officers and Soldiers who were my Companions I will immediately Communicate in Orders the thanks of the Honorable the Senate and Assembly and the high sense entertained by those Bodies of their Patriotism and Conduct on that memorable Occasion—

please Sir to accept my warmest Acknowledgements for the favourable Notice by your Excellency of my Conduct and of those of my Command in arms on the above occasion, and for the Confidence reposed in me by you, and also for the aid and assistance I have received from you at different times relative to the defence of this frontier

I am Sir

with great respect  
Your Excellencys  
very Hu<sup>m</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>  
BENJ. MOOERS.

His Excellency  
Gov<sup>r</sup> TOMPKINS

[Addressed] His Excellency  
Gov<sup>r</sup> TOMPKINS  
Albany

\* From the collection of the Editor.

25.—ETHAN ALLEN TO GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL.\*

to

The Honourable

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Esq.  
Captain General, Governor and  
Commander in Chief of the  
Colony of Connecticut.

HON<sup>BLE</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

the Hazard of Takeing Ticondaroga was supposed to be such that the Comitee of War for the Expedition Impley'd Mr. Jonas Fay of Bennington to Proceede with the Scout to the said Premises in Character of Doctor & Chirurgurgeon which Character Mr. Fay has Merited by Ten Years of successful Practice and as there appears still a Greater Prospect of Need of a Person skilled in these sciences and as Doctor Fay Has with him on the Premises Considerable of a Quantity of Medicines &c. and is willing and well skilled to Continue the Campaign in the said Capacity I would therefore Recommend him to be Continued by Your Honour's Appointment and ratification thereof thro the Campaign in the Capacity aforesaid this recommendation and request is founded on the Hypothesis that Government will send a Military force to Maintain the Sovereignty of Lake Champlain in favour of the Colonies.

From Your Honours Most Obedient  
Humble Servant

ETHAN ALLEN

This is the Largest Piece of paper  
which at Present I Have

E. A.

26.—JACOB BARKER TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.†

N YORK 11 Febr. 1815

MY DEAR SIR

I have the pleasure to inform you that a Treaty of Peace was signed on the 24<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>, was ratified by the Prince Regent on the 29<sup>th</sup> and left England on the 2<sup>d</sup> January in the British Sloop of War *Favourite*, which Vessel has arrived at this Port.—

I have had a full conversation with the bearer of despatches Mr. Carrol; he was Secretary to the Legation and shewed me the bundle of despatches containing the Treaty.—He States that hostilities are to cease on the ratification of the Treaty by the American Government.

Mr. Baker a British Messenger has also arrived with the ratification to exchange it with our Gov<sup>t</sup>.

\* From the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

† From the collection of the Editor.

Mr. Hughes (Sec. to one of our ministers) left Ghent the day before Mr. Carrol to embark at Bordeaux for America in the schooner *Transit*.—

I enclose a Newspaper and also a Copy of a Letter from my London Friend, and beg you to make public the glad tidings.

Some other Letters accompany this from my friend, who however do not contribute for any part of the expence.—

With great respect and esteem

I am

N B

Your assured friend

This Letter is to be put into your hand by to-morrow night before eight O'Clock or no pay.— JACOB BARKER.

[Addressed:] His Excellency  
DANIEL D. TOMPKINS  
Governor  
State of New York.

### XIII.—THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM—CONTINUED.

[Original, 28; Translation, 36, 37.]

THE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland to all Persons who shall hear, see, or read these Presents, Greeting.

Whereas experience has shown and taught us that on New-Year's Days and on May days, from the firing of guns, and planting May-poles, and drunken drinking, there have resulted unnecessary waste of powder, much drunkenness, and other insolent practices, together with other lamentable accidents and bruises that generally arise therefrom, Therefore, in order to prevent these, it is hereby expressly ordered, by the Director General and the Councillors, that, from this time forth, within this Province of New-Netherland, on the New-Year and May-days, there shall be no firing, nor May-poles planted; nor shall there be any beating of the drum; nor shall there be on the occasion, any Wines, Brandywines, or Beer dealt out; and, in order to prevent all such accidents and injuries, there shall be a fine of Twelve Guilders for the first offence; Twenty-four Guilders for the second offence; and arbitrary correction for the third offence; the One-third for the Officers, One-third for the Poor, and the remaining One-third for the Prosecutor. We do, by these Presents, com[37]mand all the Subaltern Courts in this Province, to Proclaim

these Presents, in all their public places, and to affix them there; and promptly to execute them.

Done in the Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this last day of December; Anno 1655.

Signed by order of their High Mightinesses  
The Director General and the Councillors  
of New-Netherland.

C. V. RUYVEN, Secretary.

[Original, 29, 30; Translation, 37–39.]

WHEREAS painful experience has, from time to time, taught us concerning the separated habitations at the outside end, (plainly against the order and benevolent intention of the Honorable the Company and their Chief Magistracy, the Councillors) of the even land, in several hovels and places, there are perpetrated many and various murders, killing of persons, destruction of cattle, and the burning of houses, both now and formerly committed by the Indians or natives of this land, all which might have been prevented, through the help of God, if the good inhabitants of this Province, in their form of Towns, Neighborhoods, and Hamlets, had settled down close to one another, after the manner of our near neighbours of New-England, who, in consequence of their combination and living close to one another, have never been exposed to as manifold and general catastrophes as we have, together with our countrymen: to be ascribed in the first, to the righteous correction of God for our Sins, and then to the Indians, tempted thereto by the separated [38] residences of the outside people, so that it is not practicable for them, from time to time, to come to the help of one another, on account of the distance of their residences: It is impossible for the Director General and the Councillors to provide each separate outside habitation with a safe-guard, Therefore, concerning the foregoing calamities, murders, damages, and destruction of different persons, farms, and Plantations, and also the last, the notorious damage and drawback upon this country and the good inhabitants themselves, it is hereby Decreed,—and since what has already happened, is to be apprehended and expected again—that as the good inhabitants, by their own experience and that of one another, may become wiser and more cautious, and conduct themselves agreeably to good order, as they are bound to do, by making close settlements, in suitable places, in the form and manner as by the Director General and the Councillors, or by their appointed Agents, shall be pointed out to the inhabitants, until their High Mightinesses, the Director General and the Councillors shall be endued with power from God and their High Mightinesses,

better to support and to protect their subjects : That this may be better practised and executed for the time to come :

Therefore the Director General and the Councillors do, by these Presents, not only give warning to their good subjects, but they do also Ordain and Command them, to settle close to one another in the form of Villages, Neighbourhoods, and Hamlets, by the ensuing Spring, so that they may be the better protected, supported, and [39] defended against all assaults and rencounters from the Savages, both by themselves and the trusty military force of the Director General and the Councillors ; at the same time warning all persons, who contrary to these Presents, shall, from this time forth, remain on their separated Plantations, that they will do it at their own risk, without the Director General and the Councillors coming to their relief ; and, in addition thereto, they shall be mulcted, yearly, in the penalty of Twenty-five Guilders for the public benefit.

The Director General and the Councillors do furthermore order, for the purpose of preventing all sudden fires, that, from this time forth, no Houses shall be covered with Straw or Flage ; nor any Chimneys be built of Clap-boards or Wood.\*

Thus done, resolved, resumed and approved, in the Fort Amsterdam, in New-Netherland, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1656.

Signed by P. STUYVESANT and the Councillors, and underneath by

C. V. RUYVEN, Secretary.

[Original, 31 ; Translation, 39-41.]

**T**HE Director General and the Councillors of New-Netherland, to all persons who shall hear, see, or read these Presents, Greeting, Know Ye :

Whereas, every day, there have been complaints of various kinds referred to them, which are confirmed by experience, both now and formerly, that, under the notion and name of the Indians, Horned cattle, Hogs, and other animals, on the Plains, have been seized, slaughtered, and offered for sale by Christains, or at least by those who go under [40] the name of Christains ; to prevent which, as far as it is practicable, they do, by these Presents, premtorily interdict and forbid, that, from this time forth, neither in this City nor in any other Towns, Villages, or Hamlets, nor in the Plains belonging to this Province, shall any Cattle, Calves, Hogs, Goats, or Sheep, be permitted to be slaughtered, not even by the owner himself, unless the owner, first, on the

same day he intends to slaughter, shall have given in such creature as his own, whether it be Kine, Hog, Goat, or Sheep, to the magistrate of the respective place to which he belongs, or to such persons whom the magistrate shall have appointed in his respective place for that purpose, and from him have obtained a Slaughter-certificate : The owner shall be obligated, for the benefit of the Public, to pay to the magistrate, or to the existing Receiver appointed for that purpose, from One Stuyver to a Guilder, for every creature, his own, Kine, Hog, Goat, or Sheep, according to the established value of the same, in case of any dispute by the magistrate in his jurisdiction or by his substitute, which money, in each City, Town, or Hamlet, shall be preserved until a time of need, for the support and protection of the common cause and Town, to be used and expended, as follows ; For Soldiers' or Corps' necessary ammunition, as the occasion shall demand. The fines for the violation of these Presents shall be appropriated and applied as follows ; viz. :—One-third to the Prosecutor, One-third to the Officers, and One-third for the benefit of the common cause, as aforesaid.

Thus done, in the Fort of Amsterdam, in New-Netherland, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of January, 1656.

Was undersigned by P. STUYVESANT ; under the Ordinance of Their High Mighti- [41] nesses the Director General and the Councillors of New-Netherland, and attested by  
C. V. RUYVEN, Secretary.

[Original, 32, 33 ; Translation, 41-43.]

**W**HEREAS, the Director General and the Councillors of New-Netherland have been credibly informed and advised, that not only here and within this Province there have been held Conventicles and Assemblies, but, also, that certain unqualified persons, in such Assemblies, have presumed to exercise the Profession and Preaching of God's Holy Word, without their having been thereunto called or appointed by Ecclesiastical or Temporal Authority : which is directly contrary to, and militating against, the Established Political and Ecclesiastical Order of our Fatherland, since, by this kind of Assemblies, many Mischiefs, Heresies, and Schisms are propagated. To prevent this, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, Do, by these Presents, absolutely and peremptorily forbid all such public or private Conventicles or Assemblies as are without the wonted (and only allowed by God's word) reformed and appointed Assembly of the Reformed Religion, in conformity with the Synod of Dort, here, in this land, in our Fatherland, and in other Reformed Churches, observed and followed ; under the penalty of

\* Vide Order of the Director General and Councillors, dated January 23, 1648.—H. B. D.



One hundred Pounds, Flemish, to be incurred by all those persons who, in such public or private Assemblies, without the wonted and authorised Assembly, whether on the Sunday or on any other day, being unauthorized, shall presume to exercise the profession of Preaching, Prelection, or Singing; and [42] Twenty five Pounds, alike Flemish, to be incurred, over and above, by every male and female, married or single, who may be found in such Assembly; without the Director General and the Councillors' intending hereby any prejudice to any Patent heretofore given by them, or any lording over the conscience, or prohibiting the reading of God's holy word, or the domestic praying and worship of each one, in his family; but all public and private Conventicles and Assemblies, whether in public or private houses, without the aforesaid wonted and established Reformed Divine worship: And, that this may be hereafter better observed and executed, and that no one may plead ignorance thereof, the Director General and the Councillors do hereby order their Fiscaal, together with the subaltern magistrates and Schouts, to Proclaim these Presents, and to cause them to be Proclaimed, every-where, and against the transgressors of these Presents, to cause the penalties to be inflicted, the more so because, by such conduct, we promote the honor of God, advance the Reformed Religion, the tranquillity of our common Country, and also its Union and prosperity, as it behooves us.

Thus done, Resolved, and approved, in the Fort of Amsterdam, in New Netherland, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of February, Anno 1656.

This Order of their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors of New-Netherland was undersigned by P. STUYVESANT.

Attest

C. V. RUYVEN, Sec.

[*Original, 34; Translation, 44.*]

**T**HE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, with the advice of the Burgomasters and their High Constables, by these Presents, do make known and they do give warning, that from this time forth, no persons shall be permitted, between this and the Fresh-water, to harbor at night, any Indian, under the penalty of Twenty-five Guilders for each offender, who, without permission from the Director General or the Secretary, signed, shall harbor any Indian in the night.

Thus done in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 29<sup>th</sup> of May, Anno, 1656.

This Order of their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland was signed by P. STUYVESANT.

C. V. RUYVEN, Secy.

[*Original, 35; Translation, 44-46.*]

**T**HE Director General and the Councillors of New-Netherland, by these Presents, do make known to all, that information has been given them by certain Indians, that two, three, or four Indians from Tappan's were harboring some evil design, and had given them to understand that they intended to murder some particular Christians, on the flats; And, Whereas the Director General and the Councillors have not been able to ascertain towards what place or against whom their aim is, much less whether this should be the general design of the Nation, and particularly since it is of the Tappan Nation and other Indians the warning has been given, the Director General and the Coun[45]cillors can neither Ordain nor apply a remedy in any other way than, by these Presents, to revive their former Orders and Proclamations, to wit: That those persons who are living without, in separate habitations, shall withdraw into the nearest Village or Hamlet, and make a combination, in the penalty heretofore established in the premises: In the meantime, that they warn each other to be on their guard; and not to frequent the woods, or the road without being armed, and always in company of at least two, three, or four, so as to be able to resist these Bush-men: and, further, to prevent such separate murders and homicides, the Director General and the Councillors, with the advice of the Burgomasters of this City cannot now, as they could not formerly, devise any other or better expedient than what has already been repeated; and to interdict and to forbid that no Indian with a gun or any other weapon shall be admitted into any fortified place, nor into the flat lands, nor into any Village or Hamlet, nor into any house, under the penalty of forfeiting such weapon, which weapon, on the complaint of the inhabitants, may and shall be taken away by the Schouts, Marshals, or, in their absence, by any of the Magistrates, to wit, eleven days after the Proclamation and Affixture of these Presents, or after the Indians shall have received the knowledge of this Order and warning; And the Director General and the Councillors do, by these Presents, command their subjects to give the Indians the knowledge of these [46] Presents, in the Indians tongue, in their most civil and most acceptable manner, as it is the advice of the Director General and the Coun-

cillors, and of the Burgomasters aforesaid, with the intent and design of preventing all injury between the Christians and the Indians.

Thus done, in the Session of their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors, in Fort Amsterdam, in New-Netherland, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of July, 1656.

Was signed by P. STUYVESANT, and attested by  
C. V. RUYVEN, Secy.

[Original, 36; Translation, 46, 47.]

THE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, to all persons who shall see these Presents, or hear them read, Greeting :

Whereas, now and then, the people from without are in the habit of bringing into this City different commodities, such as Veal, Pork, Butter, Cheese, Turnips, Roots, Straw, and other products of the land, for the purpose of selling them; and it frequently happens, particularly here at the Strand, that they are obliged to tarry long and to lodge, to their great damage, for the reason, because the community, or, at least, the greater part, especially those who live away from the Strand, are not aware that such commodities have been brought for sale, not alone to the discommoding of the Burghers but also to the notorious injury of the enterprising man from without, who frequently has to lose more in his time than the [47] profit on his commodities will warrant. Therefore, for the purpose of making provision in the premises, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, by these Presents, do ordain that from this time forth, here in this City, SATURDAY shall be the MARKET-DAY; and that market shall be held at the Strand, at or around the house of Mr. HANS KIERSTEDÉ, where after him, every one who has any thing to buy or to sell, shall be permitted to enter.\*

Thus done, in the Session of their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors, held in Fort Amsterdam, in New-Netherland, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1656.

Signed by the Director General and Councillors of New-Netherland.

Attest

C. V. RUYVEN, Secy.

\* Doctor, or rather, "Surgeon" HANS KIERSTEDÉ, had been an old servant of the West India Company, and was in New Amsterdam as early as 1638.

Several years after, he purchased the ground adjoining the Company's Stores, on the Strand of the East-river—now the East line of Pearl-street, between Whitehall and Moore, where the first Market was established by law, as above provided.

Dr. Kierstede died in 1665 or 6.

This Market is fully described in Colonel De Voe's interesting *Market Book*, 35-44.—H. B. D.

[Original, 38-41; Translation, 48-55.]

The Director General and Councillors of New-Netherland, to all persons who shall hear or read these Presents, Greeting :

Be it known, that by daily and painful experience they have learned that the Orders and Proclamations repeatedly issued and repeatedly revived against the profanation of the Lord's day of rest,\* the unlawful Tapping, on that day,† in the night, after the placing of the watch on the ringing of the bell,‡ against the dangerous, yes, damnable, Sale or Dealing out of Wines, Beers, and Brandy-waters,§ against the Baking and selling of both the coarse and the small white Loaves of Bread,|| are not regarded, observed, maintained, nor yet executed, according to the benevolent intention of the Director General and the Councillors, and as necessity imperiously demands, to the dishonoring of God, to the manifest injury and disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of the inhabitants; and also to the great contempt of the authority of the higher and the subaltern Magistrates of this Province; Therefore, the Director General and the [49] Councillors aforesaid being desirous to make all necessary provisions for said offices and duties, do hereby Resolve, Revive, and Amplify their aforesaid issued Ordinances and Proclamations, interdicting and forbidding :

IN THE FIRST PLACE, that on the Lord's day of rest, usually called Sunday, no person shall be allowed to do the ordinary and customary labors of his calling, such as Sowing, Mowing, Building, Sawing wood, Smithing, Bleaching, Hunting, Fishing, or any works allowable on other days, under the penalty of One Pound, Flemish, for each person, so offending; much less any idle or unallowed exercises and sports, such as Drinking to excess, frequenting Inns or Tap-houses, Dancing, Card-playing, Tick-tacking, Playing at ball, Playing at bowls, Playing at nine-pins, taking jaunts in Boats, Wagons, or Carriages, before, between, or during, Divine Service, under the penalty of a double fine (Two Pounds, Flemish); and particularly, no Innkeeper nor Tapster shall be allowed, before, nor between, nor during, Divine Service, to follow his customary business nor undertake to Tap, Hand out, Give out, or Sell, any Brandy-wines, Beers, or Ardent Spirits, directly or indirectly, under the penalty of Six Guilders, to be forfeited by every Innkeeper or Tapster, for each person; and every one of such persons as shall be

\* Vide Orders of the Director General and Councillors, May 31, 1647, March 10, and April 29, 1648.—H. B. D.

† Vide Orders of the Director General and Councillors, May 31, 1647, March 10, and April 29, 1648.—H. B. D.

‡ Vide Orders of the Director General and Councillors, May 31, 1647; March 10, 1648.—H. B. D.

§ Vide Orders of the Director General and Council, March 10, 1648, and November 8, 1649.—H. B. D.

|| Vide Orders of the Director General and Council, November 8, 1649, April 14, 1650, and June 5, 1651.—H. B. D.

found drinking at the aforesaid times, shall forfeit also Three Guilders. No Innkeepers nor Tappers shall be allowed, on Sunday or any other [50] day, to follow his business, nor to continue Tapping, Selling, or Handing out any Wines, Beers, Brandy-wines, or Liquors, to any person, after the setting of the Watch or the ringing of the Bell, under the same penalties; domestic, barley-laws, and public matters, authorized by the consent and by the Order of the Magistrate alone excepted.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, respecting the very dangerous, injurious, and damnable Selling, Giving out, and Dealing out by Wines, Beers, or Ardent spirits to the Indians or natives of this land, whereby almost all the calamities occur, at least are threatened and encouraged, whenever the Indians become intoxicated, the Director General and the Councillors do revive and amplify their former issued Proclamations:\* and by these Presents, they do Interdict and Command, that no person, whatever his rank and profession may be, shall be allowed to Sell, Exchange, or Deal out to any Indians any Wines, Brandy-wines, or Strong liquors, nor hand them, nor fetch them, nor cause them to be fetched, without, or within, or about the house, on the land or on the water, whether in Sloops, Barks, Boats, or Canoes, on Carriages, or Wagons, of whatever name, directly or indirectly, under the penalty of Five Hundred Guilders, and, in addition thereto, arbitrary corporal punishment and also banishment out of the country.

That these things (for the greater increase and maintenance of the public tranquillity and peace of the good inhabitants of this Province) may be better detected, all the High and Lower Officers, the voluntary or impressed [51] Servants of the Company, and the inhabitants of this Province, in behalf of their duty and obligations, are admonished, required, and commanded to assist in preventing, detecting, and prosecuting this dangerous and damnable Selling or Dealing-out any Wines, Beers, or Brandy waters; or, in case of their failing in these, to pay one half of the pecuniary fine, in case it shall be found, after this, that they have had the knowledge of such Selling or Dealing out of Wines, Beers, or Strong liquors to any Indians, without giving information of the same.

FURTHERMORE the Director General and the Councillors having been credibly informed and advised concerning the Huckstering and Retailing of Wines, Beers, and Spirituous liquors, at and around the River, out of the ascending and descending Sloops, Boats, Barks, Vessels, and Ca-

noes, do not only interdict and forbid, by these Presents, all such Huckstering and Retailing, but they do Ordain, Enact, and Command that no Schippers, nor any persons propelling Barques, Canoes, or Boats, nor any other free or slave inhabitant, of whatever name, rank, or vocation he may be, from this time forth, shall be permitted, whether for himself or any other person, in any Sloop, Boat, Canoe, or any other Vessel, to embark, lade, or take away Wines, Beers, or Ardent Spirits, in greater or smaller vessels, or even in Cans, Jugs, or Flask-cases, without having given in the same, as to the just quantity to the Officer of the place, where the Wines, Beers, and Spirituous liquors, in wholesale or retail, shall [52] be embarked, shipped, or laded, and shall have procured from the said Officer, a Bill or Certificate for Delivery, wherein shall be contained the *quantity* and the *quality* of the Casks and the other vessels, stating for whom the Wines, Beers, or the Spirituous liquors, have been shipped, and to whom they have been consigned; and bring back a suitable Bill or Certificate of Delivery to the particular persons, from the Officer of the place where the same shall have been delivered and from the Receiver himself, signed by them; and all this under the penalty of forfeiting the smuggled Wines, Beers, or Spirituous liquors, and the fine of Five hundred guilders for the first time; for the Second, the forfeiture of the Barque, Yacht, Boat, or Canoe, in addition to the above penalty.

IN THE THIRD PLACE, Concerning the Baking and the Selling of the Coarse and the White Bread, both, neither at the proper weight nor yet at the established price: The Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, by these Presents, reviving and amplifying their former issued Orders on that, do Ordain and Command that all Bakers and all others, inhabitants, who make it their business to Bake or Sell Bread, whether to Christians or Barbarians, shall be obligated (for the accommodation of Christians as well as for the sake of profit, and to do the same for the Indians,) at least once or twice a week, to bake both Coarse and White loaves of Bread, both for Christians and Indians, at the established weight and price, as follows: [53]

*The Coarse Loaf shall weigh,*

One double Loaf, 8 lb., Price, in money, 14 Stuyvers each.

One single do., 4 lb., Price, in money, 7 Stuyvers each.

One half do., 2 lb., Price, in money, 3½ Stuyvers each.

*The White Loaf shall weigh,*

The double Loaf, 2 lb., Price in money, 8 Stuyvers each.

\* Vide Orders of the Director General and Councillors, July 1, 1647, March 10, and May 13, 1648, and August 28, 1654.—H. B. D.

The single do., 1 lb., Price in money, 4 Stuyvers each.

The half do.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb., Price in money, 2 Stuyvers, each.

The Bread that is lighter or without the knowledge, order, and consent of the Subaltern Court, lighter in weight or too dear in price, shall be forfeited; and, in addition thereto, there shall be a penalty of Twenty-five Guilders for the First offence; double that penalty for the Second offence; and, for the Third offence, Six hundred Guilders, together with the absolute prohibition from following that business.

FURTHERMORE: No Bakers nor any one who follows the business of making Coarse or White Bread, shall be permitted to sell any Bread made of Sifted Bran, whether at wholesale or retail, to Christians or Indians; but the Bakers of Coarse Bread may make their Coarse Bread of the ground grain, as it comes from the Mill; nor shall they make any other sort of Bread, whether for Christians or Indians, than as before specified, under the penalty as aforesaid; the choice thereof resting in the Judicature of the respective Courts, each in its own jurisdiction, and in such persons, who on account of their better knowledge of Bread, shall be pleased to undertake it.—

[54] IN THE FOURTH PLACE: The Director General and the Councillors having been further informed, and having well considered, that as in the subjects of Tapping, so also in Baking, there are practised many frauds; and, consequently, there are attempts to cover the same under the pretence of Custom, because, up to this time, there has not been any Company or certain number of them acknowledged: Therefore, for the purpose of preventing these, as far as it is practicable, the Director General and Councillors do Ordain and Command that, from this time forth, no person shall follow the business of Baking or Tapping without first having made application to those of the Magistrates in the respective jurisdictions, and having procured from the same, or their authorized Agents, a License for that business, which License shall be renewed by the Innkeepers and the Bakers, quarterly, commencing from the first day of November next ensuing, and every time paying therefor to the behoof of the respective Courts, One Pound, Flemish, under the penalty of suspension from the business, by notorious and wilful neglect—

The foregoing specified Fines and Penalties shall be appropriated, One third to the Officer who shall bring the prosecution; One third for the Church or the Poor; and the remaining One third for the benefit of the Public; and, that the same may be the better known, practised, and executed, and that no person, for the time to come, may pretend ignorance, the Director General and [55] the Councillors do, by these Pres-

ents, Ordain and Command, that in the usual places of publication, these Presents shall be Published and Affixed; and that, after the publication thereof, they shall be observed and executed, without any favor, grace, or reserve, or respect of person, since we have deemed this necessary to the good of the Country in general, and particularly to the welfare of the Inhabitants.

Thus done, revived, and amplified, in the Session of the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, at Fort Amsterdam, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October, 1656.

Signed by P. STUYVESANT,

Attest:

C. V. RUYVEN, Secretary.

#### XIV.—HOW THEY “PUT THINGS,” IN BOSTON.

IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for November last, an article from the pen of its Editor and over his initials, presented to the readers of that work, *in extenso*, the various papers and statements, on both sides, relative to the alleged threat of Monsieur Genet, the Ambassador of the French Republic, to appeal from the action of the President “to the People”; and without any expression of opinion whatever concerning the facts thus presented, its author thus closed the article: “It is the province of History, to do justice both to the Minister and his accusers; and, for the purpose of promoting that object, these facts are submitted.”

H. B. D.

“MORRISANIA, N. Y., October, 1866.”

This very simple, and certainly not very partial, submission of the facts of the case, was thus “put” before the Boston public, in the organ of Boston respectability and Boston literature—*The Boston Evening Transcript*, of November 30, 1866:—“The compiler of them, in his closing comment, seems rather to espouse the side of the “impudent French mischief-maker.”

On the twenty-fourth of January, 1867, what, in November, had “seemed” like an “espousal” of the side of the impudent French mischief-maker,” was expanded by the organ of Boston respectability, as follows: “The other day, an American historical magazine defended the insulting conduct of Genet at the expense of Rufus King and other high-minded Federalists.”

This is the first specimen of the Boston way of “putting things,” relating to the history of this Republic, to which we shall direct the attention

of readers of that history, in other parts of the world.

The second specimen is equally noteworthy.

In the January number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Mr. Brodhead, the learned historian of New York, while speaking of Andros's administration in New England, in 1688 and 1689, remarked that "before the Massachusetts Charter "was canceled, in 1684, not one of its inhabitants "could vote for officers of the Corporation, unless "he was a Freeman of that Corporation and a "puritanical communicant."

At the present writing, we have neither seen nor heard from Mr. Brodhead since the appearance of this rude outburst of Boston's bad manners, and are entirely uninformed concerning the particular authorities on which he relied when he made this remark; but we have on our own shelves, in this country village, the most ample testimony to prove the general truth of the averment.

The original Charter of the Corporation, the *Manuscript Records of its General Court*, i., 62, 72, 164, 170, 171, 186; ii., 112, 180, 181; iv., 339, 407, 418, 427, 446, 483; Letters of Charles II. to the Governor, June 28, 1662, and April, 1664; King's Instructions to the Commissioners, communicated May 5th, 1665, Art. 9; Answer to the King's Instructions, Art. 9, May 16, 1665; Reply of the Royal Commissioners, May 16, 1665 (*MS. Records*, iv., 509); Alterations in *The Booke of the Generale Lawes & Liberties* "proposed" by the Royal Commissioners, May 24, 1665, (*MS. Records of the Colony*, iv., 513); Action on petition of Falmouth, 31 May, 1670, (*MS. Records of the Colony*, iv., 653); Letchford's *Platin-dealing*, Ed. Boston, 1867, 58, 59; Vane's *Reply to the Defence of the Order of the Court*—HUTCHINSON'S COLLECTION, 88, 89, etc., are among those authorities which most openly stare us in the face; and prove the entire truth of Mr. Brodhead's description of the general practice in Massachusetts, concerning the admission to Freedom in the Corporation, and therefore to vote in "the Common-wealth," prior to the arrival of Andros.

It is, indeed, true that the original Ordinance limiting the suffrage to "puritanical communicants" was nominally repealed, after two years' earnest struggle with the Crown to retain it, by "a Generall Courtt, called by the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Coun- cill, & held at Boston, 3<sup>d</sup> August, 1664;" and that some others than church members were subsequently admitted to the franchise; but it is equally true that this concession was made ONLY under coercion and with the hope thereby to save the threatened Charter, which had been jeopardized by their contumacy; that, even then, it was only nominal in its character, and practically void; that the change was dictated by the clergy—"dexterous pilots, who were equal to the emer-

"gency of safely conducting the Puritan ship between Scylla and Charybdis," (BARRY'S *Massachusetts*, i., 392)—and practically conceded nothing; and that the non-communicants who were subsequently admitted as Freeman and voters, were either distinguished strangers, visiting the Colony, who were thus complimented in order to secure their influence at London, or residents of towns whose services were necessary because no resident "communicant" could be found who was fit to discharge the duties of town officers or representatives.

That the spirit was unchanged by this repeal, is evident in the action of the General Court itself, on the Falmouth petition, May 31st, 1670, in which the inhabitants of that town were gravely told, in reply to their prayer for "an augmentation of Freeman," in order that the electoral franchise and the eligibility to hold office might be extended to non-communicants who were otherwise fit persons, "y<sup>t</sup> it is the best expedient to obtaine the ends desired that those parts furnish themselves with AN ABLE, PIOUS & ORTHODOX MINISTER;" (*MS. Records of the Colony*, iv., 653;) and the *Narrative of the Royal Commissioners to New England*, (HUTCHINSON'S COLLECTION, 412-425, Ed. Boston, 1865, ii., 146, 147;\*) and the *Narrative of Edward Randolph*, communicated to the Home Government, on the twentieth of September and twelfth of October, 1676,†—the latter twelve years after the pretended Repeal—afford ample evidence, from the other party, on the same subject.

But this is not all that supports Mr. Brodhead's averment, concerning the general rule in Massachusetts, concerning the electoral franchise. Massachusetts herself, speaking through her own recognized historians, is redolent of testimony, when put on the stand and cross-examined. Hear her:

#### I. GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON. Referring to the

\* "To elude his Majestyes desire of their admitting men civill "and of competent estates to be freemen, they have made an "act, whereby he that is 24 years old, a housekeeper, and "brings a certificate of his civill life, another of his being ortho- "dox in matters of faith, and a third of his paying ten shillings, "beside head money, at a single rate, may then have liberty to "make his desires known to the court, and then it shall be put "to vote. The commissioners examined many townships, and "found that scarce three in a hundred pay ten shillings at a "single rate; yet, if this rate were generall it would be just; "but he that is a church member, though he be a servant and "pay not two pence, may be a freeman." p. 418.

† "No person is admitted to be a freeman of the colony, or "have vote in any election but church members who are in "FULL COMMUNION, and approved by the generall court." HUTCHINSON'S COLLECTION, Edit. Boston, 1769, 478; Ed. Boston, 1865, ii, 212.

"The magistrates and all other officers in the civil govern- "ment or in any place of profit or advantage are church mem- "bers, and are consequently freemen, but the number of the "church members and freemen compared with the rest of the "inhabitants (who are termed the dissenting party) is very "inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one-sixth part." (*Ibid.* 484.)

provision of the fundamental law which provided that none but communicants could vote in Massachusetts, he said: "This was a most extraordinary order or law; and yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the Government, IT BEING REPEALED IN APPEARANCE ONLY,\* after the Restoration of King Charles the Second." *History of Massachusetts*, Ed. Boston, 1764, i., 26.

"THEY SEEM TO HAVE HELD OUT TILL THE LAST in refusing to admit any to be freemen who were not either church-members or who did not, at least, obtain a certificate from the minister of the town that they were ORTHODOX, OF GOOD LIVES, &c." *Note on the King's letter of July 24, 1679*, in his *Collections*; Edit. Boston, 1769, 520.

II. JUDGE STORY. In speaking of the state of affairs in Massachusetts, "from the first settlement down to the Charter of William and Mary, in 1692," he says: "No person but a freeman was permitted to vote in any public affairs, or to hold any office; and no person COULD BECOME A FREEMAN BUT BY BEING A MEMBER OF their own church and recommended by their own clergy."† *Anniversary Address at Salem, September 18, 1828*; Ed. Boston, 1828, 51, 52.

III. MR. PALFREY. Referring to the action of the General Court, on the King's letters of June 28, 1662, and April, 1664, pretending to repeal, agreeably to his order, the Ordinance limiting the franchise to those who were "puritanical communicants," he says: "Proceeding to consider the King's former letter, they repealed the law which exclusively associated the franchise to church-membership; SUPERSADING IT, HOWEVER, BY ANOTHER, OF WHICH THE PRACTICAL OPERATION WOULD NOT BE MATERIALLY DIFFERENT." *History of New England*, ii., 587.

IV. CHARLES STETSON BARRY. After quoting the Act of May 18, 1631, limiting the electoral franchise to "puritanical communicants," he says: "This was indeed a singular law, copied by the New Haven Colony, and virtually for a time by that at Rhode Island; and it continued substantially in force until 1692, BEING REPEALED IN APPEARANCE ONLY after the restoration of Charles II." *History of Massachusetts*, Fourth Edition, i., 269.

To this averment of Mr. Brodhead, thus sustained, William Frederic Poole, the Librarian of the Athenæum in Boston, over the initial "P.,"

made answer in *The Boston Evening Transcript*, of Thursday, February 21, 1867: "As the writer is no tyro, but is a professed historian, we pronounce this statement a deliberate and malicious falsehood"—the Italics being his—and thus, without a single authority except "P.'s" own unsupported word, the verdict of Boston gentility against New York scholarship was recorded without dissent, by the organ of the former.

This is our second instance of the way in which Boston "puts things," concerning American history, to suit herself.

One instance more, and we shall rest our case for the present.

In August, 1812, the United States being then engaged in War with Great Britain, the President of the United States, in conformity with the provisions of an Act for that purpose, issued a requisition on the Governor of Massachusetts for a portion of her Militia, for the defence of the sea-coast of the Republic.

At that time, the Governor of Massachusetts was Caleb Strong, a violent opponent in political associations and principles to the President; and he received the Requisition, and—under the official Opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth that he could legally do so, if he should consider that none of the exigencies contemplated by the Constitution for the United States existed, so as to require the State to place the Militia, or any part of it, in the service of the United States—he refused to recognize its binding force, or to order out the Militia which it called for.

In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January, the call for troops, the Governor's letter to the Judges, and the Judges' Opinion, were published without note or comment, and under the same specific title which the Congress of the United States had given to them, many years since, in *The American State Papers*; yet, in *The Boston Evening Transcript*, of Thursday, February 21, 1867, the same William Frederic Poole, Librarian of the Boston Athenæum, who had publicly styled Mr. Brodhead's statement "a deliberate and malicious falsehood," thus spake of this simple and naked display of the records of Massachusetts: "The documents reprinted with such a pretentious heading are very harmless affairs. \* \* \* They are these: The War Department, in June, 1812, made a requisition on Governor Strong for troops to defend the sea-coast from Passamaquoddy Bay to Rhode Island. Certain questions arose;" [WHAT those questions were he does not tell] "as in the late Rebellion," [WHERE such questions arose during the Rebellion he does not tell] "concerning the Constitutional power of the President and of Congress to order State Militia into the service of the United States; and as to the status and rank of the officers of

\* "The minister was to certify that the candidates for freedom were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and conversations."

† "S Hutch. Coll., 478, 484, 520, note."

"these troops when in the service of the United States." [*The Governor insisted that no FEDERAL officer, except the President in person, could command Massachusetts militia, even when in the service of the United States; and that, therefore, a Requisition for troops to be commanded by General Dearborn, OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, could be legally disregarded by him.*]

"The Governor very properly submitted these questions to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for decision. The Judges gave an opinion," [*sustaining the Governor's pretended right to judge for himself concerning the necessity for the troops, to disregard at will the Requisition of the President for troops in TIME OF WAR WITH A FOREIGN NATION, and to deny to all other Federal officers but the President, in person, the right to command them,*] "which will be regarded to-day, in the War Department, as good military law" [*which is only the law of the strongest, without regard to the Constitution*], "and which has been recognized as such in the late war. This is all."

"The Editor, on these papers, takes occasion to base a gross charge against the patriotism of a Sovereign State. The trouble with him is, not that Massachusetts did not fight sufficiently in the War of 1812; but that she fought too earnestly *his* friends and political associates of the 'Slave-holders' Rebellion of 1861.'"

These comments are the Boston way of "putting" the Treason of Caleb Strong and the three Judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in 1812, in the face of a public enemy, and in the midst of a solemn war; of a naked reprint, in the MAGAZINE, of the documents relating to the subject, without note or comment, and under the specific title prefixed to them in the official *State Papers*, published by the Congress of the United States; of the political character of Massachusetts—"a Sovereign State;"—and of what, although not involved in the real subject under consideration, for nearly twenty years past has been an undeviating support of those candidates, ending with Mr. Lincoln, against whom and whose sympathies Massachusetts is not generally supposed to have done much *fighting*—not so much, indeed, as she has of *stealing*. They afford, also, an illustration of the way in which Mr. Poole can sometimes "put" his foot in the very dish which he is most anxiously endeavoring to shelter; and how skilfully modern Boston can "bear false witness against its neighbors."

MORRISANIA, February, 1866. H. B. D.

## XV.—NOTES.

### MR. AMOS KENDALL ON THE BREAKING UP OF GEN. JACKSON'S CABINET.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, June 7.

To the Editor of the Baltimore Sun :

Your notice of the death of Hon. S. D. Ingham, contained in your issue of this morning, does, incidentally, great injustice both to Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren.

The rupture of 1831 was not between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Van Buren, as represented, but was between Mr. Calhoun and General Jackson. It is true that Mr. Calhoun and his friends attempted unsuccessfully to hold Mr. Van Buren responsible for the rupture, in face of his own denial and of conclusive testimony that it was brought about by facts and agencies over which he had no control.

As to the Mrs. Eaton affair, it is not true that General Jackson "determined that she *should* be recognized." She was not recognized by the lady of his own household, nor did he require that the wives of his Cabinet should recognize her. It is true that he believed the tales circulated about her to be false; and, deprecating the discord generated between members of his Cabinet by this affair, he was extremely anxious to convince them all that Mrs. Eaton was not unworthy of the society of their families. His object was harmony and unity in his Cabinet. To produce that, he resorted to no "iron will," but to the chivalry and sense of justice of the members of the Cabinet and their families. The refusal of the ladies to recognize Mrs. Eaton would never of itself have broken up the Cabinet; but it was the personal hostility of the members towards each other, generated, no doubt, in part, by the private quarrels artfully fostered by designing politicians, which produced that result. In short, it was the quarrel of the *men* and not of the *women* which produced the catastrophe, though the former was in a degree the consequence of the latter.

Mr. Ingham was an upright and honest man, with strong prejudice and a will as "iron" as General Jackson's. He introduced some important reforms into the Treasury Department, for which he has never received due credit.

I write this to enable you, by its publication or otherwise, to correct the error alluded to, and do justice to two eminent public men.

AMOS KENDALL.

BROOK'S LIVES OF THE PURITANS.—I am informed that Rev. Benjamin Brook, author of the *Lives of the Puritans*, left manuscript additions to that work, which are still preserved, and are

in the possession of Joshua Wilson, Esq., of Tunbridge Wells.  
J. W. D.

Boston, Mass.

**FREE MASONRY.**—In the days when Free Masonry most flourished in Ohio, and seemed to embrace nearly all the public men, in any way distinguished, Samuel R. Miller, of Cincinnati, was prominent in the first Masonic Lodge, and the first Royal Arch Chapter formed in that city. In January, 1826, during his attendance on the Grand Lodge at Columbus, Ohio, he told me this: That his father was a Sergeant in the army of the Revolution, under the immediate command of General Washington, and was also a Master Mason; and he had heard his father say that he had more than once been in the Army Lodge when the General was present; and that on the night before the Battle of Trenton, the General had a special meeting of the Lodge called, at which every Mason in the army was summoned to attend, and this Sergeant Miller was present. That the General attended the Lodge, and under that confidence with which Masons can speak to each other, appealed to them all as Masons in behalf of the movement about to be made.

I have full confidence in Samuel R. Miller's statement. Perhaps other traditions to like effect may be found.  
J. H. J.

URBANA, O.

**"SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS."**—"Mr. Nath. Pigott intends to open a school on Monday next, for the instruction of Negroes in reading, Catechizing & Writing if required. if any are so well inclined as to send their servants to said school near Mr. Checkley's Meeting-House, care will be taken for their instruction as aforesaid."—*Advertisement in N. E. Weekly Journal for April 8th, 1728.*

[From *The New England Courant*, Boston, B. Franklin, Printer] June 22d, 1724:

"Ran away from his master, Mr. James Smith, Sugar Refiner, living near Mr. Cohnan's Meeting House in Boston, a Negro Man named SAMBO, about 26 years old, well set, pretty tall, smooth skin, with a down look, mark'd with a Whip on the Neck," &c. The owner offers a reward of £5 for his apprehension, and all necessary charges.

**THE KINGDOM OF CANADA.**—The recent movement in England with regard to Canada does not really add a new term, as some suppose, inasmuch as Canada has been styled a Kingdom from the very earliest times, and for more than a century had its titular Viceroy.

The vocabularies given by Ramusio in his Collection, at the end of the account of Cartier's first voyage, describe the words as in the language of the *Kingdoms* of Canada and Hochelaga. (1) John Francis de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, was, by Letters Patent dated the fifteenth of January, 1540, created "Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Bellile, Carpon, Labrador, Great Bay and Baccalaos."

On the eighth of October, 1612, (2) Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, was created Viceroy of Canada, which from this time was officially styled New France. He was succeeded, the twentieth of November, 1612, by (3) Henry de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, but that Prince having been imprisoned, yielded his Viceroyalty to the (4) Marshal Duke of Montmorency, who held it till 1624, when it passed by purchase to (5) Henry de Levis, Duke de Ventadour, but was surrendered by that nobleman. Richelieu and the Duke de Maillé Brézé then governed it under the title of Grand Master, Chief and Superintendent General of the Navigation of France. In November, 1644, however, (6) Francis Christopher de Lévis, Duke de Danville, was created Viceroy, and the title was then held successively by (7) Isaac de Pas, Marquis de Feuquieres, appointed the thirtieth of August, 1660; (8) Godetroy, Count d'Estrade, 1661; (9) John, Count d'Estrées et de Tourpes, 1686; (10) Mary Victor, Count d'Estrées, 1707. On his death, in 1737, the title became extinct, and was not revived during the residue of the French domination. It will be seen, therefore, that the creation of a Viceroy will be nothing new in Canadian annals, although the presence of a Viceroy and his actual residence in the kingdom will form an epoch, none of the French viceroys having ever seen Canada.

NEW YORK CITY.

J. G. S.

**AN EXTRAORDINARY MARRIAGE.**—*Richmond, September 8th, 1789.* The following extraordinary marriage took place on Thursday se'nnight, *Edward Wade to Elizabeth Thurmon*, originally of Hanover Co. whose ages added together would nearly extend to the settlement of this State. They recollect when the merchants at the falls of James River, glutted the market by the importation of £1500 worth of goods. These antic lovers began their courtship about 50 or 60 years ago, but were not joined together in the holy state of matrimony till the 27th ult.—*Gazette of the United States, Sept. 19th, 1789.*



## XVI.—QUERIES.

INFORMATION WANTED, respecting the following Bank:

"Three Dollars. No. 425.

"The President and Directors of the *Detroit* Bank promise to pay out of the Capital Stock "and Funds thereof to a call or bearer on demand Three dollars and the stockholders jointly "and severally guarantee the payment at their "office of Discount and Deposit at Detroit

"W. FANAGUN Cash". 1<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1807.

"JAS. HENRY Presd<sup>t</sup>."

It is a relic of the olden time, and the present owner would be pleased to learn its history.

B.

THE THREE BALLS, THE SIGN OF PAWN-BROKERS' SHOPS.—It is said by historians that the Italian merchants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were called Lombards, and that from the great privileges granted them they became the chief bankers and money-lenders in Europe; that Lombard street, in London, took its name from them, where is the chief seat of the banking establishments; that *three balls* constitute the arms of Lombardy, and have been retained as the sign of pawnbrokers' shops ever since the Lombards were the sole money-dealers in Europe. But the inquiry is, how came this to be the ensign of Lombardy, and what do they signify?

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON'S COLLEGE, N. C.

WHERE can access be had to a book, published in 1830, called *The Scrap Table*? It was a reprint, in book-form, of choice newspaper and pamphlet articles.

M. T. WALWORTH.

NEW YORK CITY.

## XVII.—REPLIES.

"BIT" (*H. M.*, ix., 155).—This word, said to be "familiarly used in the Southern States, as a term signifying a coin of the value of ten cents," has not been further noticed.

When I went to New Orleans in 1821, the word "*bit*" was in universal use to denote one-eighth of a dollar;—not only to denote the coin of that amount, but was also used in money account. The sum of one dollar and fifty cents would be stated in bills and on books thus: \$1. 4. All

common prices were fixed in dollars and bits, and in sums under two dollars in bits only, as two bits, four bits, eight bits, ten bits. The sixteenth of a dollar was either "a picayune" or "a half bit," the latter more common. The copper coin of one cent was not in use.

These were the terms used by people who spoke English, and from New Orleans these designations spread to the interior along the river above. Among the street-venders (*mar-chandes*), who spoke French only, I heard only the terms *piastre*, for dollar, and *eskellin*, for bit (I spell the word as sounded).

The only money in common use at that time was silver coin; and there was this peculiarity, that there was no difference made in common dealing between the dollar, the French five-franc piece (ninety-three cents), and the French crown (\$1.07): all passed as dollars. So with pistareens, they all passed as two bits. Dimes were treated in the same way as bits, until an over-sharp man from the North imported \$7000 in dimes, to be passed as bits, eight for a dollar. This was too bold a stroke, and broke up the habit; the Creole became more precise. I do not know the origin of the term.

J. H. J.

URBANA, O., February, 1867.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG (*H. M.*, ii., 49).—The discrepancy between the date of his birth as given by Mr. Sandel (twenty-ninth January, 1688), and that given in Swedenborg's letter to Thomas Hartley (twenty-ninth January, 1689), is to be explained by this: that the latter date is an error in printing. The original document given by Swedenborg to the House of Nobles is of course to be preferred to the printed copy of a letter the original of which is not extant. The letter to Hartley contained another mistake of date, where 1743 was given as the beginning of Swedenborg's theological career. When the *Spiritual* came to be published, the true date was found to be 1745.

J. H. J.

URBANA, O., February 25th, 1867.

HAMILTON AND THE PRESBYTERIANS (*H. M.*, ii., 49).—It may be said with truth that Alexander Hamilton did more than any other to give form to the Constitution as it was adopted by the Convention, but it cannot be said with truth that he derived his *Republican* ideas of Government from the Form of Government adopted by the Presbyterian Church. The ideas of Republican Government developed in that Constitution were very prevalent at that day, else the proposal would not have met with such ready concurrence. It was but a duplication of the forms which prevailed in the States. The precise form of a

Federal Union had been proposed by William Penn, in 1697. It had been again proposed by Franklin, at Albany, in 1754, and thus made familiar to the people of all the Colonies. The Constitution was a growth of time, not an invention of the delegates who composed the Convention. It has been said to look very well on paper.

J. H. J.

URBANA, O.

## XVIII.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### 1.—THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

*Boston, Tuesday, January 29, 1867.*—The annual meeting of this Society was held this afternoon, the President, Dr. Jarvis, in the chair.

Letters of acceptance were read from Hon. Hugh McCulloch, of Washington, D. C., as an Honorary, and Prof. Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, Ct., as a Corresponding member, to which they had been elected by the Society.

Lyman Mason, the Treasurer, made his annual report, by which it appears that there is on hand, besides the invested funds, \$596.25.

A nominating committee was appointed, who reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, viz.:

EDWARD JARVIS, of Dorchester, President; Hon. AMASA WALKER, A.M., of North Brookfield, and J. WINGATE THORNTON, A.M., of Boston, Vice-Presidents; Rev. RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., of Boston, Corresponding Secretary; JOHN W. DEAN, of Medford, Recording Secretary; LYMAN MASON, A.M., of Boston, Treasurer; WM. B. TOWNE, of Brookline, Librarian; Hon. SAMUEL H. WALLEY, A.M., of Boston, EBENEZER ALDEN, M.D., of Randolph, and Hon. GEORGE S. HALE, A.M., of Boston, Counsellors.

The list was balloted for and unanimously elected.

The President read a paper, prepared for the Association by James Stark, M.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland, a Corresponding member and Principal Director of the General Registry Office of Scotland, on the Influence of Marriage on Life and Mortality.

This was the result of Dr. Stark's observation and comparisons of the living population with the deaths in Scotland through a period of nine years. Among 100,000 living of each sex, in each class of the married and single, and in each quinquennial period, it was found that of the males 597 married and 1174 unmarried died in each year between 20 and 25 years of age. Between 30 and 35 the deaths were 865 married and 1369 unmarried. The difference in favor of mar-

ried life diminished with the advance of age, yet was maintained to old age, when between 75 and 80 the deaths were 1168 married and 1454 single men on an average in each year among 100,000 of each class.

Among the males above 20 years old the average duration of life was for the married 59.7 years and for the single 40 years. Among those above 25 years the average was 60.2 years for the married and 47.7 years for the unmarried.

Among females the difference was slightly in favor of single from 15 to 30 and from 40 to 45, but in all other periods, from 30 to 40 and from 45 to 95, the difference was greater in favor of married life; and including all periods, marriage adds largely to the longevity of women.

The tables of Dr. Stark show that, contrary to the common opinion, and notwithstanding the additional cares and burdens of a family, the more regular and comfortable life of the husband gives him a great protection against the dangers that beset the bachelor, and adds to his longevity nearly 100 per cent. between 20 and 25 and about 50 per cent. between 30 and 35 years of age.

During the earlier years of married life, when the first children are born, and at the middle period, when the constitution goes through some changes, married women suffer a slight loss of life in comparison with their single sisters; but for them, as well as for men, the connubial state is, on the whole, the safest from danger, and increases their days on earth.

The Association voted to publish this most important paper in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

### 2.—OLD COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Old Colony Historical Society was held, by adjournment, at Library Hall, Taunton, on Monday evening, the fourteenth of January, 1867, Rev. Mortimer Blake, Vice-President, in the chair. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President—Hon. JOHN DAGGETT, of Attleboro; Vice-Presidents—Rev. M. BLAKE, of Taunton; Hon. SAM'L L. CROCKER, of Taunton. Directors—A. M. IDE, of Taunton; Hon. JOHN S. BRAYTON, of Fall River; Hon. HORATIO PRATT, of Taunton; ELLIS AMES, of Canton; Hon. P. W. LELAND, of Fall River; EBENEZER W. PEIRCE, of Freetown. Corresponding Secretary—JAMES H. DEAN, of Taunton. Recording Secretary—EDGAR H. REED, of Taunton. Treasurer—THOMAS J. LOTHROP, of Taunton. Librarian—EZRA DAVOL, of Taunton.

### 3.—RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society was held on the fifteenth of Janu-

ary, 1867, at the Cabinet, on Waterman street, Providence. After the usual preliminary business, the Society proceeded to the election of officers, and the following gentlemen were chosen for the year ensuing:

*President*—Albert G. Greene.

*Vice Presidents*—Samuel G. Arnold, George A. Brayton.

*Secretary*—Zachariah Allen, (in place of Dr. E. M. Snow, resigned.)

*Treasurer*—Richmond P. Everett, (in place of Welcome A. Greene, resigned.)

*Librarian and Cabinet Keeper for the Northern Department*—Edwin M. Stone.

*Librarian and Cabinet Keeper for the Southern Department*—Benj. B. Howland.

*Auditors*—H. B. Drowne and Henry T. Beckwith.

*Committee on Building and Grounds*—Albert G. Greene, Henry W. Lothrop, John A. Howland.

*Committee on Membership*—Wm. Gammell, E. M. Stone, John A. Howland.

*Committee on Lectures*—Albert G. Greene, Wm. Gammell, Edwin M. Snow.

*Society Correspondent of the Historical Magazine*—Dr. W. O. Brown.

Sundry donations were announced by the Librarian.

The Treasurer's report was presented, accepted, and ordered to be recorded.

The report of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper of the Southern Department was read, accepted, and ordered to be recorded.

The report of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper of the Northern Department was similarly disposed of.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Welcome A. Greene, for his long and faithful services as Treasurer, was adopted.

Remarks were made by Judge Brayton in relation to the public fund, an attempt to raise which is now being made, and for which several thousand dollars have already been pledged.

The annual tax for 1867 was assessed.

A sum not exceeding \$50 was placed at the disposal of the Librarian for the purpose of purchasing such books and pamphlets as it was deemed advisable to have in the Society's collection, and which could not be obtained in the usual way.

It was also voted, that in notifying members, circulars should be hereafter sent to them, and it is therefore desirable that members residing out of town should send in to the Secretary their post-office address. Adjourned.

#### 4.—LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The regular meeting of this Society was held on Thursday Evening, the seventh of February, Mr. John Winslow in the chair.

A full report from the Committee appointed for the purpose of raising a Library fund of fifty thousand dollars, was presented by Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D.D.

He said that the committee had been more than successful. The amount subscribed had reached the sum of Fifty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars, which, with Four thousand five hundred dollars in the Treasury at the outset, made the present Library fund Sixty-one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, the interest of which is to be devoted toward the general increase of the Library of the Society.

Dr. Storrs also stated that a fine building site on Brooklyn Heights had been secured, and that a subscription to pay for it was then being taken. Owing to the high prices of building materials, the erection of a building would be postponed for the present.

He then read the names of the subscribers to the Library fund, as follows:

A. Abbott Low.....	\$5,000	Milan Hulbert.....	\$500
Horace B. Clafin.....	5,000	John W. Frothingham..	250
S. B. Chittenden.....	5,000	Charles S. Baylis.....	250
Jeremiah P. Robinson..	2,500	Benjamin D. Silliman..	250
James H. Prentice.....	2,500	William C. Rushmore..	250
Josiah O. Low.....	1,500	A. Cooke Hull, M. D..	250
E. H. R. Lyman.....	1,500	Charles J. Lowry.....	250
George S. Stephenson..	1,500	John S. Ward.....	250
J. Carson Brevoort.....	1,000	James F. Wallace.....	250
Henry E. Pierrepont..	1,000	Michael Snow.....	250
Joseph Battell.....	1,000	Joseph B. Brush.....	250
Henry Sheldon.....	1,000	Daniel C. Robbins.....	250
Thomas Hunt.....	1,000	Henry R. Pierson.....	250
Henry W. Sage.....	1,000	John Davol.....	250
Edwards W. Fiske.....	1,000	David H. James.....	250
Peter C. Cornell.....	1,000	William H. Swan.....	250
Edwin C. Litchfield....	1,000	William O. Dunton.....	250
Isaac Van Anden.....	1,000	Robert J. Hunter.....	250
Ethelbert S. Mills.....	500	James B. Taylor.....	250
Joshua M. Van Cott....	500	Charles Dennis.....	250
Alfred S. Barnes.....	500	John O. Whitehouse..	250
John D. McKenzie.....	500	Henry Collins.....	250
Edmund W. Corlies....	500	Bryan H. Smith.....	250
Henry Sanger.....	500	Col. Alfred M. Wood..	250
Lyman S. Burnham.....	500	William B. Barber.....	250
W. Augustus White.....	500	Samuel B. Caldwell....	250
Cornelius D. Wood.....	500	Charles B. Caldwell....	250
W. W. Wickes.....	500	Chas. A. Townsend....	250
Henry G. Beeve.....	500	Walter T. Hatch.....	250
Warren D. Gookin.....	500	Theodore L. Mason, M.D.	250
George B. Archer.....	500	Jonathan Ogden.....	250
Edwin Bulkley.....	500	John T. Howard.....	250
Rufus R. Graves.....	500	Edward T. Richardson,	
Abraham B. Baylis.....	500	M.D.....	250
Franklin Woodruff.....	500	Demas Barnes.....	250
George C. Robinson....	500	James H. Stebbins....	250
Isaac Henderson.....	500	Alexander McCue.....	250
John B. Hutchinson....	500	Amos Robbins.....	200
Enos Richardson.....	500	C. L. Mitchell.....	100
J. S. T. Stranahan.....	500	John Barker.....	100
Thomas Brooks.....	500	G. Granville White....	100
Martin Kalbfleisch.....	500		
John Bullard, Jr.....	500		\$56,750

Mr. John Fowler, Jr., of New York, then read a paper on "The Ancient Homestead of the Jones Family, Queens County, Long Island."

## SPECIAL MEETING.

At the meeting of the Society, held on the twenty-first of February,

Mr. Eugene Lawrence, of New York, read his paper on "Anne Hutchinson," a full report of which appears in another part of this number.

The following are the names of members elected in February :

Pope Catlin, Frederick R. Fowler, Robert Ormiston, M.D., Leopold Brandeis, C. R. McClellan, M.D., Pitt Cooke, John W. Peckett, Miles Standish Bromley, Mathew Wilson, Howard C. Cady, Joseph Hoey, Howell Smith, Stephen M. Ostrander, Norman S. Bently, W. A. Brush, John Caldwell, Silas B. Dutcher, Reuben Daniell, Alonzo Follett, Frederick W. Green, Lloyd B. Hoppin, E. R. Humphrey, Robert J. Hunter, Thomas P. Kinsley, C. C. Martin, Frederick Piggott, Edwin A. Studwell, John K. Stimson, Rev. A. P. Van Gieson, Edward B. Willetts.

The first volume of the Publications of the Society will be ready for delivery to subscribers on the twentieth of March.

## XIX.—BOOKS.

## 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Fugitive Pieces, by various hands.* 1866. Morrisania : 1867. Octavo.

In this beautiful volume, just issued from the Bradstreet Press, we have Volume III. of *The Magazine Miscellany*, to which reference was made in our number for January.

It contains ten of the leading papers which appeared in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE during 1866, including those on "Henry Laurens," Mr. Ewbank's "Rock-writing," Mr. Moore's "Staten Island and New Jersey Boundary," Mr. Brodhead's "Hennepin never in Albany," our own article on "Citizen Genet," and our series of articles on "American Methodism;" and is exactly uniform in style and size with *The Gazette Series*, which was so much the object of admiration among collectors, a year ago.

As no more than fifteen copies of this volume were printed, it has already found its way into the leading collections of England and America.

2. *History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts.* From the papers of William Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia, Esquire. In two volumes. Quarto and small quarto; pp. I., xix., 233; II., viii., 276.

In these beautiful volumes, Mr. Wynne, of Richmond, Va., has recently issued a carefully prepared edition of the celebrated "Westover Papers," from the original manuscripts, preceded by an historical Introduction from his own pen.

The first volume contains Colonel Byrd's *His-*

*tory of the dividing line, between Virginia and North Carolina, as run in 1728-29*; the second his *Journey to the Land of Eden, Anno, 1733*; *A progress to the Mines, in the Year 1732*; *The Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to lay out the Bounds of the Northern Neck, Anno 1736*; *An Essay on Bulk Tobacco*, and various *Miscellaneous Papers*, of greater or less importance; and both form Nos. II. and III. of "The Historical Documents from the Old Dominion," of which *The Williamsburg Orderly Book* was the first.

In Mr. Wynne's well-known integrity as writer of History, the student has an ample guarantee that the volumes before us are what they purport to be; and their importance to every one who is at all conversant with the history of the two States of Virginia and North Carolina will be patent to every one.

These are what are known as "privately printed" books, from the Munsell Press—among the choicest of his works—and numbered, of the smallest size, two hundred copies, of the largest forty, of the last of which thirty are strictly for private distribution.

3. *The Northern Invasion of October, 1780.* A series of papers relating to the expeditions from Canada under Sir John Johnson and others against the Frontiers of New York, which were supposed to have connection with Arnold's Treason. Prepared from the Original, with an Introduction and Notes, by Franklin B. Hough. New York : 1866. Octavo, pp. 224.

We have here the sixth of the series issued by the Bradford Club; and, although the skilful artisan, Mr. Munsell, has succeeded in making a handsome job, he has failed to cover up the impudent imposition of the Editor, in his pretended discovery of co-operative movements in Northern New York to second the Treason of Arnold.

As by far the greater portion of these expeditions were set on foot and carried out after the flight of Arnold and the execution of Andre were widely known; and as the Editor seems to have had no warrant whatever for his pretensions to their connection with Arnold's treason, except two casual remarks, of two and three lines, respectively, which Governor Clinton and General Washington wrote nearly a month after, and then only as *possibilities* rather than *probabilities*, we conceive that Dr. Hough's imagination must have got the best of him, in this instance, and that both the Club and their customers, especially the latter, are simply victims of misplaced confidence.

At any rate, we are sensible of the fact that the Editor's name will not, very soon, hereafter pass current among honorable men as a voucher for averments in Historical matters; and it strikes us, also, that having discovered the imposition practised by its Editor, the Bradford Club should not have subjected its friends and customers to

tax of twelve dollars for what it should have known, and probably did know, was not worth as many cents, except as a volume which is necessary in order to keep the sets of their series perfect, without regard to the merits of its contents.

Why did not the enterprising Editor rather take notice of the dispersion of Ethan Allen's Vermont troops, about the time referred to, and the pretended *cartel* between the insurgents in that country and General Haldiman—since known to have been something worse—and tell his readers, what was probably true, that the incursions from Canada were part of a system of co-operation with the renegade Green-mountain-boys for the overthrow of the State to which they were subject, in order, among other objects, that they might be released from their allegiance? The material concerning this was fifty-fold as plentiful as the five lines of possibilities concerning their connection with Arnold's treason, which he has displayed, in capital letters, on a full page of this volume: was there not as much money in the fact as in the fiction, that the former was rejected and the latter so eagerly taken, by this active manufacturer of American History?

We shall look for something better from the Bradford Club, in its next issue.

4. *The Popkam Colony*. A discussion of its historical claims, with a Bibliography of the subject. Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1866. Octavo, pp. 72.

If History speaks truly, and we suppose she does, to some extent at least, in this instance, a Company was formed, in the early part of the Seventeenth Century, with the Chief-Justice of England at its head, for the purpose of colonizing what we now know as New England; that, for that purpose, a Charter was obtained from the King, in 1606; that, under the provisions of that Charter, a settlement was planted at Sagadahoc, in Maine, in the summer of 1607; that a Government was duly instituted there, a Church established, a fort built, and the mechanic arts employed; that, in 1608, in consequence of the death of their President, in America, and that of their Patron and chief supporter, in England, the colonists, without surrendering the Company's title to the territory or political rights, under the Charter, returned to England; and that, notwithstanding the temporary abandonment of the Colony, the legal *status* of the undertaking remained the same and was thus recognized, both by the British, French, and Dutch Governments, as the basis of the rights of the former, Westward from the Kennebec. She tells us, also, that, in 1807, the Bi-centennial Anniversary of this event was celebrated by one of Massachusetts' most honored divines—recently deceased—

and a party of gentlemen; and that, in 1862, the Maine Historical Society inaugurated a yearly festival in commemoration of the same interesting event—Hon. John A. Poor, Hon. George Folsom, Hon. E. E. Bourne, and Hon. Jas. W. Patterson, having successively acted as the Orators of the Day, as the Anniversary annually presented itself.

It seems, also, that in America there has long existed a certain vagabond knight-errant named MASSACHUSETTS, of whose exact origin there is less of evidence than of pretensions to gentility, and the quarterings of whose shield indicate anything but an honorable ancestry. He has been attended, from time to time, by various Squires, of different grades; and he has gallantly tilted, as he has travelled over the country, at divers objects, ranging from an inchoate idea to an unfinished and ungarrisoned granite fortress—which, also, was without an armament.

It seems, also, that among the last of the Sanchos of this venerable adventurer was one POOLE, a lineal descendant, it is evident, of the widely-known Pool of Bethesda, whose need of a periodical purification by the direct interposition of the Almighty, so great was its filthiness, is known to all our readers; and the two—the mounted vagabond and the dirty vagabond on foot—have recently seen in this North-Virginia Company of 1606 and its Colony at Sagadahoc, in the Histories which refer to them, and in the Orators who have honored their memory—to say nothing of all who have sympathized with those Orators or listened respectfully to their well-established recitals—fit objects against which to oppose their joint and several prowess.

Accordingly, after various preliminary movements which, we are told, are peculiar to such knight-errantry as that which is recognized by such as these, the valiant Squire imbibed deeply at Muddy Brook and proclaimed the phantom greatness of his attenuated Chief, and the homage which is gravely assumed to be due to him as the Champion of Liberty, the Avenger of Injured Innocence, the Defender of the Right, the world over—*whenever it will pay*. All this the Squire did, and more, in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of the eleventh of April, 1866; as the Chinamen, before, had struck their gongs and told the British sailors that their Emperor was a near relation to the Sun and Moon, although the dirty dogs, without a single exception, knew that they lied, without qualification, when they said so.

The pamphlet before us opens with this grandiloquent display of Puritanic effrontery, in which we notice, here and there, the touches, as if to heighten the effect, of the master-spirit of the particular second-hand coterie in Boston of which Mr. Poole is the acknowledged organ; and we have been struck, while reading this per-

tion of its contents, with the evidence which it affords that, even in Boston, "Like produceth like."

Possessing the authorities and quoting from them, the author of this paper, nevertheless, studiously omitted those portions of those authorities which would have qualified the parts selected and used by him, or entirely overthrown his own and Massachusetts' pretensions; and as diligently he paraded the sentences and parts of sentences which, when severed from the contexts, sustained his own wicked purpose. The suppression of the truth, and the establishment in its stead of a falsehood, were evidently his only objects.

He talked of "accepted facts of history," as if a *fact* is not a *fact*, unless "accepted" in Massachusetts. He considered as only "historical *waggery*," what, to our personal knowledge, cost more patient research among the best material in existence, than he was ever known to bestow on any subject. He paraded before us, and told us he has "diligently perused," the various Addresses and scraps of newspaper controversy—the latter *probably* borrowed from Mr. J. Wingate Thornton, whose courtesy in lending those scraps, *not in Mr. Poole's collection*, the Publisher has acknowledged on page 4. He talked of "the stern logic of truth" as glibly as, five lines below, he told of the disinterested "gracefulness" with which Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay—amiable and law-abiding companions—were thus waiting to yield to Sagadahoc the honors which have been awarded to them, in history, for more than two hundred years. He told of the landing at Sagadahoc of what he gratuitously assumed to have been "a colony of convicted felons," in 1607, without telling us how it was that those same "convicted felons" returned to England—whence they must have been "transported," for England's good, a year before—without meeting an objection from any one, in 1608; and this silence is the more unaccountable when we remember that "convicted felons," escaping from a penal colony, have never found much favor, when discovered, either in England or America. He did *not* tell us, also, that those whom he styled "convicted felons" were led, personally, to Sagadahoc, by the brother of the Chief-justice of England—as much a "Gentleman" as John Winthrop was—and by two near kinsmen of Sir Walter Raleigh, one of them his nephew. Nor was it any more to his purpose to tell us that, with quite as much sincerity, doubtless, as was found at Plymouth or the Bay, the earliest acts of those "convicted felons," after their landing, were to choose the site for their settlement, to recognize the goodness of God by engaging in solemn worship of Him, and, lastly, to organize their Government, under the provisions of their Charter. He told of "shocking barbarities" committed among the

Indians by those "convicted felons" of Sagadahoc; but he did *not* tell of far more "shocking barbarities" practised among the same race, soon after, by the saints at Boston; nor did he pretend to introduce to "the stern logic of truth," even for comparison in barbarity with the setting of dogs on the Indians of Maine in order to drive them from the settlements, the official offer of rewards for the scalps of Indian babies, at Boston, and the official sale of Indian children and women, by the authorities at that place, as a source of Colonial revenue. He told, also, how naughty Frederic Kidder, "a respectable Boston gentleman," was, when he dared to read History through his own spectacles, and to tell what he had read, without asking the consent of those whose dirty work the Librarian of the Athenæum is always dirty enough to father, in the absence of anything more legitimate; and he dared to insinuate, what he dared not say, that that gentleman had misrepresented the truth. He brought against Mr. Poor's statements only a slur on the portliness of that gentleman's person—in the absence of a better argument or a more authentic authority—and he pettifogs, as only such as he can pettifog, concerning the little thirty-ton vessel in which a portion of the colonists "ymbarked and sett saile for England," when, in 1608, "they ALL" thus "ymbarked" and "sett saile." He tells us that he "knew" that the Popham colonists were knaves—"under the old rule that 'It takes a rogue to catch a rogue,'" we suppose—but he did *not* "know," although he said such was the case, that the *Mary and John* had brought "more than eighty" persons to America, when, the year before, she was only subordinate to the *Gift of God*, and both, together, only brought a hundred and twenty; and he does *not* "know" any more concerning the capacity of the former, than of the material of which "the newe pynname" was built, or of the propriety of calling the *Virginia* "the newe pynname," in order to distinguish her from the *old* one.

The entire production is in keeping with others which have been issued, from time to time, by this second-hand coterie of ambitious, but disappointed Bostonians to whom we have referred, and whose graceless productions have found frequent utterance through the Beacon street "pool," over the signature "P." Failing to find resting-places for their feet, or pegs for their hats, in the historical Mecca adjoining the King's-chapel-yard as well as in that which is in Beacon-street, except as serving men or "sponges," the members of this clique ambitiously endeavor to imitate what their ignorance leads them to suppose is the spirit of those whom they serve; but with the characteristic nothingness of their class, they have succeeded only, so far, in copying the vices

of their superiors, in unwittingly proving their incapacity to become gentlemen, and in making patent to every observer that they are nothing but the meanest of flunkies.

To this outburst of what has been called "historic brass," in Boston, the Rev. Dr. Ballard of Brunswick, Me., unnecessarily responded, in a tone and spirit which reflected the highest credit on his patience as well as his abilities.

He repelled the idea that "smiles," alone, should be employed as rejoinders, when attempts are made "at smiling away historical verities;" and he brought down on the rim of the stagnant "pool" in Beacon-street, the weight of "facts" and the necessity of stating them, as a basis of a "theory," even of "the false theory of the believers in the Popham Colony." He then told, what the other had suppressed, the *facts* involved in the controversy; and he accepted the issue presented by those *facts*, if there is such an issue, and offered to give evidence of the entire subject, "in all its dimensions," as became a gentleman and a scholar. He defended the colonists from the Boston charge of "felony," by showing that others besides "convicted felons" were, at that time "endangered by the law" of James I.; and while he admitted that many of them were poor, and "endangered" by the existing Statutes against vagrancy, he insisted that they were guiltless before the law, as "felons"—much more so as "convicted felons;"—and their return to England, after a few months absence, without fear and without objection from the authorities in England, fully proves the correctness of his conclusions. He next disproved the Boston stories about "the shocking barbarities" among the Indians; and he then told Mr. Poole, what the latter seemed to have unknown before, that "formal acts" "of taking possession" under the Charter, "recorded" on the minutes of the Colony, signed by "John Scammon, Secretary," were different in their character and political importance from "the 'works' performed by the daily 'toils of the laborers, in trenching, fortifying, 'building the storehouse and church and the 'pretty pynname.'" He also noticed the fact that since "all" the colonists "embarked" in the *Mary and John* and "the new pynname," and "sett saile for England," and duly arrived there, there is no foundation in fact for the unsupported Boston story that many of them were afraid to return and thenceforth led "a wild and free life" in America. He closed with a brief notice of the Boston *soubriquet* of "hangman," applied to Chief-justice Popham; and, with strange quaintness, he brought the author of *Ancient Pemaquid*, as a voucher for the character of the great leader of the "convicted felons," at the settlement of Sagadahoc.

Mr. Kidder followed, with a very brief, but

very significant letter, in which "the language, "style, and logic" employed by the Beacon-street coterie were aptly said to be "as far removed from the 'pure well of English undefiled' as a "pool of stagnant water is from a perennial fountain."

The vagabond knight and his dirty Sancho seem to have been so far confounded by the opposition which they thus encountered that forty days were required by them to "catch the "breath" that was knocked out of their worthless carcasses; and then, gasping for existence, they commenced by jointly and severally calling out that they were only joking—"our object in "noticing the Address was not controversy," are their words; and "we have doubted the propriety of making a rejoinder."

Finding no one, however, within sound of their whining apologies, to dispute their pretensions to humility, the downward current of their cowardice was suddenly arrested; and they next ventured, tremblingly, to raise their heads, and then, so far had the Doctor and Mr. Kidder apparently retired from the contest, they were encouraged to blow their horn again.

Their next performance was a denunciation of some "theory,"—what that theory is they did not say—as "the most absurd and baseless ever "addressed to the human understanding;" and upwards of a page of sarcastic allusions was devoted to Rev. Dr. Ballard and the Maine Historical Society, and to their efforts to elucidate this most notable point in the history of that State. Next came an extract from Lord Bacon, the corrupt Chancellor, to prove that the Colony at Sagadahoc was composed of "the Scumme of "People, and Wicked and Condemned Men," although "we" probably knew that to that Colony the learned Chancellor really had no reference. "We" then slurred over the religious services of the Churchmen at Sagadahoc, as the Fathers at Boston slurred over those of the brothers Brown, of that town, at a later period, and, probably, for the same reason—because, as Anne Hutchinson said of those Boston fathers, they were under a "Covenant of Works" and so far "under" it that the saving Grace of God had not yet discovered them. The small extent of country occupied by the colonists, during their wintry stay at Sagadahoc, and the well-sustained averment that the North Virginia Charter of 1606 and the settlement under its provisions, in 1607, had proved themselves barriers to French supremacy on the sea-board, afford amusement to the "we" of Beacon-street; while the death of one-half of the starvelings at Plymouth, without producing an abandonment of the undertaking, seems to have inspired this coterie with fresh courage, in view of the fact that the loss of two-thirds of the settlement at Sagadahoc, including

its President and its Patron, was followed by the return of the handful who remained to their native country. Sir John Popham next received their dirty attention; and Lord Campbell, Fuller, Aubrey, Lloyd, Wood, Foss, and Macaulay, were pressed into their service and forced to give *ex parte* testimony to fit the Massachusetts plan. The character of the Colonists, as assumed "con-victed felons," next arrested the attention of the valorous Squire of Boston; and he flatly acknowledged his ignorance of the legal effect, as continued occupations, under the Crown of Great Britain, of the Church Colony at Sagadahoc, in 1607, and of those at Pemaquid, in 1608, at Mount Desert, in 1613, at Saco, in 1617, at Monaghan, in 1618, at Plymouth, in 1620, etc.; yet he recklessly rushed on, in his ignorance, and ignorantly discussed the question. He next told of Gosnold's settlement at Cuttyhunk, in 1602; and, like another quack, used that as a counter-irritant, very much to the prejudice of his own patient. He told, also, what we do not believe, that Ex-governor Washburne had promised to believe that Noah landed in New England, and to make a speech to sustain the pretence, if it shall be asserted, and a *cold collation*, such as they had at Fort Popham in 1862, *shall be guaranteed to him*—that was evidently a slur on Mr. Washburne, which none but an envious one would have dared to indulge in—and, while on the subject of Noah, Mr. Poole gravely paraded the beastliness of that drunken old man, and told his readers that it was "*excusable* on the ground that there was then no 'Maine Law,' or even a 'judicious license system.' " He told nothing new, however, concerning the outrages committed against the Indians, either in Maine or Massachusetts; although he did tell something new concerning Mr. Poor, when he said that gentleman "is not amenable to the common code of literary and historical criticism." He talked of the death and burial of the Popham Colony; of the disinterment of its "sickening remains" by "a few excellent people of Maine;" of "the putrid mass" which was discovered; etc., as only a scavenger could have talked; and he closed with a final flourish of trumpets and a new Proclamation of the phantom glories of the happy family of the Massachusetts.

Doctor Ballard followed in a dignified article, successively reciting the falsehoods of Mr. Poole and exposing their character; and Mr. Kidder, in a *Running Review*, closed the discussion, and "replaced the sod" over "the putrid mass" of Boston's corruption, which was so rashly exposed by the arrogance of those who write over the initials of Mr. Poole.

The Knight, and his Sancho, and the other portionless retainers of the house of Massachusetts, have not troubled Sagadahoc since the

date of Mr. Kidder's last visitation. They have wisely kept clear of the quaker-fort Popham, and of those intelligent gentlemen who so gallantly sustained the honor of the first settlers of Maine. They now busy themselves in the equally appropriate and not more successful occupation of endeavoring, by systematic impudence and falsehood, to silence THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and those who contribute to it.

Taken as a whole, this pamphlet is a notable one, inasmuch as it exposes the arrogance, and pretensions, and capacity to imitate, of the second-hand coterie, whose headquarters are in the Librarian's room at the Athenæum, in Boston.

It is true that there is not a Sparks, nor a Ticknor, nor an Everett, nor a Winthrop, nor a Palfrey, nor a Parsons, in the ambitious party; yet it assumes to be as learned and as eloquent as any of these; and "the way of putting things," which has rendered some of its superiors so untrustworthy as Historical writers, is almost the only trait of character which is held in common by them. Like the inevitable Count, the members of this coterie bravely display what they call the certificates of "honors awarded, in history, to Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, for more than two hundred years." unfortunately for those "honors," the claimants, like the Count, are known to be only common barrators; and their certificates, like his, are as worthless before the world as are those who present them.

The edition of this pamphlet numbered three hundred copies.

5. *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By George Bancroft. Vol. IX. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 506.

In our November number, we paid a passing attention to this volume; and we propose to devote to it a few lines additional, in this place. The volume opens with a political survey of the Continent; and to that particular portion of Mr. Bancroft's subject it seems proper, therefore, we should confine our remarks, in this notice.

The first, and most significant, feature which we notice in Mr. Bancroft's remarks concerning the political events in America, from July 4, 1776, until April, 1778, with which he opens, is the entire absence of harmony in his narrative—we had almost said the entire confusion which prevails throughout this volume—concerning the status of the thirteen newly-enthroned Sovereignities on the sea-board of the Continent.

Thus, on page 31, while speaking of what he is pleased to term "the people of the United States," he says, "As the youthful NATION took its seat among the powers of the earth, its sire was no longer for the restoration of the 'past,' etc.; yet no one knows better than he, that at the date referred to in his margin—



"July, 1776"—*there was no such "People" as that named by him; nor such a body, of whatever complexion, as "the United States."*

The Colonies, as every student knows, were as independent, one from the other, as are France and Russia; and, although a "Congress" was held—the meaning of that phrase being significant of the character of those who composed it, and of those who were represented therein—there was no more consolidation of those Colonies into one "People," or one "youthful nation," than there was in Europe, when England, France, and Turkey co-operated, in the Crimea, in their common hostility to Russia. They did not pretend to be a "People;" they did not assume to be a "youthful Nation;" they never assumed, until the first of March, 1781, an aggregate title, even as a Confederation of separate and independent States. They *separately* acted, or *separately* "withdrew from the question;" they declared their Independence as *separate*, but "united States," each by its own Delegation; and they thus bore testimony, before God and man, *against* that very system of centralization and consolidation which their transformation from *thirteen* Peoples into one "People," from *thirteen* Colonies into one "youthful Nation," would have inevitably plunged them.

We say that no one knows this fact, notwithstanding his averments to the contrary, better than Mr. Bancroft; and we say so, not only because he is a student, but because, notwithstanding on page 31 he makes the entire body of Rebellious Colonies a "People of the United States" and a "youthful Nation," he tells, on page 37, under the same date, that "*Thirteen* States had risen up, free from foreign influence, *to create their own civil institutions*, and join *together as one*"—as if a "State," and a "People," and a "Nation" are not synonymous technical terms; and regardless of the fact that "thirteen" are more than one; "the People" and "the young Nation" being his words on page 31.

But this is not all. The "*Thirteen States*," of which he told us on page 37, were not even *united*, it seems, at the date referred to—"Union was *the need of America*," he tells us on page 46; and, on page 47, he says "The main hindrance *to a strong confederation*," [*and, therefore, a stronger to consolidation*] "was the innate unwillingness of the *separate States* to give up *power, combined with a jealousy of establishing it in other hands than their own.*" He also modestly enters into an elaborate argument (page 47) to show how much more he knows concerning "the wants of the country," at that time, than did the members of that Congress, "not one single statesman of whom fully comprehended the subject," he says; and on page 48, among other things, he adds, truly, yet incon-

sistently, "*Each one of the Colonies connected its idea of freedom and safety with the exclusive privilege of managing its internal policy; and they delighted to keep fresh the proud memories of repeated victories won over the persistent attempt of the agents of a supreme power, which was external to themselves, to impose restrictions on their domestic autonomy.*" What a great "youthful Nation" that must have been; and how cunning the little fellow was, when, under such questionable circumstances, he took that "seat among the powers of the earth," referred to already, and quoted from page 31.

But the end of the muddle is not yet. What was a "People of the United States" and a "youthful Nation," on page 31, and *entirely separate States*—being neither consolidated nor confederated—on pages 37, 46, and 47, suddenly reappears as a "*Confederacy*" on pages 49, 50, 53, and 54,—all under date of "July, 1776"—and as suddenly that "Confederation" disappears again, on "Aug. 2, 1776"—"on the next day," are the words, "the members of Congress, having no army but a transient one, no CONFEDERATION, no treasury, no supplies of materials for war, signed the Declaration of Independence"—why he did not say the *amended* "Declaration," which was true, is significant in this connection—"which had been engrossed on parchment." Indeed, so far had his quondam "Confederacy" disappeared from his vision, when he reached page 60, that he turns the little joker up again, as a "*People*" and a "*Nation*;" and he tells us, confidentially, on page 61, that "a Nation without a compacted union," was then the true character of the concern; although he staggers on page 112, when he quotes, without dissent, the Resolution of the Congress which declared that the States were, severally, both "free and independent."

We have room for no more of this; yet we have seen the same confusion prevailing throughout the last four hundred pages, that we have referred to as so unpleasantly prominent, in the first forty, of the volume. It stares us in the face on every page; and we involuntarily ask ourselves, if Mr. Bancroft had not determined, to his own satisfaction, at least, the character and relations to each other, in July, 1776, of "the thirteen United States of America"—whether they were *separate*, unconfederated bodies-politic or States; or a consolidated "*People*," forming one "*Nation*;" or a "*Confederacy*" of "*thirteen States*"—why he did not defer the publication of the ninth volume of his *History* until that great, fundamental question had been satisfactorily solved. He would, and then have been enabled to write three successive pages without exposing himself to this unpleasant censure; and

the world would have had less reason to fear than it now has, that he is incompetent to discharge, properly, the grave duty which he has undertaken.

It may seem unbecoming in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, if it shall presume to teach Mr. Bancroft such a primary lesson of American history as that over which he has thus so shamefully stammered, contradicting with one breath what he had told, syllabically, with the last; yet we see no way to avoid it. It is this:

There was no formal alliance, or confederation, or union, of the Colonies—there was not even a good understanding between them—until the first of March, 1781; and any words which would convey to the reader an opposite or different idea, are simply falsehoods. The only bond of union between the Colonies, prior to their Declaration of Independence, was *sympathy*: the controlling portion of the inhabitants of each were fraternized Rebels, equally obnoxious to the Law of the Land, as Traitors to their legal Sovereign, and holding, in common, a well-settled conviction that unless they hung together, in resistance, they would hang separately, as convicts.

When these Colonies, thus unconfederated and unconsolidated, assumed the responsibilities of Revolution, each acted for itself, through its own particular representatives, in a Congress—the very name of which indicates a formal assembly of the diplomatic representatives of several *distinct* Governments, to concert measures of common interest—and through those several separate Delegations, acting under special instructions from the Governments whom they respectively represented, the Colonies, *voting as such*, did, or declined to do, in the premises, whatever they severally considered expedient.

There was not a man alive who, then, would have called these revolted Colonies a "Nation;" that would have presupposed a successful consolidation of the thirteen into one body, which the wildest Radical among them would have ridiculed; and the discord, and distrust, and jealousies of each other which prevailed, the Continent over, too clearly indicated that that generation would never become one "People;" if, indeed, they would ever become so far homogeneous as to become a "Confederacy."

This was their condition when the scheme of Independence was set afloat by one of the Colonies, and subsequently approved or acquiesced in by eleven others; and thus they were, on the fourth of July, 1776, when the twelve—one of the thirteen non-concurring—each for itself, declared their Independence of the crown to which they legally owed allegiance.

Had that "youthful Nation," which Mr. Bancroft's fancy led him to write of, as skipping into the midst of the venerable dames who then

composed what was known as Christendom, then existed in fact, the vote on that question of Independence would have been taken, as questions were taken in the House of Commons and other National assemblies, by *individuals*, and the vote of the majority would have bound the minority. As it was, there was then no such "Nation," either young or old, in America, and the vote was necessarily taken by Delegations representing separate Governments, in the name of those Governments; and none were bound except by their own consent, voluntarily given and recorded as the votes of such Governments.

Again: Had there then been a "Confederacy," as Mr. Bancroft sometimes pretends, although the votes had been taken by Governments, the minority would have been bound by the will of the greater number and stronger members; and New York need have taken no such trouble as to "withdraw from the question," in the Congress, in order to avoid the adverse "Instructions" of that Government which her Delegation had not the authority to disregard; and, in that case, she need not have voted her own Independence, directly, by her local authorities, sitting at the White Plains, five days after. Her discord would have been as nothing in that great "National" anthem, had such an anthem been really chanted; but, where each acted separately and for itself, legally binding none but itself, as was the case in that Congress, the non-concurrence of New York, and the division of Delaware, and the negatives of South Carolina and Pennsylvania, were potential to so great a degree that the majority was powerless against them; and none but the non-concurring States, each for itself, could apply the remedy.

There was no "Nation," or "People," or "Confederacy," in America, in "July, 1776;" and Mr. Bancroft's ignorance or forgetfulness of that fact betrays his unfitness for the task which he has undertaken.

But, it may be said, although this may have been true before the Declaration, the disunited Colonies by that act became a "People" or "Nation"—the theory of John Adams and others, many years after.

If this is true, Mr. Bancroft is equally unfortunate, since the Colonies could not then have been *united*, but consolidated; and his pretended "Confederacy" is, therefore, as much a fiction as was his "youthful Nation"—a "Nation" may be a member of a "Confederacy"; but it cannot be, itself, the "Confederacy" any more than one man can, solely in his own person, constitute a partnership of thirteen members.

That this was the view of the Congress itself is evident in the fact that after New York had joined the twelve, in their scheme of Independence, the original Declaration of Independence

was altered and amended to suit the new order of things; (*Journal of the Congress*, Friday, July 19, 1776) and the manuscript Instrument, or Declaration, thus amended, engrossed, and signed, tells more forcibly than we can how gravely Mr. Bancroft has misrepresented the truth, in his eagerness to be eloquent.

"IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

**"The unanimous Declaration  
"of the thirteen united States of Amer-  
"ica,"**

was the ominous caption of the instrument; and the following is the "Declaration" *in extenso* :

**"We, therefore, the REPRESENTA-  
"TIVES of the united States of Amer-  
"ica, IN GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, ap-  
"pealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for  
"the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name  
"and by Authority of the Good People of these\*  
"Colonies, Solemnly PUBLISH and declare, That  
"these\* United Colonies are, and of Right  
"ought to be **Free and Independent**  
"States;\* that they\* are absolved from all  
"Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all  
"political connection between them\* and the  
"State of Great Britain, is and ought to be to-  
"tally dissolved; and that as **Free and Inde-  
"pendent States,\*** they\* have full Power to  
"levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances,  
"establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and  
"Things which INDEPENDENT STATES\* may of  
"right do."**

This simple, straightforward paper, telling its own story, is not more significant of Mr. Bancroft's incorrectness than are other official papers of that period.

When, on the fifth of July, John Hancock, as President of the Congress, communicated the fact of the Declaration of Independence to the Revolutionary authorities of Pennsylvania, he had no idea of the existence of any "youthful Nation," nor even of any such consolidated body, in any form, as "the United States." Indeed, he so far exposed the ignorance on that subject which Mr. Bancroft unkindly twits the Congress of, on page 47 of this volume, that he said, "The *American*\* States being now forever divided from those "who wished to destroy them, it has become ab-  
"solutely necessary, for THEIR security and hap-  
"piness, to adopt some Government of THEIR  
"own." On the fifth of July, he sent a copy of the Declaration to the Revolutionary—rebel, if you please,—authorities of New Jersey, and, on

the eighth of July, to those of North Carolina, in both of which "the *American States*" are again referred to; and, if Mr. Bancroft will take the trouble to examine them, the credentials of our Ambassadors to France, who entered into the Treaty with the King of the French, as well as the Treaty itself, will indicate that at a much later date, each State was *separately* considered as a legally unallied party sole, in the negotiations, and separately named, as such, in the documents and in the Treaty.

There was, then, no such "youthful Nation," no such "People of the United States," no such "United States," no such "Confederacy," in "July, 1776," as Mr. Bancroft has created and sent out; and we leave the subject, *our first lesson*, for his future guidance.

But we will return to Mr. Bancroft's volume.

On page 32, the author says, "The congress of "that state," [*New Jersey*] "published simulta-  
"neously" [*on the eighth of July*] "at Trenton,  
"the declaration of independence and their own  
"new constitution." He does not intimate, how-  
"ever, that that "new Constitution" of New Jer-  
"sey had been already established at Burlington,  
"on the second of the month, not only before the  
"Declaration had been received but before the In-  
"dependence had been voted.

We are not insensible of the fact that a more perfect statement of the whole truth of this matter would have seriously interfered with Mr. Bancroft's theory of the nothingness of New Jersey and the "nationality" of "the United States," in "July, 1776;" but we cannot think that that was the cause which prompted the omission of which we complain. The omission and its effect, however, are singularly unfortunate, in view of the charges recently made against his integrity as a historian.

On pages 33 and 34, we have a picture of the Provincial Congress of New York, as it had assembled at the old Court-house of this County, at the White Plains, on the morning of the ninth of July, 1776; and a similar of the situation of this State, at that moment, as the doomed object of the enemy's vengeance and—although not referred to by Mr. Bancroft—of rescued New England's contemptuous neglect—the latter a subject which had called forth, two days before, an earnest appeal to "our people" of New England by John Adams.

In those pictures, however, Mr. Bancroft portrays none of the adverse elements, within the Congress, which had so much retarded the Revolution in that Colony, and compelled it to remain an acknowledged Province of Great Britain, for seven days after the other two Colonies had voted their own Independence. Does he tell us anything of that sudden transformation of Jay, when he could no longer resist the Royal  
pleasant

\* Thus, in the plural number, in the original.—H. B. D.

† These Italics are his own.—H. B. D.

cause, into an angel of Liberty—as Ben Butler has been, more recently, when he could profitably serve Jefferson Davis no longer, as a candidate for the Presidency.

He has told us, however, what will be news to many besides us, that by the assent of the Provincial Congress of New York, given on that day, to the Declaration of Independence, “the union of the old thirteen colonies was consummated;” (p. 34) and if we may judge of what he says on page 46—“Union was the need of America,” on the twelfth of the same month, how much longer we will not inquire—the tidings of that “consummation,” on the ninth, will, also, be news to himself.

Now, this pretended “consummation” of the Union, at the White Plains, on the ninth of July, 1776, would do very well in an acknowledged romance; but, we protest against it in a *History of the United States*; and we insist that Mr. Bancroft shall tell the truth—that there was no “consummation” of the “union of the old thirteen colonies,” until the first of March, 1781—when he shall undertake, the next time, to speak of the subject.

On page 37, Mr. Bancroft tells his readers that “Independence had sprung from the instructions of the people; it was now accepted and conformed as their own work in cities and villages, in town meetings and legislatures, in the camp and in the training field.”

This, also, is very pretty as rhetoric; but it is very faulty as History.

If Mr. Bancroft knew the truth of the subject, he ought to have said that Independence had sprung up in the discontents of the wealthier *non-office holding* classes in the Colonies and in their General Assemblies, wherein the great body of the laboring poor was entirely unrepresented and uncared for; that it had originated and been nurtured in the specific Instructions of the most discontented and ambitious of those wealthy ones, expressed through their Assemblies and Provincial Congresses, without consulting or paying any regard to the interests and wishes of their poorer and unrepresented neighbors, tenants, and servants; and that it was Ratified by those representative bodies, often in the face and in the midst of a heavily opposing sentiment, at the same time that it was applauded in packed town meetings and cheered in the camp, by those whose views on the subject, prior to the Declaration, had been neither solicited nor cared for; by those whose tax-paying and fighting co-operation was then courted, even while their manhood and citizenship were haughtily and disdainfully denied. If he did not know these truths, he should have learned them before he undertook to write about them.

But this is not all that we have to say concerning this sentence.

What living man, knowing nothing of the subject except what this sentence teaches him, would lay down the volume and know, from its record alone, that the Governments *de facto* of the several revolted Colonies had separately considered the subject of Independence, and separately instructed their particular Delegations in the Congress in what manner they should act on it; that the several Delegations in the Congress had acted agreeably to those Instructions; that the action of the Congress was communicated, *for information only*, not for “confirmation,” to the different armies in the field; that the duty of “confirmation” of that action did not devolve on, nor was it assumed, by “town-meetings” or mass-meetings, anywhere, but on the Governments of the several States; that only the Revolutionary authorities in those States—not the great body of their inhabitants, nor even their “People”—ever ratified that action of the Congress; and that, even in those Revolutionary bodies, the great mass of the working-men of the State—the “People” of to-day—was not in the slightest degree represented? We venture nothing in saying that not one in five thousand would ever suspect such things, under the circumstances thus presented by Mr. Bancroft; yet these are the truths which he has thus concealed under the words which we have quoted—how improperly, we need not say.

We hold that the first duty of the Historian is to ascertain the Truth; the next is, to tell it, faithfully.

On page 41, Mr. Bancroft tells of the amendment of the Declaration of Independence, after the accession of New York to that Declaration, which we have already noticed; but he is silent concerning the reason which led to this action, and he *actually misquotes* the amendment, rendering the whole subject, in its bearings against his own muddy theory, entirely without meaning to the general reader.

The fact is too patent to be concealed, however, that if Mr. Bancroft had quoted the amendment correctly—“THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION of the thirteen united STATES OF AMERICA,” instead of “the unanimous declaration of the thirteen UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,” as he has printed it—his readers would have seen that, in that Declaration, the word “united” was only an adjective qualifying the plural noun “STATES;” and that the Historian, in telling of a “youthful Nation,” of a “People of the United States,” and of other representatives of Consolidation and Centralization, was following either a fertile imagination or his partizan bias, certainly not the authorities on which only a faithful Historian would have relied.

The second chapter of the volume is taken up with a consideration, if we may believe its head-

line of the "*Confederation; Signing the Declaration*," yet it opens with an elaborate story on the exchange of prisoners-of-war—a subject which we shall look at, by-and-by, when we shall take up the ideas of Mr. Bancroft on the Military history of the United States.

He tells (p. 47) that "the innate unwillingness of the separate States to give up power," was a "hindrance to a strong confederation" of that wonderful, "youthful Nation" which had already "taken its seat among the powers of the earth," if we may believe his story, earlier in the volume (p. 31); but he does not tell us how the States could be "separate," and yet, at the same time, form, in the aggregate, a consolidated "youthful Nation," nor does he let us know by what process they could be thus "innately unwilling" to centralize power, which they possessed and would not "give up," while, at the same time, they were already consolidated into a compact "Nation," wherein, necessarily, all political power rested above them, in the will of the ruling sovereign.

He tells us, (p. 47) of the ignorance of "the people" of that day, concerning "the wisdom necessary for regenerating its Government;" of the "precise" intimacy of that "people," notwithstanding that ignorance, with the "details" of "the Dutch and Swiss confederacies;" and that, so dense was that ignorance, even among the better classes, that "there was not in Congress [that of 1776] one single statesman who fully comprehended the want of the country."

What a pity Mr. Bancroft had not then lived. What an admirable opportunity he would have had, in Philadelphia, as a school-master; and how merciful it would have been in an all-wise Providence, to have turned his great political abilities in that direction rather than in this, of a Historian of the United States.

He tells us, on pages 48 and 49, of the continued struggles, "for more than a century, and even from the foundation of the settlements," which had been carried on between the Crown and the Colonists—the former seeking to centralize and control, the latter to retain within themselves and to wield, the military resources and revenues of the latter; of the substitution, in July, 1776, of "the Confederacy" "in the place of the Crown, as the central authority;" and of the lamentable absence of every one, with sufficient ability to "explain the distinction between a Sovereignty wielded by an hereditary King in another hemisphere, and a superior power which should be the chosen expression of the will and reason of the Nation."

He does not tell us, however, where he finds the "Confederacy," in July, 1776, which he fixes in the place of the displaced King; nor does he tell us in what way he conceives the place of a King, claiming to have been the seat of all political power and the source of all political honor and

authority, the Continent over, could have been filled, even comparatively, by any "Confederacy" or other body, which was merely a creature of another and superior body, somewhere else, and possessing neither powers, nor authority, nor honors, except those which had been delegated to it, for specific purposes, and to be used only vicariously.

He epitomizes, in half a dozen pages, the debates by the different Delegates, of the features of the proposed Confederation; and, on page 57, he unwittingly exposes the real bond of union existing between the thirteen "Free and Independent States," which he, in his superior wisdom, considered as transforming them into, alternately, a "youthful Nation" and a "Confederacy"—he says the union was "constituted by the Instructions under which the Delegates of the several Colonies were assembled, held together by the necessities of war." What a remarkable corner-stone these Instructions and "necessities" would have made, in themselves, for either a "Nation" or a "Confederation"! What a master-mind that is, that which has selected them for that purpose, even in a fiction!! What fertility of resources must he have controlled who has constructed such a body, even on paper, from such a small supply of poor material!!!

The chapter closes with these remarkable words—remarkable because they have proceeded from the brain of the leading Historian of our country, and are called History: "American independence was the work not of one, or a few, but of all; and was ratified not by Congress only, but by the instincts and intuitions of the nation; just as the sunny smile of the ocean comes from every one of its million waves. The courageous and unselfish enthusiasm of the people was an inexhaustible storehouse of means for supporting its life; the boundlessness of the country formed its natural defence; and the self-asserting individuality of every State and of every citizen, though it forbade the organization of an efficient Government, with Executive unity, imposed upon Great Britain the impossible task of conquering them one by one."

Had Mr. Bancroft ever heard of the "loyalists" in America, when he said "American independence was the work of all"? We should like to know, also, what Mr. Bancroft's claims are, to be considered a republican rather than a monarchist, while he pretends that the Independence which had originated among the people (p. 37) needed to be "ratified" by the Congress, (p. 60) before it became effective.

We dismiss the subject, however, for the present; but shall resume the consideration of it, commencing with the third chapter, at the earliest convenience.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. SECOND SERIES.]

APRIL, 1867.

[No. 4.]

I.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The purpose of Historical Societies and their true, fiduciary relation to the public, seem, occasionally, to be imperfectly understood, and a brief consideration of their nature and duties may be deemed appropriate to our pages.

The primary and legitimate thought is to collect and preserve materials tending to illustrate general history, the history of our country, especially our State and local history; and these materials, consisting of books, manuscripts, pictures, curiosities, and relics, constitute their libraries and occupy their cabinets. For this sole purpose they are organized, and under this profession they solicit and receive such treasure.

But mere accumulation is frivolous and idle in the extreme; if this is all, the collections are but hoards of rubbish, and possession a mere inanity, narrow, useless, and pitiable, akin to the touch of the crazed son of Mammon fumbling his pile of gold.

Historical Societies receive these contributions under an express and an implied obligation to hold them for the public, not merely as owners, or in the exclusive spirit of monopolists, but as in trust, for the public, and to be used by the public, with as much freedom and as little restraint and limitation as safety requires. Now in just so far as the trustee hinders this free use, hampers it with absurd and dilatory, time-consuming, annoying and provoking "regulations," and administers the trust with manifest reluctance, and in a how-not-to-do-it spirit, as if the student who applies for a copy of a manuscript or a rare pamphlet, were an intruder, a violator of prescriptive right, a literary pirate, is it not to that extent a violation of the design and spirit of the more generous and high-minded founders, and a recreancy to the terms and conditions of the trust?

The end they sought was to diffuse knowledge, by opening their historic and antiquarian accumulations with a free, generous, and welcoming hand to every student, without parliamentary

delays, and references and cross references to different Committees who may meet a week or weeks hence, for time is of great value to *working men*—so that the records of the past being scanned by many eyes, weighed by opposing judgments, and passed through the alembic of different minds, *Truth* should be enshrined within their sanctuary.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, March, 1867.

II.—THE MARCH OF EMPIRE—PROGRESS OF TYPOGRAPHY WESTWARD.

By HENRY O'RIELLY, ESQ.\*

A plain, old-fashioned book that "speaks volumes" concerning the progress of the Press in the West, was lately added to the Library of the New York Historical Society—the volume and its Printer being named in the following acknowledgment:

"The New York Historical Society have received POLITICAL ESSAYS—A Series of Letters addressed to the People of the United States—by Timothy Pickering, late a Senator in Congress—(12mo, Canandaigua: 1812)—The first bound book published west of Utica?—a gift from the family of James D. Bemis, the publisher, (deceased,) through Henry O'Rielly, Esq., with an explanatory letter, submitted to the Society: for which I have the honor to return their grateful acknowledgment.

"GEORGE H. MOORE, Sec."

The explanatory letter, embodying some reminiscences of the early Western Press, was as follows:

"A few Remarks concerning James D. Bemis, the patriarchal Editor of Western New York,

\* Many of our readers will be pleased to learn that this veteran Editor, Historian, and Telegraphist will continue, from time to time, to furnish articles for their instruction, through the pages of this work.—ED. HIST. MAG.

"accompanied by the presentation of a copy of  
"the 'first bound book' printed between Seneca  
"Lake and the Pacific Ocean.

"To the HON. LUTHER BRADISH,  
"President of the New York Historical  
Society.

"DEAR SIR:—

"Unable to be present at the next meeting, I  
"respectfully transmit to you, for presentation to  
"the New York Historical Society, a volume  
"which marks several important points in con-  
"nection with Public History and individual en-  
"terprise. A few words may be added, explana-  
"tory of the circumstances under which this  
"book is now offered for preservation in the  
"Archives of the Institution.

"Nearly twenty years ago, the then Patriarch  
"of the Western Press, JAMES D. BEMIS, the vet-  
"eran editor of the *Canandaigua Repository*, pre-  
"sented me with a volume entitled *Political*  
"*Essays*, containing 'A series of letters ad-  
"dressed to the People of the United States by  
"Timothy Pickering, late a Senator in Con-  
"gress.' An inscription in the handwriting of  
"Mr. Bemis ran thus: 'This Volume was the  
"first bound book printed in Western New-  
"York: Presented by the printer to Henry  
"O'Rielly.'

"As at the date of the publication—the year  
"1812—there was no book printer west of Can-  
"andaigua in the same latitude, it might have  
"been added that it was a copy of the 'first  
"bound book' printed between Seneca Lake and  
"the Pacific Ocean.

"On the death of Mr. Bemis last Autumn, I  
"determined to present this volume to the New  
"York Historical Society, as a memento of the  
"Pioneer Printer and Editor of Western New-  
"York, and as a memorial of important histori-  
"cal and typographical interest; unless another  
"copy of the same edition could be furnished by  
"his family for the purpose.

"Having apprized the family of my intention,  
"the only remaining copy of the same edition,  
"taken from the Library of the lamented dead,  
"was transmitted to me by Col. George W. Be-  
"mis, of Canandaigua—the representative of the  
"family. In binding and appearance, it is a fac-  
"simile of the book formerly presented to me,  
"with the venerable printed autograph certifi-  
"cate of authenticity. (It may be remarked that  
"the phraseology of the certificate would be more  
"accurate, if it spoke of the volume as a copy of  
"the first edition of a 'bound book printed in  
"Western New York.' And the explanation is  
"necessary to prevent confusion from there being

"more than one volume denominated the 'first  
"book' issued in that region.)

"This volume is also worthy of notice as an  
"evidence of the political controversies that con-  
"vulsed our country, including even the frontier  
"settlements, in what are sometimes styled the  
"better days' of the American Confederacy. It  
"is a sad index of the recklessness of partizan  
"strife nearly half a century ago, that this pion-  
"eer book from the press of Western New  
"York, abounds with denunciations against the  
"Democratic Party headed by Jefferson and  
"Madison, for alleged subservience to the dicta-  
"tion (if not the bribery) of the First Napoleon,  
"and reeks with anathemas against John Quincy  
"Adams, for deserting his Federal friends and  
"for joining the Democratic party, which then  
"controlled the political 'loaves and fishes' of the  
"general Government. Some of the Congress-  
"men in those days and in later times may have  
"deserved denunciation for corruption, through  
"gold or patronage—(and this book notices a re-  
"port that certain measures friendly to 'French  
"Interests' were bribed through Congress even  
"in those 'good old times' nearly fifty years ago  
"by application of the now somewhat celebrated  
"sum of 'about eighty thousand dollars'—the  
"reported Congressional bribery in that case be-  
"ing probably as apocryphal as a similar alle-  
"gation at a period nearer the present time):—  
"but what man is there among us now within  
"the boundaries of our broad Confederacy, who  
"would question the integrity, or doubt the pa-  
"triotism of either the assailing statesman or the  
"statesman assailed?—of the venerable Timothy  
"Pickering, or the pure-hearted John Quincy  
"Adams?

"History discharges one of its noblest func-  
"tions in rendering justice to the character of  
"such men—that JUSTICE which some of them  
"unfortunately were prevented by cotemporary  
"prejudice from awarding to each other.

"With the leave of the Society, I will, on an-  
"other occasion, present for deposit in the Ar-  
"chives, a brief memoir of the life of James D.  
"Bemis, in addition to and connected with the  
"present deposit of this evidence of his profes-  
"sional pursuits in the early history of Western  
"typography. I will now merely say a few words  
"about his general characteristics—with which say-  
"ings, I believe that you, Mr. President, like  
"many other members of the Society, can of your  
"own knowledge testify the general accuracy.

"As an editor, and in his private relations, Mr.  
"Bemis was honorably identified with most of  
"the movements of his time for promoting the pros-  
"perity of Western New York—its social, relig-  
"ious, benevolent and literary institutions—its  
"turnpikes, canals and railroads. He was the  
"last but one of the survivors (the Hon John

"Greig, one of the Honorary Members of this Society, being now the sole survivor\*) of the first "Board of Directors of the old 'Ontario Bank'— "the career of which Institution for about forty- "four years (down till its charter expired in 1856) "furnished one of the best specimens of well- "managed banking that our country has ever "witnessed. (It is proper to add that that time- "honored bank should not be confounded with "banks that within the last few years have borne "a similar name.)

"And it is worthy of remark, that he was the "officer charged with supervising the construction of an important link of that chain of Rail- "ways now consolidated under the name of "The New York Central Railroad,' by which "railroad the passage between Albany and Can- "andaigua is now pleasantly accomplished in "nine hours—forming a striking contrast with "the speed and manner of traveling at the period "of his original journey in the winter of 1803-4, "when it actually required *nine* weeks (or sixty- "two days) to 'work a passage' for himself and "a small stock of books, between the same points! "Such were the difficulties along that then "sparsely-settled route, in hiring teamsters who "had courage, and cattle strong enough to drive "over (or rather through) the muddy roads of "that region, in those primitive days of 'West- "ern Settlement.'

"The contrast presented by Western New York when he first waded through its muddy "roads, on his pioneer journey, and the *Western New York* which he lately left in the fruition "of all the comforts and luxuries that an en- "lightened nation would reasonably require, may "be inferred from the graphic description which "he furnished in a letter to his friends in Albany, "soon after his arrival at Canandaigua, (in Janu- "ary, 1804:)

"After being detained at Utica, upwards of "seven weeks,' says Mr. Bemis, 'my patience "was so far exhausted, that I determined, not- "withstanding the badness of the roads, to make "one more attempt to gain the place of my des- "tination; and accordingly hired two wagons "to take me to Canandaigua. They had pro- "ceeded about fifty rods, when one of them got "mired to the hub!—Good start! you will "say. Well! we got out in about an hour, and "traveled *eight miles* the first day. \* \* \* \* \* "Next morning, after taking a warm breakfast, "I again 'weighed anchor,' and trudged in sol- "itude along the muddy waste, (for it is indeed "solitary to have no company but swearing "teamsters,) till we reached Oneida village, an "Indian settlement, where about dark, both "wagons got again mired to the hub! Zounds

"and alack!—what a pickle we were in! How "did I invoke the aid of old Hercules to give "one tug at the wheel! However, after lift- "ing, grumbling, halloaing, and tugging three "hours and a half, with the assistance of an "Indian, we once more got 'on land.' It was "now ten o'clock, and no tavern within our "power to reach. Cold, fatigued, and hungry, "we were glad to get under shelter, and ac- "cordingly stopped at the first Indian hut we "found, where there was no bed and no vic- "tuals, except a slice of rusty pork.

"After a night spent in yawning, dozing, and "gaping, we again got under headway, and hove "in sight of a tavern about ten o'clock;—but "nothing like breakfast was to be had—all con- "fusion—and we went on to Onondaga (50 "miles west of Utica) where we arrived about "ten at night. Here the house was full; and I "obtained the privilege of sleeping with two "strangers by paying for their lodgings, and "giving them a glass of bitters—an odd bargain, "to be sure! But I thought it cheap, had it "been my last shilling. But fate decreed that "the troubles of that day should not end by go- "ing to bed.' \* \* \*

"Without dwelling on those nocturnal difficul- "ties, let us hear what Mr Bemis has to say "about the troubles which another day brought "forward: His letter continues:

"At this place, Onondaga, (near the site of "the present City of Syracuse,) the wagoners "got discouraged, and despaired of the practica- "bility of traveling! They accordingly stored "the goods, and made the best of their way "home again! Here I was obliged to remain "two weeks, when a fine snow falling, I hired a "man with a three-horse sleigh, to carry me to "Canada, and arrived at this place (Canandaigua) "on Saturday evening the 14<sup>th</sup> of January, after "a 'short and pleasant passage' of sixty-two "(62) days from Albany! Here I put up for "the night only, expecting to depart early in "the morning for Canada—but receiving sound "advice here from gentlemen of respectability, "which deserved my attention, I was persuaded "to open my store in this village, for the winter "at least. How I shall succeed, is yet among the "secrets of fate; but as yet I have no reason to "repent of having stopped at Canandaigua; for "such is the encouragement I have already "found, that I think it probable I shall continue "here.'

"And continue there he did, soon rendering "himself useful and honored—his journal enjoy- "ing the respect of even his political adver- "saries—while his name became a 'household "word' in the 'Genesee Country,' as Western "New York was formerly styled.

"No man was better fitted than Mr. Bemis to

\* Since dead.



"write the History of the Press and of Public improvement generally in Western New York. No man was so long and usefully connected with the Western Press, and few so conversant with public affairs in that interesting region. His views and wishes on these points are briefly illustrated in the conclusion of a letter written seven or eight years before his death—in which letter he said:—

"The western part of our great State is full of interest in its fifty years' career, whether we consider the events of that period or the character of the men who acted their part in transforming their Country from a wilderness to what is now THE GARDEN OF THE STATE. *I only wanted two things in my power to do—namely, to die as the OLDEST EDITOR IN WESTERN NEW YORK, (which I am,) AND TO WRITE ITS HISTORY.*

"But the the latter years of his well-spent life were unhappily clouded by misfortune and infirmities, which affected his well-balanced mind, as well as his manly form, and forbade the execution of the latter wish; though the volumes of his *Repository* have guided, and will long continue to guide others in writing the history of the 'Genesee Country' or Western New-York.

"He died in his 76th Year, among the hills of his native New-England, to which he resorted in the fruitless pursuit of health.

"With these brief remarks, Mr. President, I now, in behalf of the family of the deceased and in token of the respect cherished for his character, by many who enjoyed his friendship (for many unite with me in thus honoring his memory,) consign to your charge for presentation to the New York Historical Society, THIS VALUED VOLUME, as a memento of JAMES D. BEMIS, the patriarchal Editor and Printer of Western New York, and as a landmark in the history of American Progress.

"With great Respect,

"Yours Truly,

"HENRY O'RIELLY."

### III.—RELICS FROM THE VALLEY FORGE.\*

#### 1.—FRAGMENT OF A LETTER, DECEMBER 16-19, 1777.

THE GULPH 16 miles  
from Phil Dec<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> 1777

Our armies remain'd at Ease till the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> when the Alarm guns fired—the Bag-

\* The-e papers are from the originals belonging to Doctor A. L. Elwyn, of Philadelphia; and we take pleasure in acknowledging our obligations to that gentleman for the copies which he furnished for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. It is not now known by whom these letters were written.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

gage all loaded & sent off 12 miles—I had, the night before joined the Reg<sup>t</sup> with a view to muster the following day—but I packt off with the baggage 2 hours before day & returned to my old quarters, & continued till the Gale was over—during which time the English came out with their whole force, with a view to attack if practisable, if not to forage & plunder—they shew themselves on a neighbouring hill a short Cannon shot distant practising every piece of finesse to draw us from our advantageous post—they continued 4 Days in full view of the whole army of Washington declining an attack—Neither party having any fortification save nature and a few limbs of trees collected in the form of an Abbatis—on the 5<sup>th</sup> a party of militia were sent out to attack their picket—a skirmish ensued, in which a few were killed; B<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Ewing of the militia wounded & taken prisoner—a considerable number of prisoners & deserters fell into our hands—on the 6<sup>th</sup> a party of light horse came out very early & surprised a party of our horse—taking several the rest escaped by their heels—the Captain's horse in leaping a fence, fell, but by taking to his own heels saved himself leaving his horse—the same day col<sup>l</sup> Morgan attacked an advanced party, which brot on a hot musquetry which continued some time, Morgans horse was shot—his Maj<sup>r</sup> badly wounded 14 killed & wounded—by accounts from Philad<sup>a</sup> it appears there were 16 waggon loads of dead & wounded carried in & by a Grenadier deserter that that 16 of his company *only* fell in that little action, their loss therefore must have been great—several Prisoners & deserters—our men merely wished for an Engagement. feeling in a fighting trin, having had no covering for 4 Days of very cold weather—the 7<sup>th</sup> all were still—8<sup>th</sup> the enemy returned to Phil<sup>a</sup>—10<sup>th</sup> was appointed to muster the brigade I attended, but before day orders were given, to march across the Schuylkill, which was 6 or 8 miles distant—from the best information the general's intention was to go to winter quarters—but on our arrival at the River, to our great surprise found Hows army at the ford, part of our Army crossed, but were forced to return—the next morning the English retreated, & at night we again crossed & took possession of the heights they had left, where we now remain; about an inch of snow fell, which is all we have yet had—A party of our horse took 11 Hessians, likewise an engagement between two parties of horse, sword in hand, in which several fell—

14<sup>th</sup> our Army alarmed in the evening by the approach of the Enemy—15<sup>th</sup> 9 prisoners taken by our horse—16<sup>th</sup> Rain'd all day—orders given to hold ourselves in readiness to march—13 Hessian prisoners just arrived—we live in daily expectation of going into Winter quarters—it may appear a Paradox that 19 brigades of Continental

troops should retire, & leave 60 miles of the Country to the enemy—but a few Counties are not our Dependance—but the Army which if reduced, cannot be recruited, & the Cause must fall, the inevitable consequence of a winters campaign—three such armies would be necessary to prevent their ravaging the adjacent Counties—tis therefore determined to retire, cloath, & nurse up the men; that in the Spring we may appear in the field in the full power of health.

Our army is in a miserable situation for stockings and shoes—such is the Corruption of the Country that shoes are sold at 7 dollars—how can a Soldier who engaged for 40/ pr month on proviso that his family should be supplied at the stipulated price with every necessary be expected to fight unless it be ag<sup>t</sup> such Extortionists To for Officers—our wages were raised last Winter 50 pr cent soon after every article of life arose 200—, what can a Subaltern officer send home to a poor family if he Supports his Dignity in the Army—or indeed any officer—Our capital officers are upon the point of Resignation—(but under the Rose)—Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington tells us it is moved in Congress & will certainly be carried, to put our Army on the british establishment, granting officers half pay during their life & their widows—Sullivan says it has passed—till then commissions will not be valued—, the life and soul of an Army depends on its officers, under which if good, the greatest cowards will fight—this event will encourage gentlemen of fortune & Character to enter & continue in Service preventing such a multiplicity of promotions as has injured our Army—by the time a man is fit for a Captain he becomes a Brigadier in consequence of Resignations arising from want & the demerit of a Commission—but I fear the bare suggestion will protract every old peasants face at least one yard—My expense exceeds my wages, tho I hear from our master that provision is making for us viz<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> pay & Rations horse keeping &c I durst not mention it because I don't believe it— I despair of coming home not for want of opportunity but on account of the enormous distance—my horse is on the point of Resignation—

18 a severe storm has troubled us 2 Days against which we are poorly defended—many men no tents breeches stockings or shoes This is thanksgiving Day & a blessed situation we are in to keep it having had no flour for 36 hours a dead Cow which was killed to save her life—I yesterday took my skelton & rode 5 miles made an Indian meal or 2—such a frolic costs 5 Dollars—that you may know our destiny for this winter inclosed I send you general Orders of yesterday\*—19 the whole army march this day to a moun-

tain contiguous to Schuylkill about 26 miles from Philadel<sup>a</sup> where we are ordered to halt—rather Coarse—while those sons of Belial are living in the palaces of the City—I hope some method will be hit upon this winter to fill our Army that in the Spring we may take the field with Spirit—want of force only on our part gave them Philad<sup>a</sup>—my plan is—for all N E to turn out, with about 20 13 inch mortars that are proof against powder & old Put & surround them in the City make it rain shells upon them till the City is level & they roasted in the flame—a final stroke might be struck in this way—unless they are strongly reinforced, our present army if collected from their Chimney Corners are able to do it—and may the Country ever be in a state of Vassalage if they will not help themselves while the Means are in their own hands

Want of Spirit in Pensylvania is owing entirely to ignorance, therefore to be pitied as well as despised

ENCLOSURE.

*General Orders, December 17, 1777.*

HEAD QUARTERS Dec<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1777.

#### G. ORDERS

the Commander in Chief with the highest satisfaction, expresses his thanks to the Officers & Soldiers, for the fortitude & Patience with which they have sustained the fatigue of the Campaign; altho in some instances we unfortunately failed, yet upon the whole heaven hath Smiled upon our Arms, & crowned them with signal Success; & we may upon the best grounds conclude that by a Spirited continuance of the Measures necessary for our Defence, we shall finally obtain the End of our Warfare, Independence Liberty & Peace—these are blessings worth contending for at every hazard. but we hazard nothing—the Powers of America alone duly exerted would leave nothing to dread from Britain—yet we stand not wholly upon our own Ground—France yields us every aid we ask; & there are Reasons to believe the Period is not very distant when she will take a more active part, by declaring war against the British Crown; every motive therefore irresistibly urges, nay commands to a firm & manly perseverance in our opposition to our cruel Oppressors, to slight Difficulties, endure hardships, & contemn every danger: the General ardently wishes it were in his power to conduct his troops into the best Winter quarters—but where are those to be found—Should we retire to the interior Parts of the State we should find them Crowded with virtuous Citizens who Sacrificing their all have left Phil<sup>a</sup> & fled thither for protection—to their Distresses humanity forbids

\* Appended to this letter.—ED. HIST. MAG.

us to add—this is not all we should leave a vast extent of Country to be despoiled & ravaged by the Enemy from which they would draw vast Supplies & where many of our firm friends would be exposed to all the Miseries of the most insulting & wanton depredations: a train of Evils might be enumerated but these will suffice These Considerations make it indispensibly necessary for the army to take such a position, as will enable it most effectually to prevent Distress, & to give the most extensive security—and in that Position, we must make ourselves the best Shelter in our power—With Activity & Diligence those may be erected, that will be warm & dry; in these the troops will be compact, more secure against Surprise, than if in a divided State, & at hand to protect the Country—these Cogent reasons have determined the Genl to take Posts in the neighbourhood of this Camp, & influenced by them he persuades himself that the Officers & Soldiers with one heart, & one mind, will resolve to surmount every difficulty, with a fortitude & Patience becoming their Profession & the said Cause in which they are engaged—He himself will then partake of every Inconvenience—

## 2.—FRAGMENT OF A LETTER, JANUARY 1, 1778.

VALLEY FORGE Jan<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1778

Notwithstanding the Loss of Philadelphia & many other Inconveniencies attending us our prospects are much more promising than at any time since the Commencement of this unnatural war. I heartily wish for its End—hope at some future day to see an impartial History of the Rise Progress & Effects—it would be unpardonable after such noble Efforts & Signal Success to despond, or quit the Service, as many of our brave officers are doing, tho' I acknowledge there is too much Reason, arising from the Corruption of the Country, which seems deeply rooted not only in the Southern States but in the more virtuous N England—Extortion & venality predominating throughout the whole—but quitting a subject so disagreeable let us look back to 75 there we shall see defenceless N E contending with the haughtiest Power on Earth, 8000 veterans fought & couped up by an undisciplined Rabble with 3 Iron field pieces—not a 1000 arms fit for Service—5 rounds of ammunition p<sup>r</sup> man—ignorant of the means to make it & principally cut off from foreign Supplies—at the end of Dec<sup>r</sup> our Army disbanded—and scarce 3000 to oppose our foe—animated by one soul in a short time numbers were collected sufficient to beat up their Quarters & expel them the State—none but Enthusiasts & Inroachers on divine Protection could have tho't it—in 76 Arts of all

kinds began to dawn—foreign Assistance offered—and our means of Defence increased in a ten fold Proportion to oppose the vile miscreants of Germany Canada & England—at the end of the Year a horrid Gloom hung over our heads—our army on the brink of destruction—till by mere chance we gained some advantage—thro the winter of 77 our Commander could not call forth 500 Contin<sup>l</sup> Troops to the Field—The Campaign commenced exhibiting several adverse Scenes, but the Scale turned & we became masters of the northern field destroying an army of 10,000 men—we have now an Army if collected of 40,000 men & 250 pieces of brass Artillery: a Sufficiency of both present to withstand Hows utmost Efforts—every prospect now in our favour save the Depreciation of our Currency—can there be no plan hit upon to restore its value, or will you suffer the baneful disease to take such root as to produce fruit more pernicious than that of ancient Eden—Paper money once equal in value to Silver is now 800 p<sup>r</sup> Cent below par—yet our Sole dependance—it must be restored or we perish, after sacrificing so many valiant sons—a Soldier serves one month for a p<sup>r</sup> of shoes; an Ensign six for a suit of Cloaths—their families at home starving or giving 20/ p<sup>r</sup> bush<sup>l</sup> for Corn—the substance is vanished & you are pursuing the shadow—

Attend a while to our Lads perishing for Cloathing—26 in one York Regiment have been 3 weeks without a Shirt  $\frac{1}{2}$  of our own men bare-foot without blankets or breeches now lying uncovered in the field—believe me this is real—my Eyes witness the direful truth—Should Congress resolve what they have in contemplation our chimney Corner Gentry will cry hei! half pay officers! Pensions! Lord North! the Devil & all!

For heavens sake after pursuing the Game thro' so many Bogs & Deserts let us not lose it now so near—the inevitable Consequence of another Years depreciation—The Banditti Inhabiting Pensylvania openly refuse it as a Tender—Tis Beautiful to see the said vestiges of war thro' their plantations What the English began the Americans have finishd—the Dutch the Welsh the Sects & the quaking gentry hailed Bro<sup>r</sup> How a welcome Guest but ruin & devastation indiscriminately befel the friend & the foe—Military power that so long deprecated evil must soon take place in the vicinity of our army to curb that spirit of Dissention now prevailing thro' out this State. The sufferings of the Inhabitants are intolerable but they may thank their own perversity—He that will not prevent Evils when in his power should not complain or be relieved when they overtake him—These passive Gentry will I doubt not another Campaign imitate their Brethren in the Jerseys who after

being scourged one year fought like Heroes the next—Tis fact that Howe after arriving at Philadelphia applyd indirectly to Congress offering to withdraw his troops & place us on the footing of 1763 till the pleasure of Parliament is known—Quere does not this look like despondency—when children can go alone they will not creep—my greatest pleasure is that I am not incumbered with a family in this difficult Day—The British troops are alarmed at the Report of a French war May heaven send Discord into Europe or an Epidemical Disease among Howes Troops to sweep them like a deluge that no more of Columbia's virtuous sons may fall but peace be established on the happy foundation of Independence.

#### IV.—NEW JERSEY AND THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION OF 1769.—CONCLUDED.

##### 2.—“A PLAIN AND FULL STATE OF THE DEMANDS AND PRETENSIONS OF NEW YORK,” RESPONSIVE TO NEW JERSEY'S, CONTAINED IN THE PRECEDING STATEMENT.\*

To the Honourable His Majesty's Commissioners for settling the PARTITION-LINE, between the Colonies of *New-York*, and *New-Jersey*.

*A plain and full State of the Demands and Pretensions of his Majesty's Colony of New-York, against the Proprietary Colony of Nova-Cæsaria, or New-Jersey, respecting the Boundary Line, to be settled and ascertained between the said two Colonies, for his Majesty's Commissioners appointed by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, bearing Date the Seventh Day of October, in the Seventh Year of the Reign of his Majesty King GEORGE the Third, for ascertaining, settling, and determining the Boundary-Line between the said two Colonies. prepared by us the Subscribers, nominated as Agents by Act of Assembly of the Colony of New-York, and to be exhibited to the said Commissioners at their first Meeting, appointed as in and by the said Commission is directed, to be held at the City of New-York, on the Eighteenth Day of July, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Nine, viz.*

\* For the use of the original printed edition of these papers, as well as for that of the paper to which they are responsive, we are indebted to J. B. BAUGH, Esq., of the city of New York.  
—Ed. HIST. MAG.

1st.

**H**IS late Majesty King *Charles* the Second, being in Right of his Crown of *England*, seized of the Sovereignty, Seignieury, and Property of the South Eastern Coast of *North-America*, from the South West Cape of *Delaware* Bay, commonly called *Cape Hinlopen*, as far as, and including *Connecticut* River, and the Lands extending back from the said Coast into the Country, as far back as to the respective first Springs, Heads or Sources of *Delaware* River, *Hudson's* River, and *Connecticut* River, except such Parts thereof as may have been granted by the Crown, if any such had been then granted, did, by his Letters Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the Twelfth Day of *March*, in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, 1663-4, give, grant, ratify, and confirm, in Fee Simple, unto his Brother *James* Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James* the Second, of *England*, among other Tracts in the said last mentioned Letters Patent, mentioned and described, “All that Island or Islands commonly called *Matowack's* or *Long-Island*, situate and being to the West of *Cape Cod*, and the *Narrow Higgan Sets*, and butting upon the main Land, between the two Rivers, there called and known by the Names of *Connecticut* and *Hudson's* River,\* together also with the said *River* called *Hudson's* River, and all the Lands from the West Side of *Connecticut* River, to the East Side of *Delaware BAY*.”

Idly. The said *James* Duke of *York*, thus seized of the Premises granted by the said Letters Patent of King *Charles* the Second, by Lease and Release, dated the Twenty Third and Twenty Fourth Days of June, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, did grant in Fee to *John* Lord *Berkley*, Baron of *Stratton*, and to Sir *George* *Carteret*, of *Saltrum*, as Tenants in Common in equal Moieties, “All that Tract of Land adjacent to *New-England*, and lying and being to the Westward of *Long Island* and *Manhattan's* Island, and bounded on the East Part by the Main Sea, and Part by *Hudson's* River, and hath upon the West *Delaware* Bay or River, and extending Southward to the Main Ocean, as far as *Cape May*, at the Mouth of *Delaware* Bay; and to the Northward, as far as the Northernmost Branch of the said Bay or River, which is in Forty One Degrees, and Forty Minutes of Latitude, and crosseth over thence in a straight Line to *Hudson's* River, in Forty One Degrees of Latitude.”

Idly. The *Dutch*, who, it is well known, were, at the Time of the Grant of the said Letters Patent, and Lease and Release, in Posses-

\* Note, the scored Words are the only Part of the Bounds of this Patent, which affect the Boundary in Controversy.  
† The Island on which the City of New-York is built.

sion of that Part of the Territories thereby granted, to which the Line in Controversy can have any Relation, surrendered the same on the Twenty Seventh Day of *August*, 1664, to Col. *Nicholls*, appointed the Duke's Governor of his Territories in *North America*; which Territories were confirmed to the Crown of *England*, by the Third Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, in 1667, and afterwards in 1673, in the War between *England* and the United Provinces, were repossessed by the *Dutch*; and were finally surrendered and confirmed to the Crown of *England*, by the Treaty concluded with the United Provinces at *Westminster*, the Ninth of *February*, 1673-4. Therefore, the said *James Duke of York*, to remove all doubts concerning the Operation of the aforesaid Letters Patent, from King *Charles the Second*, to him, that might arise from the aforesaid Possession of the *Dutch*, and their aforesaid Surrender to the Crown of *England*, by the Treaty of *Westminster*, obtained other Letters Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the Twenty Ninth Day of *June*, in the Twenty Sixth Year of his Majesty's Reign, Anno 1674; whereby King *Charles the Second* grants to him, in *totidem Verbis*, as in the aforesaid Letters Patent, of the Twelfth of *March*, in the Sixteenth Year of his Reign.

IVthly. On the Twenty Eighth and Twenty Ninth Days of *July*, 1674, (*John Lord Berkley*, being then dead) Sir *George Carteret*, to remove the like Doubts, as to his Interest under the above mentioned Lease and Release, from the Duke of *York*, to the said Lord *Berkley*, and Sir *George Carteret*, and to vest himself with the greatest Part of *New-Jersey*, procured a Lease and Release of the last mentioned Dates, to be executed by the Duke of *York* to him, for Parcel of the Lands granted by the said first mentioned Lease and Release, thereby to vest him with the said Parcel in severally in Fee Simple, under the following Description, *to wit*. "All that Tract of "Land adjacent to *New-England*, and lying and "being to the Westward of *Long-Island*, and "*Manhattan's Island*, bounded on the East, Part "by the Main Sea, and Part by *Hudson's River*, "and extends Southward as far as a certain "Creek called *Barnagat*; being about the middle between *Sandy-Point* and *Cape-May*; and "bounded on the West in a straight Line from "the said Creek called *Barnagat*, to a certain "Creek in *Delaware River*, next adjoining to, and "below a certain Creek in *Delaware River*, called "*Rankokus Kill*, and from thence up the said "*Delaware River*, to the Northernmost Branch "thereof, which is in Forty One Degrees and "Forty Minutes, of Latitude, and on the North "crosseth thence in a straight Line to *Hudson's River*, in Forty One Degrees of Latitude."

Vthly. *James Duke of York*, on the Demise

of King *Charles the Second*, on the Sixth Day of *February*, 1684, succeeded to the Crown, by the Stile and Title of King *James the Second*, of *England*, and Fifth of *Scotland*.

Vithly. By this Succession, his Title as a Grantee of all the Lands which remained, (of those that were granted to him by the aforesaid two Letters Patent, from King *Charles the Second*, after the Execution of the said two Sets of Leases and Releases by him) merged in his Crown Right; and from the Time of the said Succession, he and his Royal Successors Kings and Queens of *England*, and *Great-Britain*, have, in Right of their Crown, stood seized of the Sovereignty, Seignory, and Property, of all the said remaining Lands, as Parcel of the Colony of *New-York*; excepting the Property of such Parts thereof, as have been granted to divers Subjects, under the Great Seal of the Colony of *New-York*, and such other Parts thereof as have by Settlement fallen within the Colony of *Connecticut*.

VIIthly. Besides those Lands, which (exclusive of what may have passed by the said two Sets of Leases and Releases, and exclusive also of the said Lands fallen within the Colony of *Connecticut* as aforesaid) were granted by the said two Letters Patent of King *Charles the Second*, to the said Duke of *York*, the Colony of *New-York* has always been deemed and esteemed to extend Northward without Limitation, so as to include within its Confines and Territories, all the Lands that are not included in either of the Colonies of *Connecticut* or *Massachusetts-Bay*, or *New-Hampshire*, on the one Side; or the Colonies of *New-Jersey*, or *Pennsylvania*, on the other Side; therefore,

VIIIthly. All the Lands which are included in the Colony of *New-York*, as herein immediately above described, which have not been granted away to Subjects, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the said Colony of *New-York*, do now vest in Point of Sovereignty, Seignory, and Property, in his present Majesty King *George the Third*.

IXthly. All the Lands which, by Virtue of the aforesaid two Sets of Leases and Releases, from *James Duke of York*, constitute the Colony of *New-Jersey*, do now, in Point of mesne Seignory, and Property, wholly and exclusively vest in the Heirs or Assigns of the said *John Lord Berkley*, and Sir *George Carteret*, or of one of them; the Sovereignty thereof, only, being in his present Majesty, as by the first Distinction hereafter mentioned will appear; and,

Xthly. To explain what we understand by the Terms *Sovereignty*, *Seignory*, and *Property*, in the 8th and 9th Points, we observe, That by *Sovereignty* we mean the supreme and sole Government and Dominion vesting in his Majesty, in the Right of his Crown; by *Seignory*, the

Right to Rents reserved, Escheats, Forfeitures, &c. and by Property, that Exclusive Right of Possession and Use in Lands, which enables the Owner to dispose of them as he pleases.

XIthly. The Latitude of Forty One Degrees on *Hudson's* River, was undoubtedly intended as a Station in the Boundaries of the two above mentioned Sets of Leases and Releases, from *James Duke of York*; (under one or both of which the Proprietors of *New-Jersey*, are supposed to claim) being by both the said Leases and Releases fixed, as the Stationary Point of Boundary for *Nova-Casaria*, or *New-Jersey*, on *Hudson's* River.

XIIthly. Another Stationary Point of Boundary is clearly fixed, by the said two Sets of Leases and Releases, on the Northernmost Branch of *Delaware* River; and a straight Line from one of the said Stationary Points to the other, is also expressly given by the said two Sets of Leases and Releases, as and for the *Northern Boundary* of *New-Jersey*. Therefore,

XIIIthly. All the Lands lying to the Northward of the said northern Boundary, are clearly included within his Majesty's Colony of *New-York*. But,

XIVthly. The Course of this Line or Boundary is (as we conceive) the Matter in Controversy, and the subject Matter of his Majesty's Royal Commission; upon which the following Question arises, *to wit*;

From what Point on *Delaware*, to the Latitude of 41 Degrees on *Hudson's* River, was the said straight Line or Boundary, expressed in the said several Grants from the Duke of *York*, to the Proprietors of *New-Jersey*, intended to run?

In Order to the proper Determination of this Question, we conceive it necessary, in Reference to the said Line, or Boundary upon which the Question arises, to take the following Distinctions, in stating the Claim and Pretensions of the Colony of *New-York*, against the Colony of *New-Jersey*, *to wit*;

1st. That, tho' with Respect to the Sovereignty of both Colonies, his Majesty's Interest stands indifferent, in the present Controversy, and tho' also his right of Seignory, as the Chief Lord or Lord Paramount to the Proprietaries of *New-Jersey*, is equal as to its Nature, with his Seignory in the Colony of *New-York*, as to the Lands therein already granted, or hereafter to be granted; yet in Point of Value, it is vastly inferior in the Colony of *New-Jersey*, to what it is, and may be in the Colony of *New-York*; a certain small Sum in Gross being payable, (as appears by the said two Releases) as the chief Rent, for all the Colony of *New-Jersey*. Whereas the Quit Rents, being reserved on each particular Patent in the Colony of *New-York*, are, or may be of much greater Value, as they will be en-

creasing in Value, in Proportion to the Lands, that may from Time to Time be granted, as in the Colony of *New-York*. Besides which; the Government, Seignory and Property, of all the Duke of *York's* Territories, having passed to him by the said two Letters Patent of King *Charles* the Second, and the Government, Seignory and Property of the Colony of *New-Jersey*, having passed to the Proprietaries thereof, by the Duke's said Grants to the said Proprietaries, and they having surrendered to the Crown nothing more than the Government of the said Colony\*; all Escheats, Forfeitures, &c. by the under Tenants of Lands in that Colony, must enure to the Benefit of the Proprietaries, in whom the Seignory of the said Colony now is. Whence it follows, that in Point of Seignory, the Crown is interested on the Part of the Colony of *New-York*, against the Colony of *New-Jersey*.

2dly. That in Point of Property, the Crown has not the least imaginable Interest in the Colony of *New-Jersey*; whereas, his Majesty is, or may be, in Point of Property greatly interested on the Part of the Colony of *New-York*, in Respect of such Lands as remain ungranted by the Crown, within that Colony.

Under the Influence of these two Distinctions, and the Operation of the above stated Train of Facts which precede them, we state the Claim and Pretensions of the Colony of *New-York* against the Colony of *New-Jersey*, as follows; *That is to say*,

1. The stationary Point or Boundary on *Hudson's* River, being intended to be fixed by the Grants above mentioned, from the Duke of *York*, to the Proprietaries of *New-Jersey*, in 41 Degrees of North Latitude; we in Behalf of the Colony of *New-York*, and in Respect of the King's Seignory and Property, do claim as a Boundary between the Colony of *New-York* and the Colony of *New-Jersey*, a straight and direct Line, from the Latitude of *forty-one Degrees* on *Hudson's* River, to the Head of *Delaware* Bay; which we assert to be at *Reedy Island*; a Spot well known and distinguished in all the accurate Maps of the Country. And such Line, we contend, is the rear Line of the Tract, that was granted by King *Charles* the Second, to *James Duke of York*; because, the Words of both the above mentioned Patents to the Duke of *York* are, "All the Land "from the West Side of *Connecticut* River, to "the East Side of *Delaware* Bay;" and therefore cannot by any possible Construction, admit of an extent of Land, beyond the Head of the

\* Note, This Surrender was made to Queen *Anne*, on the 22d April 1702, by *William Dockwra* in the Name and Behalf of the Proprietors of *East-New-Jersey*, and by *Sir Thomas Lane*, on the Part and Behalf of the Proprietors of *West-Jersey*.

*Bay, and along the River Delaware: Bay and River* being Things as geographically different, as *River* and *Ocean*. Whence we insist, that whatever may be the Boundary, intended by the several Grants from the Duke of York, to the Proprietaries of *New-Jersey*; yet the Operation of those Grants, must necessarily be confined to the Bounds assigned to him, by his Patents from the Crown. But,

2. If, against the Letter of those Patents, it were possible to conceive, that all the Lands between *Delaware Bay* and *River* on the one Side, and *Connecticut River* on the other, up to their respective Sources, passed to the Duke of York; yet we contend, that, even in such Case the Boundary, in Construction of the Duke's several aforesaid Grants, to the proprietaries of *New-Jersey*, would be a direct Line, from the stationary Point on *Hudson's River*, to the Spot or Place, which is now commonly called *the Forks of Delaware*; or which is the same Thing, that Course reversed.

This Construction we will support; *First*, by intrinsic Evidence, in the Words of the Grants; and *Secondly*, by extrinsic Proof, drawn from different Quarters.

1. From the Words of those Grants. Tho' certain Degrees of Latitude are therein mentioned, as well on *Delaware River*, as on *Hudson's River*; yet the Words, *to Hudson's River in Forty-one Degrees of Latitude*, plainly and necessarily import, that the Latitude itself on *Hudson's River*, was to be the Boundary: But the Words in the same Grants, that Respect the Boundary on *Delaware*, are of a quite different Frame: They are, *up the said River Delaware*, in the one *as far as*, and in the other, *to the northernmost Branch thereof*; which necessarily import, that the Beginning of the northernmost Branch of *Delaware*, is the Boundary there; and that the Words, *which is in Forty-one Degrees and forty Minutes*, (being relative Terms, and plainly referring to, *which Northernmost or Beginning of the northernmost Branch*,) are added as descriptive, of the Beginning of the northernmost Branch, or the Spot, where the Boundary was intended to be; and therefore, the Beginning of the Branch, and not the Latitude, intended to be the Boundary, and the Latitude only Descriptive, if such Latitude was mistaken in the Description, and the Beginning of the then esteemed northernmost Branch can be shewn, that, and not the true Latitude, must be the Boundary: And therefore,

2. Our extrinsic Proofs will be calculated to shew, that the Beginning of the northernmost Branch of *Delaware*, in the Estimation and Intention of the Duke of York and his Grantees, was at the Place, now called the Forks of *Delaware*. These extrinsic Proofs we shall introduce, principally under the Influence of this Observa-

tion, *to wit*; That considering the Dates of the Grants from the Duke of York to his Grantees; considering also, that both Grantor and Grantees were in *England* at the Time of those Grants, they must have been framed, not by actual Observations and Mensurations on the Spot; but from a View of Maps, which Maps must, (considering the above mentioned Possession of the Country by the Dutch) have been antient Dutch Maps, or Maps compiled from them, by the English.

Having thus stated our Demands and Pretensions against *New-Jersey*, as far as respects the Seignory and Property of the Crown, to consist, either in a Line running on a Course from the given Latitude on *Hudson's River*, to the Forks of *Delaware*, until such Line intersects the above mentioned Line, from the Head of *Connecticut River*, to the Head of *Delaware Bay*, and from the said Place of Intersection, along the last mentioned Line, to the Head of *Delaware Bay*, or in a straight Line from the given Latitude on *Hudson's River*, to the Forks of *Delaware*; we proceed to state the Quantum of the Seignory and Property in the Crown, which is affected by this Controversy; and this we shall do by shewing, that a vast Body of Land, lying upon either of those Suppositions, within the Colony of *New-York*, still remains vested, in Point of Property, in the Crown.

In Support of this, we insist and shall prove, that in the year 1686, *East* and *West-Jersies* being then distinct Governments, they, in Conjunction with the Government of *New York*, fixed and agreed on a Station on the West Side of *Hudson's River*, due West of *Frederick Philips's* Lower Mills; which, to this Day are standing on the East Side of the said River: Which Station was then esteemed to be in the Latitude of Forty-one Degrees on *Hudson's River*, and also another Station on the east Branch of *Delaware River*, at certain marked Trees; and that a straight Line from the said Station, so fixed on *Hudson's River*, to the said Trees, had such Line been actually run, would have been on a Course, North about Sixty two Degrees West, according to natural position, and that in reference to those Stations, and the said necessarily supposed Line, from the one to the other of them, all the Patents within this Colony, that are expressly or implicatively bounded on the Line of Partition, are limited; and as far Southward as those Stations, this Government has uninterruptedly exercised its Jurisdiction, until of late Years, a considerable Tract of Country, near and about *Minisink*, was, by Violence on the Part of *New-Jersey*, torn from the Jurisdiction of the Colony of *New-York*.

These Facts we shall prove, by a great Variety of Evidence, extracted from antient Maps,

Public Records, and Acts of Legislature of both Colonies, and the Testimony of Witnesses, whenever the same, shall on a reasonable Day, to be fixed by the Commissioners, be required.

We beg Leave to name *John Morin Scott* and *Benjamin Kissam*, as two of the Agents, on the Part of *New-York*, residing in the City of *New York*; on whom any Notice, Summons, or Final Judgment, as in the Commission mentioned, may be served.

NEW-YORK, July 18, 1769. JOHN CRUGER,  
HENRY HOLLAND,  
WILLIAM BAYARD,  
JOHN MORIN SCOTT,  
BENJAMIN KISSAM.

### 3.—SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT IN BEHALF OF NEW YORK.

THE MANAGERS on the Part of *New-York*, beg Leave to suggest to the Court, That in their Claim filed in Pages 8, and 9, of the said Claim, it is by Mistake expressed that they in Behalf of the Colony of *New-York*, and in respect of the King's Seignory and Property, do claim as a Boundary between the Colony of *New-York*, and *New-Jersey*, a straight and direct Line from the Latitude of Forty One Degrees on *Hudson's River*, to the Head of *Delaware Bay*; and that it is also expressed in the same Page, that such Line is the rear Line of the Tract that was granted by King *Charles* the Second, to *James*, Duke of *York*:—Whereas, instead of such Line, We the said Managers on the Part of *New-York*, did, in Respect of the King's Seignory and Property aforesaid, thereby intend to claim as a Boundary between the said two Colonies, either a direct Line from the given Latitude on *Hudson's River* to the Forks of *Delaware*, in Case the rear Boundary of the Grants to the Duke of *York*, from *Connecticut River* to the Head of *Delaware Bay*, should not intersect that Line, but run to the Westward of the Forks of *Delaware*; or if such rear Boundary should intersect the Line from the Latitude of Forty One Degrees on *Hudson's River*, to the Forks of *Delaware*, then a Line from the said given Latitude on *Hudson's River*, in a Direction to the Forks of *Delaware*, until such Line intersects the aforesaid rear Boundary from *Connecticut River* to the Head of *Delaware Bay*; and from the said Place of Intersection, along the said rear Boundary to the Head of *Delaware Bay* aforesaid; which the said Agents think proper thus to explain, least their Claim should be misapprehended.

NEW-YORK, July 26, 1769. JOHN CRUGER,  
HENRY HOLLAND,  
BENJAMIN KISSAM,  
JOHN MORIN SCOTT.

### V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES—CONTINUED.

#### 27.—THE MARINE COMMITTEE TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF PHILADELPHIA.\*

PHILAD<sup>a</sup> May 15 1776—

GENT<sup>r</sup>

Cap<sup>t</sup> Wickes of the Ship *Reprisal* now at Fort Island represents that he has 7 or 8 sick men on board and desires us to procure him an order for their admittance into the Hospital at the Pest House, and as the Doctor thinks vegetables & milk will be the best Physick for them we hope you can indulge us with such an order without Inconvenience— the bearer is Cap<sup>t</sup> of Marines & will wait your answer & receive the order if granted, any Expence that arises shall be paid by this Committee— We have the honor to be

Gent<sup>r</sup> your obed serv<sup>t</sup>

By order of the Marine Committee

To ROB<sup>t</sup> MORRIS V P.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Committee of Safety  
of Pennsylvania

#### 28.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ———.†

PASSY March 31, 1780

DEAR SIR.

I wrote to you yesterday relating to the Affair of your Letter to Mr Carmichael that you might know Exactly the Truth of the Transaction. On Reflection I think it proper to add, that what I wrote was for your Satisfaction only; and that as the making it publick would give infinite Pain to a very worthy Man, Mr. F. Grand: who would then appear in the Light of *Delateur de Son Frere*; & it can serve no other Purpose but that of Vengeance on Sir George, and be of no Advantage to you I must insist on your Generosity in keeping it a Secret to yourself— In this you will also very much oblige, who would by no means have my Name publickly mention'd on this Occasion; and I depend on your Compliance.

With great Esteem I am Ever Dear Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

B. FRANKLIN

#### 29.—DOCTOR RUSH TO OWEN BIDDLE, ESQ.‡

DEAR SIR—The Sailors in the barracks complain of the want of suitable accomodations for

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq.

† From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., New York City.

‡ From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., New York City.



an hospital. A few of them on the province island hospital (who are on the recovery beg for liberty to be removed to the barracks. I hope the Committee of Safety will attend immediately to these matters.

I am sorry to find that our recruits suffer so much from the want of blankets. Suppose the Committee of Safety should request by an Advertisement every family in the City to furnish one, or more from their beds according as they could spare them. I have mentioned the project to above a dozen families in this city who have all expressed a desire to concur in it if they are properly called upon

Forever Dr Sir  
Yours  
Sincerely  
B. RUSH

Tuesday morning.

[Addressed:] Mr OWEN BIDDLE  
of the  
Committee of Safety

30.—FROM GEN. JEDEDIAH HUNTINGTON  
TO——.\*

TOTAWAY† 12<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1780.

DEAR SIR.

I am without any of your favours since I wrote you last. \* \* \* \* Nothing important has turned up with the Army since Arnold's Treason. Joshua Smith is on Tryal.—I am told Arnold's Papers seized at Philadelphia have opened some Scenes in the speculating way wherein several in Phila<sup>a</sup>. are concerned—it is said \* \* \* \* \* is one,—not improbable I think.

Much is said of Mrs. Arnold's Correspondence with Major André—but it appears nothing more than a complimentary card from André to her which came out in an open manner at one of the Interviews of the Commissioners for the Exchange of Prisoners.

Your very affectionate  
J. HUNTINGTON.

31.—FROM GENERAL GREENE TO——.‡

WEST POINT, Oct<sup>r</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup> 1780.

MY DEAR SIR.

I think I have not written you since the late desertion of Arnold. Was you

ever more astonished in your life? A man high in reputation and with the fairest prospects of domestic happiness. The love of parade and the thirst for gold has proved his ruin. How black, how despised, loved by none, and hated by all. Once his Country's Idol, now her horror. Curse on his folly, nay his villainy, and most of all his meanness. The latter has been displayed in such dirty colours in his transactions at this post, as has not been equalled in the history of man. All kinds of private and public robbery has he pursued, and accompanied it with such circumstances of littleness as shows him to be the basest of mortals. I freely confess I had no conception, notwithstanding the converse I have had with mankind, that it was possible for human nature to arrive at such a degree of corruption.

The discovery has been very providential. Had these Posts fallen into the Enemies hands God knows what might have been the consequence. But I think little short of the entire subjection of America. What a triumph to British pride; and what a downfall to American glory. Poor Congress what would have become of you?

The General has sent me to take command here, but for how long a time I know not. General Gates is ordered to the Army for an enquiry into his Conduct at the battle of Camdben; and the commander in chief is directed to send an officer to command to the Southward. It is yet uncertain who will go. I think Heath or St Clair. Perhaps I should have gone had I not come to this place, but being fixed here it will be difficult for the General to call me away immediately without giving umbrage to some of the rest of the General Officers.\*

When I came here, the talk of recalling Gates had in a great degree blown over, and I thought it highly probable that I should spend the winter here and therefore sent for Mrs. Greene. Should I be ordered to the Southward it will be a great disappointment to her and to me. \* \* \* \* \*

Yours &c.  
N. GREENE.

32.—FROM COLONEL HUMPHREYS TO ——†.

HEAD QUARTERS NEAR PASSAIC FALLS,  
Oct<sup>r</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup> 1780

MY DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \* What a scene of horror has displayed itself since I saw you last! Arnold has

\* From the collection of George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford, Conn.

† Totowa, a village near Passaic Falls, now Paterson, N. J.

‡ From the collection of George Brinley, Esqr., Hartford, Conn.

\* A letter from Gen. Greene written the next day (West Point, Octo. 16<sup>th</sup>. 1780) says, "I have received a letter appointing me to the command of the Southern Army and am obliged to 'set out in a few days,—nay the General presses it immediately."

† From the collection of George Brinley, Esqr., Hartford, Conn.

now become like a twice told tale of infamy and so let him sink in perdition tho not oblivion.

The Proceedings of the Board of General Officers on Major André are published by Order of Congress — There is also a handsome account of the whole affair written by a friend of ours (Col. H. ———\*) & printed in the Philadelphia Paper — To these let me refer you.

The plan for reducing the number of Regiments in service is at last completed, and Congress have resolved to give half pay to the reduced as well as other Officers of the Army, for life — General Parsons is promoted to be a Major General.

I am happy to learn from Col. Meigs that the Assembly of Connecticut are taking up the affairs of the Army with Spirit. I know it is unnecessary to impress on you the necessity of having an Army for the War & Magazines to subsist it; had this been the case, His Excellency's Letter I am sure would have superseded this necessity. \* \* \* For Heaven's sake let us have an Army for the War, or no Army at all. \* \* \* A few days will point out the necessity of looking out for Winter Quarters. You shall hear from me anon.

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Hble Servt.

D. HUMPHRIES

33.—GOVERNOR TOMPKINS TO GOVERNOR GERRY.†

ALBANY April 30. 1812

SIR

By the tenth Article of the Convention entered into between the States of Massachusetts and New York on the 16<sup>th</sup> of Decem<sup>r</sup> 1786 it is provided that no purchase from the Native Indians by the Grantee or Grantees, of the preemptive right to the lands & Territory thereby ceded by New-York to Massachusetts, shall be valid unless the same shall be made in the presence of and approved by a Superintendant to be appointed for that purpose by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I am not acquainted with the object of the above-mentioned provision; but as the Owners of the preemptive right of the Holland purchase, being the lands & Territory mentioned in the said Convention, are desirous of holding a treaty with the Native Indians for the purchase of their right in a part of said lands, they have desired me to request you to cause a Superintendant to be appointed for that purpose by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts pursuant to the afore-

said Article of the Convention, and I beg leave to recommend Judge Lemuel Chipman of Ontario County as a suitable person to be appointed. Mr Chipman was formerly a Senator in this State, is a man of probity, intelligence and respectability not interested in the premises and I believe wholly unacquainted with the parties interested. Should he be thought worthy of the appointment and be selected accordingly, the appointment may be enclosed to me & I will cause it to be immediately forwarded to him.

I am, with great respect

Your Excellency's Ob<sup>t</sup> S<sup>t</sup>

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

His Excellency

ELDRIDGE GERRY.

34.—OPINION BY ATTORNEY-GENERAL VAN BUREN.\*

By the III<sup>d</sup> Section of the Act "to incorporate the Montgomery Turnpike Company" the rates of toll to be received by them are regulated viz at the different sums specified in the said Section for travelling the said road *seven miles & at that rate* for a greater or less Distance—but neither by that Section nor by any other part of the act is it provided where or how many gates they shall erect on the road—

By the 14<sup>th</sup> Section this, like all other turnpike grants since the general law, is made subject to all the restrictions & entitled to all the rights secured by the act relative to Turnpike Companies passed 13<sup>th</sup> March 1807—The VI<sup>th</sup> section of which provides that the Governor shall give permission to erect Gates as soon as the whole road if it is less than *ten miles in length* or if more than as soon as *ten miles* of the same shall be compleat<sup>d</sup>—then he is to give permission to erect as many gates as he shall deem necessary to collect the toll allowed the Company—

This is the only authority given to the Governor that I know of to permit the erection of gates—my opinion therefore is that his excellency cannot permit the erection of a gate in the case of the Montgomery Turnpike until *ten miles* of their road shall be compleated—

M. V. BUREN

Att<sup>y</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>.

HUDSON Oct<sup>r</sup> 13 1815.

[LETTER ACCOMPANYING THE ABOVE OPINION.]

D SIR |

Annexed you have my Opinion in the case of the Montgomery turnpike—had I not been in the legislature when the law passed, I would say

\* Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton and Humphries were at this time Washington's aids.—G. B.

† From the original draft in the collection of the Editor.

\* From the collection of the Editor.

that the Section is disgracefully perplexed & ambiguous— I think however that the course I give the thing is about what we meant—

Yours very sincerely

M. V. BUREN

HUDSON Oct 13 1812

The Govr—

[Addressed:] His Excellency  
D. D. TOMPKINS  
New York

35.—OPINION BY ATTORNEY-GENERAL VAN VECHTEN.\*

JANUARY 11<sup>th</sup> 1815.

SIR

I apprehend that the object of the provision of the Constitution of the United States relative to fugitives from Justice was to ensure their punishment. The Words, "A person charged in any State with Treason, Felony or other Crime" comprehend every description of Public offences. An Assault & Battery is included in this description, & therefore a Person indicted for it in one State, who escapes into another, is in my opinion demandable by the Executive of the State where the offence is charged to have been committed.

I am with respect

Your obt Servant,

AB. VAN VECHTEN

N. B. The preceding letter of the Attorney General is an answer to my letter requesting his opinion upon the Question Whether a simple assault & Battery came within the meaning of the Act of Congress relative to fugitives from justice?

D. D. TOMPKINS

36.—C. D. COLDEN TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.\*

NEW YORK Sep<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> 1814—

SIR.

I have duly reflected on the offer your Excellency did me the honor to make this morning. I should not for a moment have hesitated to accept so honorable and respectable an appointment, had I not been fearful that an intire want of experience in military affairs rendered me unfit for the office. But encourage by your excellency's assurance that by suitable efforts I might render myself as well qualified as some others who have similar stations I have determined to accept the Commission, and can only assure your Excellency, that I will do all in my

power to render myself worthy of the rank you have offered me among the defenders of our Country. I am ready to receive your Excellency's Commands. I have the honor to be with great respect your Excellency's obedient humble servant

CADWALLADER D. COLDEN  
Governor TOMPKINS

VI.—SIR NATHANIEL RICH.

BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQR., OF BOSTON.

I have received from Joseph L. Chester, Esq., of London, England, an abstract of the will of Sir Nathaniel Rich, who was prominent in American Colonial enterprises.\* He was knighted, at Hatton House, the eighth of November, 1617, and appears, from this will and its probate, to have died in November, 1636.

There is little doubt that he was the Knight of this name who was one of the Plymouth Company to whom the Patent, on the third of November, 1620, was granted;† and I presume he was the patriot member of King James I.'s third Parliament, mentioned by Hume,‡ for Mr. Chester writes me that he has found but one Sir Nathaniel Rich in the best and fullest lists of the Knights of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. Garrard, writing to the Earl of Strafford concerning Sir Henry Vane's emigration to New England, says: "I hear that Sir Nathaniel Rich and Mr. Pym have done him much hurt in their persuasions that way."§ In 1627, Sir Nathaniel Rich represented Harwich in the English Parliament.||

My interest in this person arose from the fact that he held the gift of the living of Stondon Massey, in Essex, where Rev. Nathaniel Ward was Rector, and probably nominated him to the Rectory, as he certainly did his successor, Rev. Anthony Sawbridge. Perhaps it was through his influence that Mr. Ward's son, John, (afterwards minister of Haverhill, Mass.,) was presented to the Rectory of Hadleigh, in the same County, vacated by Rev. Mr. Sawbridge; which living was then in the gift of the Earl of Warwick, a namesake and relative of Sir Nathaniel, and his

\* *Calendar of British State Papers*, Colonial Series, vol. 1., under the years 1623 to 1636.

† *Hazard's State Papers*, 1., 106.

‡ *History of England*, chap. xlviii.

§ *Strafford's Letters*, 1., 463, quoted by Forster in the *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*, (since reprinted under the title of *Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England*,) vol. iv.

|| *David's Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex*, 141.

\* From the collection of the Editor.

associate in Colonial affairs, whom he names in his will.

As the will contains matters of interest to American readers, I think the subscribers to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be gratified to see Mr. Chester's abstract printed in full; and I send it to you for the purpose. Mr. Chester thinks that Sir Nathaniel's nephew, whom he made his heir, was Colonel Nathaniel Rich, the well-known Parliamentary officer.

#### ABSTRACT OF THE WILL REFERRED TO ABOVE.

Sir Nathaniel Rich, Kt.;—will dated 2 Dec. 1635;—appt. sole executor the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mandevill, and desire to be buried in the parish church of Stondon in Essex, a monument to be erected not to exceed £50 or 100 marks in value;—my sisters and brothers in law and their children and all my servants to have mourning.

I give my manor of Stondon and all my lands in Essex to my nephew Nathaniel Riche, when 21, in the meantime my Exors, to receive the rents &c and allow him £80 per an. for his education at the University of Cambridge, and then at Lincoln's Inn, it being my desire that he should study and profess the law. I give the profit of seven of my shares in the Bermudas, now called the Somer Islands, to my sister Grimsdiche and her husband for their lives, if they will go and inhabit upon them, and £150 to transport themselves and children. I give one other share to my nephew Robt. Browne, now residing in said Somer Islands, he having one share left him by my sister Wroth, lately dead.;—another share to [blank], another son of my sister Brown dead., who hath been hitherto educated by my noble friend the Countess of Leicester, mother to Sir John Smith;—the residue of my shares there I give for the maintenance of a free school in those islands;—"my desire is that some of the Indian children, to be brought either from Virginia or New England or some other Continent of America, such as my Exor. shall think fittest, may be brought over there to be instructed in the knowledge of true religion."—"I give to Nathaniel Browne now in New England with Mr. Hooker the £200 which by my sister Morgan's will was bequeathed unto him, and £50 more as my own gift, which £250 I would have Mr. Hooker employ during the minority of the said Nathl Browne for and towards his education";—to Samuel Browne, another son of my said sister Browne £100 to be employed for him during his minority;—my Rectory of Neverne in Pembrokeshire to be sold; to Thos. Grimsdich, eldest son of my brother Grimsdich, now in the isle of Providence, £40 per an., which my Lord of Warwick is to pay during his life;—to Thos. Allaby my servant £100;—to Jonas Anger £10 per an. for life out

of my manor of Stondon;—to John [blank] my footman £10 in money and 40 s. per an. for life;—to Mr. Jessopp I have given £50;—to my noble Lord of Warwick £500 as a testimony of my humble affection &c.;—to my Lord the Earl of Holland & his Lady, each £100;—to my Lady Essex Cheeke £50;—my diamond ring (my sister Wrothe's legacy) I give to my brother Wrothe;—another Emerald ring to my dear & most virtuous friend Mrs. Mary Moore, widow;—to Lady Mandevill, an annuity of £180;—my library, books & papers to Lord Mandevill;—I give the Lady Warwick's picture to the Lord Rich her son;—to Mr. Wharton, minister at Felsted in Essex £30 in testimony of my thankfulness for his care in the education of my nephew Nathaniel Riche;—"to my dear friend Mr. John Pyn my best gelding and a ring of £20, which I desire him to wear for my sake;";—to my cousin Mrs. Martha Willford £20 for a ring.

This will reaffirmed and declared to be his last will &c 28 Oct. 1636.

Codicil dated 10 Nov. 1636;—to my servant Wm. Jessopp all the adventures that I have in the stock of the Company of Marchants of the City of London trading into the East Indies, also the tenantry of the farm in Stondon called Brook's tenement;—my apparel to be distributed among said Mr. Thos. Grimsditch, Thos. Allaby & Wm. Jessopp.

Proved 1 December 1636 by Edward, Viscount Mandevill, the Exor. named.

#### VII.—JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT THOMAS ANDERSON OF THE DELAWARE REGIMENT, 1780–1782.

From the original Manuscript belonging to the Maryland Historical Society.

	1780	Miles
May	6 <sup>th</sup> , March'd from Wilmington to Newark,	11,
"	7 <sup>th</sup> March'd to the Head of Elk,	7
"	8 <sup>th</sup> Set Sail from the Head of Elk in Company With 50 Sail of Vessels being the Second Maryland Brigade destined for Petersburg in Virginia at Which place the Sloop I was in arriv'd On the 23 <sup>d</sup> Sailing in all	350
"	30 March'd off from Petersburg and Encampt at Rockaway Meeting House	5
"	31 March'd to Jones Bridge	17
June	1 <sup>st</sup> March'd to Commissary Lambs, Brunswick, Co	
"	2 <sup>d</sup> March'd to Shorts Ordinary	

June	3 <sup>d</sup>	March'd to Stoney Creek	18	Oct	7	This day there Was three Com- pys of light Infantry Chosen out of army the first Commanded by Capt Brewin of the Virginia Line the Second by Capt Kirk- wood of the Delaware in Which I served as Lieut, the third by Capt Brooks of the Maryland- ers and the Whole by Col Morgan		
"	4 <sup>th</sup>	March'd to Taylors Ferry On the Roanoke Crossed and En- camp't On the its Banks	8	"	8 <sup>th</sup>	Began Our march and arrivd at Salisbury the 15 instant	95,	
"	6	March'd into Granvill County N Carolina	18	"	23 <sup>d</sup>	(Here I Omit 3 marches amount- ing in miles to,	41	
"	7	March'd to Genl Parssons	10	"	23 <sup>d</sup>	March'd to Six mile Creek and join'd the militia under the Command of Genl Davidson	16	
			485	"	25,	moved Our encampment in front of the militia this place is Within 15 mles of Charlotte While We lay at this place Col Morgan Reced his Commission as Brigadier from Congress,	1 1153,	
July	25 <sup>th</sup>	This day Genl Gates took Com- mand		Nov	4,	This day Genl Morgans Light Infantry With Col Washing- ton's Cavalry March'd down towards Rudgeleys Within 13 miles of Camden to reconiter the Enemy and return'd to Camp On the 9th Inst March'd	100	
Aug	12 <sup>th</sup>	March'd this day and lay all night On our arms	6	"	22 <sup>d</sup>	This day the Maryland Division arrived here,		
"	13,	March'd to Rudgeleys mill	16	"	27	The army under the Comd of Genl Gates march'd to Char- lotte to Huts,		
"	15	March'd this night & met the enemy	7	"	28	Received Orders to hold our- selves in readiness to March at a Moments Warning accord- ingly left Our tents Standing With all our Sick behind and March'd to 12 Mile Creek This Creek is the line between North & South Carolina from thence We March'd to the Hanging Rock, Where the Infantry re- main'd Whilst Col Washington With his Cavalry Went down to Col Rudgeley's and With the de- ception of a Pine top took the Garrison Consisting of One Coln, One Major, three Captains, four Lieuts, One hundred rank and file, From thence Return'd to Camp With the Prisoners and	1253	
"	16	About One O'clock in the morn- ing met With the enemy at Suttons farm and drove back their advanced guard We then Halted and Formed the Line of Battle and lay On Our arms Un- till day light at Which time the enemy advanced and Charg'd Our left Wing Where the mili- tia Was formed Who give Way Which give the enemy an op- portunity of turning Our left flank & got in Our rear, The action Soon became desperate and bloody for some time but We Were Obliged at last to give Way With the loss of all Our Artillery & Baggage The loss of Our Regiment in the action Was Lieut Col Vaughn, Major Patten, Captains Sear- mouth, & Rhodes, Lieuts Pur- vis, Duff, Skillington & Roche, With Seventy rank & file Our marches On the retreat Such that I Can give no particulars untill We arrived at Salisbury in North Carolina On the twenty first but Computed them at	123					
"	24,	March'd & Cross'd the Yadkin river at the old trading Ford March'd from thence to Guil- ford Court House & lay a few days	7 30					
		March'd from thence to Hills- borough Where We Came up With the remains of Our army With Genl Gates	45					
			205					
			793					
			998					
				Dec	6 <sup>th</sup>	Genl Green took Command of the Southern army in the room of Genl Gates Who was recall'd.	15	
				"	17	march'd to Charlotte	15	

Dec	21 <sup>st</sup>	Was join'd With two Compys from the Maryland line Com-manded by Cpts Dobson, & Anderson and March'd to Big-gers Ferry On the Catawba river	15
"	22 <sup>d</sup>	Crossed the River and march'd	5
			1388
"	23 <sup>d</sup>	March'd	16
"	24,	March'd	13
"	25,	March'd	8
Jany	1781		
"	14	March'd	10
"	16	March'd to the Cowpens	12
			1447
"	17	Before day Reced Information that Col Tarlton Was Within Five Miles of us With a Strong Body of Horse and Infantry Whereon We got up and put Ourselves in Order of Battle by day Light they Hove in Sight Halted and Form'd the Line in Full View as We had no artillery to annoy them and the Genl not thinking it pru-dent to advance from the ground We had form'd, We look'd at each other for a Considerable time, about Sunrise they began the attack by the Discharge of two pieces of Cannon and three Huzzas advancing briskly On our riffelmen that Was posted in front Who Fought Well Dis-puting the ground that Was between them and us, Flying from One tree to another at last being forst to give ground they fell back in Our rear the Enemy Seeing us Standing in Such good Order Halted for Some time to dress their line Which Outflanked, ours Considerably The then advanced On boldly under a Very heavy fire untill the got Within a few yards of us but their line Was So much longer than ours the turn'd our Flanks Which Caused us to fall back Some Disstiance The Enemy thinking that We Were broke set up a great Shout Charged us With their bayonets but in no Order We let them Come Within ten Or fifteen yards of us then give them a full Volley and at the Same time Charged	

them home They not expecting any Such thing put them in Such Confusion that We Were in amongst them With the Bayonets Which Caused them to give ground and at last to take to the flight But We followed them up so Close that they never Could get in Order again untill We Killed and took the Whole of the Infantry Prison-ers, At the Same time that We Charged, Col Washington Charged the horse Which Soon give Way We followed them ten miles but not being able to Come up With them Returned back to the field of Battle that night and lay amongst the Dead & Wounded Very Well pleased With Our days Work  
March this day

20

1467

	1781		
Jany	18,	March'd off With the prisoners for the Catawba River arrived at it On the 23 <sup>d</sup> Inst being,	100
Febry	1 <sup>st</sup>	The Enemy under the Couid of Earl Cornwallis Crossed the River below Where Genl David-son With Some of the South Carolina Militia Was posted, Killed the Genl and Some of the men Which Caused us to March for Salisbury for fear that the Would get between us and our army Which Was on the Way for Guilford We ar-riv'd at Co' Locks before day every step being up to our Knees in Mud it raining On us all the Way	30 1597
		I here Omit the Journal from Febry 1 <sup>st</sup> to March 13 <sup>th</sup> Con-taining Some interesting par-ticulars & going over marches to the amount of 441 miles Which added to 1597 makes,	2038
Febry	14,	March'd Within three miles of Guilford Court House,	8
"	15,	Commenced the action of Guil-ford between the armys Com-manded by Genls Green & Corn-wallis in Which a number Were Killed on both Sides Genl Green drew off his army With the loss of all his artil-ery Out of our two Companies	

		We had Lieut Huffman Killed & Ensign Vaughn Wounded March'd	16
Febry	16	March'd to Mr James Landers Farm	3
"	19	Marched to Mr Simmons Farm, Here I omit many pages and distances to the number of 964 miles and begin at the end of miles of marching	6 3035
		This brings the Journal to the date of August 27 <sup>th</sup> 1781	
Aug	27,	March'd to Capt Howells On the Congaree	18
"	28	This day March'd to Goodwins Farm and joind Col Washington in the Evening We Were informed that the Enemy had left Col Thompsons and Were on the way towards Charlestown	5
"	31 <sup>st</sup>	March'd to Howells Ferry Where our army had Cross'd, This day the Genl received information that the Enemy had march'd from the Center Swamp On their route for Charlestown Which Occasioned the Horse With our Infantry to return to our former Quarters	12
Sept,	4,	Crossed the Congaree at Culpeppers Ferry and Encamped On Mr Johnsons Farm	15
"	5	March'd and Encampt With the main army at Everetts Creek	14
"	6 <sup>th</sup>	March'd to half way Swamp	6
"	7,	March'd Within Seven Miles of the Eutaw Springs Where the British then lay Commanded by Col Stewart	20
"	8	This morning Our army Was in motion before day light With a Determination of fighting We march'd in the following Order Viz The South and North Carolina Militia in front Commanded by Genls Marion & Pickins having Col Lees horse and Infantry On their Right Flank and the State Horse and mounted Infantry On their left, The Second line Was Composed of the North Carolina Regulars, Virginia and Maryland Troops having two three pounders between the North Carolinians & Virginians and two Six pounders between the Virginians and Marylanders Col Washington's Horse With our Infantry Were	

		the Corps de reserve, In this order We march'd down to action Coming Within three miles of the enemy's encampment We Overtook a rooting party of 60 men returning in With Potatos most of Whom Were either Killed Or taken We met With no furthur opposition until We Came Within One mile of their encampment Where their front line Was formed We soon brought on the action Genl We drove their first and Second lines took upwards of 500 prisoners besides 300 they left dead On the field of action The enemy took shelter in a large brick House At this time Our men Were so far spent for Want of Water and Our Continental Officers Suffered So much in the action rendered it advisable to Genl Green to draw off his troops With the loss of two Six pounders, Major Edmunds of the Virginians joined us in the British Encampment With a Small Number of Men Keeping up a Smart fire for a Small Space of time Finding Our army had Withdrawn made it necessary for us to Withdraw likewise We brought off One of the Enemy's three pounders Which Was performed With much difficulty thro a thick Wood for near four miles Without the assistance of any but one horse We got to our encampment that We left in the morning about two O'clock in the afternoon, We Were Ordered back to take post about One mile in front (march'd this day	14
Sept,	10 <sup>th</sup>	Received intelligence that the Enemy had left the Eutaw Springs the night before and Was on their Way towards Monks Corner We march'd after them as far as Mr. Martin's Within 17 miles of the Corner halted, (march'd)	20
"	12	Returned back as far as Whistling George's,	6
"	13	March'd to Widow Floods On the Santee river,	14

\* So spelt in the original.

Sept, 14	March'd With the army to the road leading to Lawrences Ferry On the Santee river, Left them & march'd to M <sup>r</sup> Caldwell's farm at the Half-Way Swamp	19
		3198
	[Here I omit many miles of marching He & Capt Kirkwood appear to have Set out On their return home Febyry 11, 1782, I find the following entries in the Journal & Certain marches on their return Which I omit but give the last of the entries WA]	
1782		
Febyry 10,	Our Company join'd us	
" 11,	Capt Kirkwood Set out With us On his way Home to the State Lay all night at Genl Parsons,	20
" 12	March'd to Capt Summervilles	25
		4342
	[With the Omisions these marches bring us to 4342 miles WA]	
March 27,	March'd to Northumberland Court House When there was a Genl Muster of the Militia Went aboard of a boat bound for the Head of Elk Comd by Capt Brewer in the Cone river Sailed down to the mouth of the river and Went ashore at M <sup>r</sup> Croleys	16
" 28	Made Sail after night With a fair Wind got near Patuxent and Was drove back by Contrary Winds into the Cone again Went to M <sup>r</sup> Croleys Sailed this night,	30
April 1 <sup>st</sup>	March'd to Yaucomoco Went aboard of M <sup>r</sup> Mithaneys Ferry Boat Cross'd the Potomack to Pine Point When We parted for the night Capt Kirkwood and Lieut Platt Went to Parson Sebastains, Lieut Campbell & myself to M <sup>r</sup> Crane's State of Maryland,	22
" 2 <sup>d</sup>	Cross'd the Patuucksin at Junipers Ferry and lay all night at M <sup>r</sup> Summer Villes,	25
" 3 <sup>d</sup>	March'd to M <sup>r</sup> Smiths	23
" 4,	Cross'd the South river at Browns ferry, Came to Annapolis after night put up at M <sup>r</sup> Middletons Tavern,	

April 5	Cross'd the Severn river at the Town and March'd to Baltimore Staid at M <sup>r</sup> Poes Capt Hamiltons quarters,	30
" 7,	Went aboard of the Packet bound for the Head of Elk Com-manded by Capt Simpson before Night landed at French town march'd to Newark Del state	4513

# VIII.—MEMORANDA OF AN HOUR'S TALK WITH A CENTENARIAN — CAPTAIN LAHRBUSH, LATE OF HER MAJESTY'S LXTH RIFLES.

[The Centenarian from whose conversation the following interesting facts have been derived, was born on the ninth of March, 1766, in London; entered the British Army on the seventeenth of October, 1789; fought with the LXth Rifles, in Holland, under the Duke of York, in 1793; was present, on the eighth of September, 1798, when Humbert surrendered to Lord Cornwallis, at Ballinamuck, in Ireland; was with Nelson at the capture of Copenhagen, in 1801; was attached to the suite of Lord Castlereagh, British Ambassador to Prussia, in 1806-7; witnessed the famous interview at Tilisit between Napoleon and Alexander, on the twenty-second of June, 1807; fought under Wellington, in the Spanish Peninsula, 1808-10; was promoted for especial gallantry at Busaco, and made Knight of Talavera; was stationed at the Cape of Good Hope in 1811; distinguished himself in the Caffre war in 1813; assisted in guarding Napoleon at St. Helena in 1816-17; sold out his Captain's Commission in the LXth Rifles in 1818; subsequently went to Australia, as Superintendent of the Convict Station at Bathurst; transferred his fortunes to Tahiti in 1837; thence made voyages to different parts of South America, the East Indies and China; was forcibly transported by the French from Tahiti to France, in 1842, in consequence of expressions favorable to the Protestant Missionaries and in disparagement of the Papal propagandists; traveled extensively in Europe; took charge of Lord Howard de Walden's Estate in Jamaica, W. I., in 1847; and came to New York, after the emancipation of the negroes, in 1848, accompanied by his widowed daughter and grandson, both of whom soon after died. Since then, childless and alone, he has lived in this city in the enjoyment of wonderful health, in the possession of all his faculties and the vigorous use of his limbs.

For many years he took daily a dose of seventy-five Grains of Opium—once, one of a hundred and fifty Grains; and upon another occasion a tumblerful of Laudanum. He is certain that half a pint of Laudanum would have no more injurious effect upon him than the same quantity of French red wine.

In person, Captain Lahrbush presents the appearance of a man formed to endure everything, and live as long as no part of the machinery wore out.

He celebrated his one hundred and first birthday, at a breakfast in the house of Brevet Major-general de Peyser, in company with Admiral Farragut and a number of distinguished Generals and other officers and citizens, on the ninth of March, 1867.—J. W. D. P.]

I met Blucher, in 1806, at Colberg. He was a very jovial person—what a military man would style "good company." He was above the middle height, but by no means heavy; not exactly handsome, but exceedingly military in his appearance. Even at this period, his hatred against Napoleon was intense. As soon as he got a little deep in his cups, he would swear fearfully against



the French Emperor and the French. The Prussians already doted upon Blücher, although as yet he was only a secondary character.

The Archduke Constantine of Russia was not the ugly man he has generally been described. Dressed in his dark-blue Hulan uniform, turned up with red, with a square-topped Polish cap, I may say he looked actually handsome. But, if he was not as ugly as some writers have described him in person, he certainly was all that has been said of him in character. This was after Austerlitz, in 1806. Having some cause of complaint against a woman of the *demi-monde*, while on a visit to Berlin after that battle, he went to her house, split her skull with his sabre, and killed her. When this became known among the people, the next time Constantine showed himself at the theatre in the king's box, the audience shouted: "Turn him out! Turn him out!" The victor [ironical] of Austerlitz! The king of Prussia was very much incensed at Constantine for his brutality, and, as he could not punish him, wrote a very indignant letter to the Emperor Alexander.

Among ordinary men, Frederic William III. was a fine-looking man, and had a very benevolent expression. Standing beside Alexander, Emperor of Russia, however, he lost every advantage, because Alexander was, in my opinion, the handsomest man in Europe. He towered above Napoleon. I saw them together on the raft at Tilsit. Alexander was an elegant gentleman.

Bless me! what a beautiful woman was Louisa, Queen of Prussia! Tall, lithe, elegant, perfectly formed, with an angelic expression of countenance, she was the handsomest and finest, likewise the most elegant woman, I ever saw in my life. I was then forty, and had seen many of the choicest specimens of womanhood, in every class of life, in Europe, but none approached Queen Louisa; and this is my judgment even yet, when I am a hundred and one.

As to the Duke of Wellington, my commander, he was a lucky man. I do not think he was so able, but he was extremely fortunate.

I recollect the present King of Prussia, then Prince Wilhelm of Prussia. He commanded, in 1806, a battalion of the Guards in Potsdam. He was a very likely young man, and took after his mother, the beauty of beauties—Louisa.

Schill, the famous Prussian partisan patriot—equivalent to Marion in the American Revolutionary history—was, physically, a heavy, large German, but had the appearance of great intelligence. He was very popular in 1806. He commanded a free corps operating in Pomerania and the Eastern part of Germany. He did the French a great deal of damage, and had won a great renown among the people.

In regard to Napoleon—whom I saw as Emperor, first at Dantzic, in 1807, before the battle of Friedland, as Arbitrer of Europe, and as prisoner (I commanded his guard) at St. Helena—I never saw a likeness which conveyed the proper idea of his features and their expression. The best likeness is that on his coins, particularly the five-franc pieces of the Empire. His face changed very little with years. Even at St. Helena, although his body had grown fat, his features were as fine as ever. F. LA B., 101.

## IX.—A FRAGMENT FROM OLD VIRGINIA.

[The following very interesting fragment—a relic of Nathaniel Bacon's Insurrection in Virginia, in 1676—has been sent to us by George Fitzhugh, Esqr., of Richmond, Virginia, and will be found very interesting, by many of our readers.]

It was taken from the Letter-book of Colonel William Fitzhugh Esqr.—a manuscript of some three hundred pages, which is in the possession of our correspondent—and is a copy of a letter written by Colonel Fitzhugh, who was one of the leading lawyers of his day, to Robert Beverly, the Clerk of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, who was then suffering imprisonment for withholding the archives of that body from the Royal Commissioners—Jeffreys, Moryson, and Berry—and evidently his client.

It will be remembered that these Royal Commissioners had demanded the Records of the General Assembly of the Colony, and that the Clerk had not only refused to surrender, but had actually secreted them; that he was removed to the Duke of York, a man of war, to prevent his rescue by the outraged Colonists, whose champion he was; and that, without law, he was held a close prisoner, denied the right of *habeas corpus*, and otherways harshly and illegally treated.

It is evident that Colonel Fitzhugh was Beverly's legal adviser; and the following letter, from the Counsel to his client, embodies the legal points involved in the arbitrary and illegal confinement of the latter. It embodies, also, the ideas concerning the legal authority to confine any person, which were entertained by leading lawyers of that period; and it serves, also, to teach the student how much regard was paid by the Law to the rights of man under a Monarch, in 1682-3; and, by contrast, how little, also, by the Law, is paid to the same rights, in a Republic, nearly two centuries later.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

Jan'y 1<sup>st</sup> 1682/3

MAJ<sup>R</sup> ROBT BEVERLY—

SIR,

I suppose Mr Robinson before the receipt of this has been so kind to acquaint you that your tryall will be easie, which will at present save me some labour, yet to correspond with your's & my word, I will give you some small touches, in relation to your tryall, which will be very suddenly. Multiplicity of business, at present, a little disorders me.

First for Imprisonment, see Cap. 26 Magna Charta. I refer you for the words of the Statute to itself. I shall take notice of Conclusions drawn from thence. And First, altho the offence whereof he was accused was such as he was not baylable by Law, yet the law did so highly hate the long imprisonment of any man, tho accused of an odious & heinous crime that it gave him this writ of Inquisition for his relief.—Secondly, There was a means whereby the Com-

mon Law, before Indictment, to protect the innocent party against false Accusations & to deliver him out of Prison. And a further Benefit was by this law in favor of the Prisoner that he should have it without fee, or without Denyal or Delay; For more of this matter, see the Mirror, Cap. 5 Sect. 2. But this Writ was taken away by 23 Edw. 3, but within twelve years after it was Enacted, that all Statutes made against Magna Charta, as this 28 Edw. 3<sup>d</sup> Should be void so that it is again renewed. Nay the Justices have been so far from allowance of any ones being detained in Prison, without due Tryall that it was resolved in the case of the Abbot of St Albans by the whole Court that when the King had granted to the sd Abbot to have a Goal, and diverse persons were committed to that Goal for felony, and because the Abbot would not be at cost to make Deliverance, he detained them in prison a long time without making Deliverance, that the Abbot had for that cause forfeited his Franchise &c—See Sta. Glo. Cap. 9. H. 8. 4. 18. 20 Edw 4; 6 Brooke, title forfeiture and Cooke upon Magna Charta fo: 43. many such like cases. And it is provided by Sta. 5 Hen. 4. Cap 10. and Cookes Reports Lib 9. fo: 119, that none be imprisoned by any Justice of the Peace but in the Common Goal, to the end that they may have their Tryall at the next Goal Delivery. And this Statute extendeth to all other Judges and Justices, for two reasons. First this Act is but declaratory of the Common Law. Secondly, *ubi est lex specialis, et ratio est generalis, generaliter accipiendum est.* By the Sta. Glo. Cap. 29. you may see what expedition ought to be used for avoiding long imprisonment, (viz) till the next coming of the Justices and consequently to the next Court for tryall. From whence it is to be observed that the Law of England is, *lex misericordia* for three Causes. First that the Innocent shall not be worn away & wasted by long imprisonment, but as hereby and by Magna Charta, speedily come to his tryall. Secondly, That Prisoners for Criminal Causes, when they are brought to tryall be humanely dealt withal, for *severos quidem facit Justitia, inhumanos non facit.* Thirdly, The Judge ought to exhort him to answer without fear, and that Justice shall be duly administered to him.

Magna Charta, Cap. 29. No man shall be taken, or imprisoned or dispossessed of his Land, Livelihood or Liberty, unless it be by lawful Judgment of his Equals, or by due Course & Process of Law, and not Petition or Suggestion, nay tho it were to the King and Council. See this notably explained by these Acts, 5. Edw 3-9. 25 Edw. 3. 4. 37. Edw 3. 8. 38 Edw 3. 9. 42 Edw 3-3. 17 Rich 2. 6. Cookes Reports Lib. 1<sup>st</sup> fo. 71. All these conclusions upon a commitment to follow. First That he or they that do

commit them have lawful Authority. That his warrant or Mittimus be lawful, and that must be in writing under his hand & seal. Thirdly, The cause must be contained in the Warrant, as for Treason, felony &c—Fourthly, the warrant or mittimus, containing a lawful Cause, ought to have a lawful Conclusion, “and him safely to “keep until he be delivered by Law &c” and not until the party Committing do further order. This and the former conclusions do evidently appear by the writs of Habeas Corpus. By which writs it manifestly appears, that no man ought to be committed, but for some certain cause; and these words in the Writs of Habeas Corpus, *ad subjiciendum et recipiendum* prove that cause should be shewn, for otherwise how can the Court state orders thereon according to Law. And this agrees with Holy Scripture Acts of the Apostles, Cap 25—v. ult. “It seems to “me unreasonable to send away one bound into “prison, and not to signifie the cause thereof.” So also the Petition of Right 3 Car. Imprisonment doth not only extend to false & unjust Imprisonment, but it is both false & unjust if he be detained longer than he ought altho at first lawfully imprisoned. Cooke on Magna Charta fo: 53. Good Judges & Justices abhor such courses as the Centurion took against St Paul. Acts Apostles. Cap 22 v. 24. 27. He commanded Paul to be bound, and then asked who he was and what he had done. For remedy for Injustice done in this nature See Cooke Magna Charta Cap. 29. fo: 55-56, and There you will also find, that Justice ought to have three qualitiys, *Libera, quia nihil est iniquius venali Justitia. Plena, quia Justitia, non debet claudicare; et Celeres, quia delatis est quadam negatis.* And then it is both Justice & Right. Again in the Statute, *de frangendis Prisonam*; there you may see what a lawful mittimus is, First it must be in writing in the name and under the hand & seal of him that makes the same, expressing his Office, Place & Authority, by force whereof he makes the mittimus, and is to be directed to the Goaler or Keeper of the Prison. Secondly, in it must be contained the Cause, as it expressly appeareth by this Act, with such convenient certainty, that it may appear judicially, that the offence, “*tale judicium requirit*” and this is proved, both by Reason & Authority. By reason first, for that it is in case of felony, *qua inducit ultimum Supplicium*, and therefore ought to have convenient certainty as aforesaid. Secondly, For that a voluntary escape, is felony in the Goaler if there be certainty expressed. Fourthly, If the mittimus should be good generally, *pro felonis* then as the *Ignorantia Judicis foret calamitas innocentis*, and therefore in reason in case of so high a nature concerning the life of man, the convenient certainty ought to be shewed,

by Authority or that the Indictment must rehearse the effect of the mittimus. Thirdly & Lastly, See the resolutions of all the Judges of England in their 21 & 22<sup>d</sup> Answers to the objections of Archbishop Bancroft in behalf of all of the Clergy of England, *Tertio Jacobi*. They answer that upon complaint they ought to send the Kings Writ, for the body and the Cause, and if in the return no cause, or no sufficient cause appear, that then they ought to set him at liberty, &c. This to the 21<sup>st</sup>.—To the 22<sup>d</sup> they answer and resolve, that upon complaint made unto them, if any one imprisoned without just cause, we are to send to have the body, and to be certified of the cause, and if they will not certify us of the particular cause, but generally without expressing any particular cause, whereby it may appear to us his Imprisonment to be just, then we do and ought to deliver him. Hereupon, it appeareth that the common warrant or mittimus, must answer to such things as shall be objected against him, is utterly void and against law. Now as the mittimus must contain a certain cause, the conclusion must be according to Law. (Viz) "The Prisoner safely to keep until he be delivered by due course of Law," and not until he that made it give order, and the like. *Sr*, This is what at present occurs, and what is to be taken notice of, and what I dare and do avow to be of good Authority. If you have farther occasion, please to signify and I shall be ready to serve you therein.

I question not your care, about our Tobacco, in your County and Gloucester. To urge your Diligence would seem to make doubt, therefore, as I said before, proceed for us as for yourself. My Service to your good Wife, Esq<sup>r</sup> Wormly and all friends there.

Your obt svt  
W<sup>m</sup> FFITZHUGH

To Major ROBERT BEVERLEY.

## X.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED—CONTINUED.

### 19.—JONATHAN LAWRENCE'S RECOLLECTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.\*

The night before leaving Long Island I went to bed early in the evening (as usual)—and in the night somewhere about 11 or 12 o'clock as I suppose, a party of three soldiers entered the house. I was awake when one of them came into the bedroom where I lay, probably to see

what they could plunder, he did not notice me, but left the room without taking anything, the women in the house were awake and up. The old Lady as soon as the soldiers left the House directed their Slave (Jack) to go and prepare the boat to escape to Barn Island. The boat was accordingly prepared about 4. o'clock. A. M. (a perrianger). which the old Gentleman had; and sundry things, amongst the rest a cheese and other refreshments, were placed in the boat, and with the Children and two women servants, (Sam taken out of bed without clothes, Judy with only her night gown, and Peggy with a calico frock suddenly thrown on.) Judy was sick and was carried in the arms of our slave Margaret and aunt Peggy Riker and her daughter Jane went into the boat together, crossed over the River, landed on Barn Island near the Bluff, and walked to Behanna's (?) House, (Lowndey). By this time it became so light as to see what was doing near our Home. Then we crossed the Island, and somehow got a boat, crossed over Harlem River, and went to a house in Harlem, and wanted to get something to eat. But the American troops being encamped near, (at Kingsbridge,) and all the bread taken up for the army, could get no bread ready baked; and had to wait until it could be baked, when we made our meal at the House we stopped at, (name not recollected) with the Bread & Cheese, etc. The old Gentleman being not far off with the Convention, near where the army was encamped, was apprized by his wife of their situation; and I remember being at Berrian's, on the opposite side of the River, near Kingsbridge, when the drummers allowed me (a boy of nine years old) to beat upon their drums, the family being all there by agreement between father & Berrian until their retreat up the North River. Don't remember how long we remained there, but from there we went in a boat procured by father, to Tappan, to a relation of Mr Riker, after a few weeks stay went to Mr Martinez who married a Riker, about ten miles further up the River. Remember while at Mr Riker's, father used to go out and catch crabs, from my recollection uncommonly fine and large. After being a short time at Mr Martinez's, cold weather was setting in, and there, as well as at Riker's, some clothes were procured for the girls. I remember also that on a certain day after our arrival at Martinez's, he and father went and took down an old stone fence, and hid under it a few articles of family plate which had been suddenly collected and were brought away from home on the day of their departure from Long Island. Having accidentally seen the concealment of these valuables, I was charged to keep the secret, if any enquiries should be made respecting them. From Mr Martinez's we removed to Rhinebeck, and I am not positive

\* From the original, in the possession of John S. Lawrence, Esq<sup>r</sup>, of New York.

where we first put up, but it was either at Dr Coopers or Mr Tinley. Spent the winter at Mr Tinley; went in the Spring to Dr. Cooper; and while at Dr. Coopers, certain Chemists or salt-petre manufacturers came to Rhinebeck, and prepared saltpetre there, some of the cattle having eaten of it, being enticed by the salt, died in consequence. About this time Kingston (Esopus), having been burnt by the British, father deemed it prudent to retreat with his family from Rhinebeck, and went to New City. But on the British leaving Esopus, and returning towards New York, father returned to Dr. Cooper's where Richard was born. This was in January, 1778. When we were at Tink's (winter of 1777) the Hessians were taken and the news having reached us, the old Lady and I walked through the snow to Mr Bradfords at Cubacks(?) to announce it and rejoice at the capture. In the spring of 1778. Mr Bradford's family removed from Cubacks house to Rhinebeck flats, and father took the house they left. There we remained for a year, when father hired the farm of Atwater, at New Hackensack, in Dutchess County, a sequestered farm of the State. Remained there two years and cultivated the farm. The old Gentleman was not much at home during all the time being engaged continually in public affairs. Remained there two years, during which Abraham Riker\* was born; and then removed to a house and large farm of 300 acres belonging to a Mr French, at Dover, cultivated the farm and lived there two and a half years. There Joseph was born; and thence in the fall of 1783 the preliminaries of peace having been announced, Father, and Judy, and I rode down through Westchester to Hornes Hook ferry, (Hellgate), and crossed over. Went to uncle W<sup>m</sup> Lawrence and there Judy and I remained, until father went to New York and made arrangements for settling his family in the City; and then returned to Dover and brought the family down to New York by way of Fishkill, in a Sloop commanded by Capt. Bogardus. They had a boisterous passage down, and on their arrival went and stayed one day at Mr Bradfords Coffee House; and then removed to a house, corner Burling Slip and Water Street. Before the family reached this City I in company with other young men of Newtown, rode down to the City and joined the escort of General Washington on his taking possession. I remember on the arrival of the troops, the halcyards of the flagstaff having been cut, (by the British it was said) a Sailor mounted the flagstaff with fresh halcyards, rigged it, and hoisted the American flag; and received from the bystanders contributions of sixpences and shillings. There was great shouting and rejoicing upon the occasion.

# XI.—A SERMON\* PREACHED AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND UPON A FAST DAY THE XVJ<sup>TH</sup> OF JANUARY. 1636,†

By M<sup>r</sup>. JOHN WHEELWRIGHT.

Now first published, from Manuscripts in the possession of The Massachusetts Historical Society.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

There is no more interesting series of events in the history of New England, than that which is known to us as "The Antinomian Controversy" of 1634-40.

The Puritan fathers of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay were

\* The original manuscript of Wheelwright's Sermon, or what has sometimes been supposed to be the original (though we have not been able to compare it with any of Wheelwright's known writings), is in the archives of this Society. From some memoranda upon one of the blank leaves, it appears to have once been in the possession of John Coggeshall, one of Wheelwright's contemporaries and adherents. It originally contained forty-two pages, the first eight of which are now wanting. There is, however, a complete transcript of the Sermon, in an ancient hand, among the Hutchinson manuscripts in the library of the Society.

In the copy which has been made for the press, the original has been followed; and the part wanting in that has been supplied from the ancient transcript referred to. This differs from the original principally in its orthography.

The sermon was preached on a fast day appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts to be held on the 19th of January, 1636-7. Dr. Palfrey thinks it was delivered at Mount-Wollaston Church, which was then a branch of the Boston First Church; but from the *Brief Apologie* in defence of the Court (probably written by Winthrop) printed in the *Short Story*, p. 52, it seems certain that it was preached in Boston. Dr. Lunt thinks it by no means improbable, that Wheelwright preached it to his own congregation at Mount-Wollaston in the forenoon, and repeated the substance of it at the Boston Church in the afternoon, after Cotton had concluded his discourse. For the preaching of this sermon, Wheelwright was adjudged by the Court "guilty of sedition." Winthrop tells the story thus: "Mr. Wheelwright, one of the members of "Boston, preaching at the last fast, inveighed against all that "walked in a covenant of works, as he described it to be, viz. "such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, " &c. and called them antichrists, and stirred up the people "against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For "this he was called into the court, and his sermon being produced, he justified it, and confessed he did mean all that "walk in such a way. Whereupon the elders of the rest of the "churches were called, and asked whether they, in their ministry, did walk in such a way. They all acknowledged they "did. So, after much debate, the court adjudged him guilty "of sedition, and also of contempt, for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, " &c. and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them." &c. Scarcely more than a brief allusion to the famous "Antinomian controversy in Massachusetts" can be made in this note: and we would refer those interested in this subject to Savage's edition of Winthrop's *History of New England*; Ellis's *Life of Anne Hutchinson*, in Sparks's *American Biography*; and Palfrey's *History of New England*. See also

† The fast was appointed by the General Court to be held on "the 19th of the 11th month, being the 5th day of the weeke, "Thursday" (*Mass. Col. Records*, i., 187.) But the 19th of January, 1636-7, came on Tuesday. Winthrop (*History*, i., 213) says the fast was kept on the 20th, which was Wednesday. It was probably kept on *Thursday*, the 21st, that day of the week being usually selected, at that period, for such occasions. The date placed at the head of this transcript of the discourse was probably not copied from the original, or was incorrectly copied.—PUBLISHING COMMITTEE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

\* The late Abraham R. Lawrence, Esqr.—ED. HIST. MAG.

not wholly united in their admiration of Governor John Winthrop, and those with whom, both in Church and State, he acted in concert; and this they did not fail to make manifest on more than one occasion. Thus, in 1632, less than two years after the transfer of the Corporation to America, Thomas Dudley, impatient of undue control and disliking some of Governor Winthrop's measures, openly resented them by attempting to withdraw from the Government. Two years later, the Governor was superseded by Mr. Dudley, and called to account "for such commodities as he hath received of the common stock" to a Committee of the General Court, evidently in a hostile spirit. Mr. Haynes succeeded Mr. Dudley, in 1635; and in 1636, Henry Vane, Esqr., was elected to that office, with Mr. Winthrop as his Deputy. In 1637, desperate at this persistent rejection of Mr. Winthrop and this continued rebuke of the spirit which controlled him and his adherents, in violation also of law and of the chartered rights of the majority of the Freeman of the Corporation, the most unwarrantable measures were taken to secure the restoration to authority of the ancient regime; and, amidst the most intense excitement, the effort was successful.

It is evident that in these long continued discontents and frequent contests for authority, the struggle to retain or regain the power which "the major will" was unwilling to repose in Mr. Winthrop and his friends and supporters, the town of Boston was almost unanimously opposed to that party; and that it relied chiefly for its support on the country towns and on the clergy; although, in the country, also, were many who condemned the clergy as preachers of false doctrines, and the Governor as a supporter of an erroneous policy.

While these discontents were gathering their strength, in September, 1634, there arrived at Boston, one William Hutchinson and his wife and family; and, a little more than a year later, Rev. John Wheelwright, a relative of his, also settled in the same place, whence, soon after, the latter removed to Mount Wollaston, now Braintree.

The religious meetings for women, which were instituted in Boston, by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, and the excitement which was produced thereby, are known to our readers; and they need not be told of either the general denunciation of the clergy, as preachers of false doctrines, in which Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends indulged, nor of the hearty support which that remarkable woman enjoyed, not only from the townsmen, in Boston, but from many of the leading inhabitants of the country towns. As a necessary consequence of this religious warfare against the clergy, by those who also mainly opposed, politically, the great civil supporter of the clergy, Mr. Winthrop, it was not long before the theological dispute became an important element in the political contests of the day; and the friends and adherents of Winthrop were called upon to battle at the same time against the mere opponents of the clergy, headed by Mrs. Hutchinson, and the opponents of Mr. Winthrop, *per se*, headed, it is probable, by Henry Vane, William Coddington, John Coggeshall, Captain

John Underhill, and Richard Dummer, both of which parties they appear to have considered equally antagonistic to their party and to their desire for office.

In the midst of this excitement, while Mr. Vane was Governor of the Colony, a fast was ordered on account of the prevailing dissensions and the existing troubles with the Indians; and, among others, a sermon was preached by Mr. Wheelwright, who was one of the principal theological opponents of the clergy, and, indirectly, an opponent also of Mr. Winthrop and his political adherents.

For preaching this Sermon, Mr. Wheelwright was summoned before the General Court, when a remonstrance was presented from nearly all the members of the Church at Boston, claiming as Freeman their right to be present in cases of judicature, and denying the right of the Court to act in cases of conscience before the Church itself had acted on the subject.

Mr. Wheelwright duly appeared before the Court, produced his Sermon, and justified it, boldly declaring that his application of the principles maintained therein was "to all that walk 'in that way.'" The Court then called on the Elders of the Churches to declare if, in their ministry, "they walked in such 'a way'" as Mr. Wheelwright had described, which they acknowledged; whereupon the Court adjudged the preacher "was guilty of contempt and sedition."

A portion of the Court, headed by Governor Vane, dissented from this judgment and presented a Protest and a second Remonstrance from the Church at Boston, the latter justifying the preacher, denying the alleged sedition; suggesting that the opposition to the sermon might be only a method of the old serpent, "the ancient enemy of Free Grace," to spread mischief; and advising the Court to consider the danger of meddling with the prophets of the Most High. This Remonstrance was very decided in its tone and was signed by men of the first consequence in the Colony; and, very wisely, nothing further was done at that time, in the premises.

At the meeting of the Court, in May 1637, the most disreputable means were employed by the friends of Mr. Winthrop to regain the ascendancy in the Government; and their success was followed by the banishment of Mr. Wheelwright and the disfranchisement of his leading friends, and, subsequently by the banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson; the disarming of the leading anti-Winthrop inhabitants of Boston, Salem, Newbury, Roxbury, Ipswich, and Charlestown; and by other acts of Puritanic persecution.

Every careful reader of the Sermon who is also an impartial observer of men and manners will agree with us that Mr. Wheelwright's remarks were not more applicable to the prevailing vices of 1637 than they are to those of 1867; and it is not impossible that in that fact we may find at once the motives of the *Fathers* of Massachusetts in banishing its author from that Colony, and those of their *Sons* in withholding, so tenaciously, and for so long a period, from the light of day the Sermon itself. Be this as it may, the author was banished, in 1637, and his Sermon *has been*, during the succeeding two hundred and thirty years, and *until now*, carefully withheld from the scrutiny of all, the world over, except the favored few who have lived or had "hospitable friends" in Boston or its immediate vicinity.

The Sermon thus preached by Mr. Wheelwright, the great historical importance of which will be evident to our readers, remained in manuscript, unpublished and sedulously guarded, until last August, when we made a formal application, in writing, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose possession it had been for many years, for a copy for publication.

As a member of that venerable Society and a student of the history of the subject to which it related, we supposed that our fellow-members, many of whom were also our personal friends, would no longer interpose an objection to the publication of this very important Sermon; but the result indicated too clearly that we were mistaken—that which related to Massachusetts, they maintained, ought only to be published originally, if published at all, in Massachusetts and under their supervision.

The following, from the unpublished *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for August, 1866, is the official record of the action of the Society on our application for a copy, and of the subsequent process through which it was intended we should obtain a copy only in the manner and at the time which was most congenial to the feelings of those who had so long withheld it from the public:

"An application from Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, 'N. Y., for leave to copy and print the Sermon of the Rev. 'John Wheelwright, among the Hutchinson manuscripts in 'the archives of the Society, was referred to the Standing Committee, with full power.

Lunt's Two [Bi-centenary] Discourses delivered September 29th, 1839, at Quincy."

Mr. Savage, who read this Sermon, over forty years ago, while editing Winthrop's *History*, unhesitatingly declares (i. 215), that its character "was not such as can justify 'the court in their sentence for *sedition and contempt*,'" &c. Dr. Palfrey, who gives a long extract from it on page 479 of the first volume of his *History*, thinks that "the composition is . . . of that character which is common with skillful agitators. 'Along with disclaimers of the purpose to excite to physical violence, it abounds in language suitable to bring about that 'result.'" &c.

A tract entitled *A Glass for the people of New England* . . . By S. G. [room], evidently a Quaker, published in England in 1676, contains some extracts from this sermon: from which it is inferred that it continued to circulate in manuscript for many years. Dr. Palfrey (*History of New England*, i. 480) discovered that one passage in the *Glass*, there attributed to Wheelwright, is not contained in the Sermon, but is the conclusion of Vane's *Brief Answer*, to Winthrop, in Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers*, 82, 83. —PUBLISHING COMMITTEE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

\* We beg to add to these works one which the Committee has not seen fit to notice.—Dawson's *Life and Times of Anne Hutchinson*, published in New York, in 1856.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

"[The 'Standing Committee,' on considering this application, decided that it was the duty of this Society to print this sermon, and all the other unpublished manuscripts in the 'Hutchinson collection, in a volume or volumes of their own, & as soon as the funds of the Society should enable them to do so. With a view, however, to gratify the wish for this particular discourse, it was referred to the 'Publishing Committee,' and 'by their authority is here printed.]"

Having received no official reply to our application, and the information which we had obtained, informally, indicating a determination in some quarters to prevent such a copy from reaching us as would have answered our purpose, we made a personal application to the Society, at its meeting in March, 1867; and, contrary to the Society's usual course, in such cases, we believe, the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to-day, is allowed to anticipate the regular publication by the Society, in its own *Proceedings*, of a paper in its own collections, which it had officially designated as a part of its own forthcoming volume.

The following copy of the Fast-day sermon, preached by Mr. Wheelwright, in January, 1837, has been printed from corrected slips furnished to us, officially, for the purpose of this publication, by the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, under the authority of that body, and in advance of its own publication of the same in a future volume of its *Proceedings*, which is now in press.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

MATH: the 9. 15.

And Jesus said vnto them, can the Children of the bride-chamber mourne as long as the Bridegroom is w<sup>th</sup> them, but the dayes will come, when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, & then they shall fast.

Our blessed Lord & Sauior Jesus Christ, though he was the most innocent that euer was, so that they w<sup>ch</sup> hated him, hated him w<sup>th</sup>out a cause, yet not w<sup>th</sup>standing the wicked world, they were euer taking exceptions, both against his sayings & doings.

In the beginning of this chapter, they brought vnto him a man sicke of the palsey, lying vpon a bedd. Jesus seeing their faith, said vnto him, sonne be of good cheare, thy synnes be forgiven thee, the Scribes say w<sup>th</sup>in themselves that he blasphemeth. Christ perceiuing their thoughts, answered for himselfe, & telleth them, he could as easily forgie synnes as restore this man to health; Christ goeth from thence, & goeth to the receipt of custome & calleth Mathew the Publican, & he receaueth him into his house & maketh a feast. Christ sitteth downe w<sup>th</sup> Publicans & synners: the Pharisees take exceptions, & tell his Disciples, that their Master eateth w<sup>th</sup> Publicans & synners, & Christ hearing of it, answereth for himselfe, & telleth them, they were fit subjects to worke vpon, he iustificeth the vngodly: those that are iustified by Christ must not looke to be saued by sacrifice, but by the mercy of Christ. A little after, the Disciples of John were instigated by the Scribes & Pharisees Mar: 2. 18, and they put this question vnto him, Why they & the Pharisees fast often? and the Disciples of Christ fast not? And Christ answered in my text. And thus you see the coherence & dependance of these words.

The text consisteth of two argum<sup>ts</sup>. whereby Christ did prooue & shew, that it was not for his Disciples to fast. The first is taken from the remoouall of any iust cause of fasting w<sup>ch</sup> they had for the p'sent. The second argum<sup>t</sup> is taken

from a position or putting a iust cause of fast they shold haue hereafter, and that was the removing Christ from them.

I will not stand to shew the difference of fasts, w<sup>ch</sup> are either constraind, ciuill, miraculous, dayly, or religious, but the fast here spoken of in my text, is of the last sort, and mourning is added in my text, because fasting & mourning go together, Joel: 2; and where it is here said, the children of the bridechamber cannot fast, it is to be vnderstood an impossibility of seasonableness, they cannot do it seasonably.

The text containeth in it two poynts, but I wrap all vp in one poynt of Doctrine, and that is this. That the only cause of the fasting of true beleeuers is the absence of Christ.

Either Christ he is p'sent w<sup>th</sup> his people, or els absent from his people; if he be p'sent w<sup>th</sup> his people, then they haue no cause to fast: therefore it must be his absence that is the true cause of fasting, when he is taken away, then they must fast. If we take a view of all the fasts, that haue bene kept, either in the old or new Testament, we shall finde the fasts that haue bene kept by true beleeuers, haue had this for the grounds of them, the absence of the Lord. What was the reason why the people of Israell kept a fast, Judges the 20. & 1 Sam: 7, and Jehosephat & all Juda 2 Cron: 20, and the people of Israell, after they came out of captivity, Nehemiah 9. And the church of Antioch, Acts 13, and Paul & Barnabas, Acts 14; was it not because they wanted the Lord to protect, defend, pardon, & assist? Where there is mencon made of fasting in the Scripture, you shall likewise find mencon made of turning vnto the Lord, and the Prophett Joel, when he speaketh of a fast, he biddeth them turne to the Lord: whereby it is euident, that the reason why God's people do fast, is because there is a distance betweene them & the Lord.

Reas: 1. The first reason is, when Jesus Christ is abundantly p'sent, he doth make a supply of whatsoever the children of God can peure in this extraordinary way of fasting: Wee know that vnder the captivity the people of God they fasted exceedingly, they kept a fast in the fourth moneth, 5. 7. 10, and now the Lord pmiseth a restauration of Jerusalem, that is especially accomplished in the kingdome of Christ, when he shall raigne ouer his, and he saith, in this day he will turne the fast of the fourth moneth, 5. 7. 10, into ioyfull gladnes & chearefull feasts. Zach: 8. There is a prophecy of a glorious Church, w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord will haue vnder the new testament, & especially when the Jewes come to be converted vnto God, and there is a pmise that the Lord will dwell w<sup>th</sup> them, & they shall be his people, & he will be w<sup>th</sup> them, and the effect of it is, all teares shall be wiped from their eyes;

Reu: 21, 4, and the same is pphced in Isay 65, 19. so farr as Christ is psent he taketh away all cause of mourning & weeping, and in his psence is fulnes of ioy, and at his right hand there is pleasures for evermore. Ps: 16, 11.

Reas: 2. The second reason is, because when the Lord Jesus Christ cometh once to be absent, then cometh in matter of mourning & fasting, all misery followeth the absence of Christ; as you see darknes followeth the absence of the sunne: the Lord leaueth Hezekiah, 2 Kings. 20. 12, 13, and then what followeth vpon it, he sinneth exceedingly in shewing the Ambassadors the treasure in his house. The Lord departeth from his Disciples, & his Disciples leaue him & forsake him. John: 16. So when it pleaseth the Lord to absent himselfe, then cometh in cause of mourning, and this hath bene the reason that the seruants of God haue wonderfully desired the psence of the Lord. Moses desired Gods psence, or els never to go vp, and so Dauid, Ps: 27, 9, because he knew very well, if God were absent from him, then misery wold follow.

Vse 1. The first vse may serue to teach vs a reason, why those that are the children of God, vpon their first acquaintance they get w<sup>th</sup> the Lord, they are not much addicted vnto fasting, the Lord doth not cary them that way; the time when Christ was vpon the earth, he being psent w<sup>th</sup> his Disciples, he was euer & anon instructing of them; when they were in dobt of any thing, he telleth them, and if they cold not answere many dobts, then Christ came & answered for them, and if at any tyme they were in any danger, then Christ comforteth them, and was euer & anon w<sup>th</sup> them. And thus the Lord dealeth w<sup>th</sup> his children, spirituallly in regard of his spirituall psence, when Christ first cometh to breake into the soules of his, he is wonderfully pleasant vnto them, and euer & anon instructing of them & comforting of them; yea, the Lord heareth them before they pray, or when they are a speaking, & doth exceedingly solace them; but afterwards it may be the saynts of God may come to be left & forsaken of the Lord, either because the children of their mother is angry w<sup>th</sup> them, & make them keepe the vyneyard, those vnder a covenant of works, maketh them trauaile vnder the burthen of that Covenant, and so maketh the Lord absent himselfe from them, and then Christ cometh to depart from them, & then they fast; or els whilst they grow carnall, & fall into a spirituall sleepe, Christ leaues them. Cant: 5. 6.

2. Secondly, from hence we are taught how to cary & behaue ourselves now vpon this day of humillacon, there are diuers evils w<sup>th</sup> wee may happily desire should be remoued, both from forrayne nations & from this place where we liue, and diuers good things we desire should be

pcured both for them & ourselves. What is the course we must take? must we especially looke after the remouing those euill things & pcuring those good things? this an hypocrite will do, see the example of Ahab, 1 Kings 21: 27, 28, 29, and the Lord will grant the desire of hypocrites: in this case see 78 Ps: 34, for there the hypocritical people of the Jewes in their misery sought the Lord, and the Lord being full of compassion, he forgiueth their iniquities & destroyeth them not, in the 38 verse of that psalme: must we then do as they did? by no meanes: What must we do then? We must looke first at the Lord Jesus Christ, & most desire now that Jesus Christ may be receaued in other nations & other places, and may be more receaued amongst our selues, we must turne vnto the Lord, & then he will turne all into a right frame, when many eniuyes came against Jehosopbat, what doth he? he goeth & seeketh the Lord, & his eyes are towards the Lord. 2 Cron: 20, 12, so the children of God are a company, a generation that seeketh the Lord & his strength & face euermore, Ps: 105, 4. they do not only seeketh the gifts of his spirit, but the Lord himselfe, they do not seeketh after strength to be receiued from the Lord only, but they seeketh after the strength that is in the Lord, they do not seeketh only to know the Lord by fruits & effects, but looke vpon the Lord w<sup>th</sup> a direct eye of faith they seeketh his face, and this is the generation of seekers spoken of Ps: 24, 6, therefore if we meane to pcure good things & remouue euill things, this will be our course, seeing the absence of the Lord is the cause of fasting, and the end of our fasting must be our turning to the Lord, & he will turne to vs, Joel 2. and thus the Lord will turne all things for the good of his, Rom: 8, 32, if we\* get y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, we shal haue al things.

3. Thirdly, from hence we are taught a reason, why, thos y<sup>e</sup> doe not knowe the Lorde Jesus Ch, they are vsially giuen y<sup>e</sup> most vnto fasting, not y<sup>e</sup>. I condemne fasting by any means; but this is it, many times thos that are the leaste acquainted w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus are giuen y<sup>e</sup> most of al to fasting, y<sup>e</sup> Papists are giuen much to fasting, & punish themselves by whipping, & y<sup>e</sup> people in captiuitie they were not acquainted w<sup>th</sup> the Lorde, & soe did not faste to the Lorde. Zac: 7. 5. 6. & appointed more fasts then the Lorde appointed, the 4, 5, 10 month, & the Phareses fasted twice a weeke, Luk. 18. 12. they wanted y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, & they must haue somethinge to reste vpon, & must close w<sup>th</sup> some thinge, & because they wante Ch they faste. This for y<sup>e</sup> first vse of instruction.

\* The early transcript of the Sermon has been followed to this place; and here we begin with the "original manuscript," the first eight pages of which are wanting.—PUBLISHING COMMITTEE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vse: 2. The second vse of exhortation, & it serueth to exhorte vs al, in the feare of God, to haue a spetial caire, that we p<sup>te</sup> not w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch: if we p<sup>te</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Ch we p<sup>te</sup> w<sup>th</sup> our liues, for Ch is our life, saith Paule, Col. 3. 4, the Lorde Jesus Ch is not onely the author of our life, but is the very seate of the life of God's children, & al there life is deriued from Ch, for he is y<sup>e</sup> roote & he conuayeth life to y<sup>e</sup> branshes, & thos y<sup>e</sup> are y<sup>e</sup> children of God, they liue by y<sup>e</sup> faith of y<sup>e</sup> sonne of God, Gal. 2. 20. they haue faith to lay houlde of the sonne of God, & y<sup>e</sup> sonne of God conuayeth life to them; therefore if we p<sup>te</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Ch, we p<sup>te</sup> w<sup>th</sup> our liues, therefore it standeth vs all in hande to haue a caire Ch be not taken from vs, if we belonge to the election of graise, Ch can not be holy taken away from vs, yet may be taken away in some degree, therefore let vs haue a caire to keepe y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch.

Ob: It may be heare demanded, what course shal we take to keepe the Lorde Jesus Ch.?

A: The way we must take, if soe be we wil not haue y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch taken from vs, is this, we must all of vs ppaire for a spiritual combat, we must put on y<sup>e</sup> whole armor of God, Eph: 6, 11, & must haue our loines girted, & be ready to fight; behould the bed y<sup>e</sup> is Solamos, there is threscore valient men bought it, valient men of Israel, euery one hath his sworde in his hande, & being experte in warre, & hath his sworde girted on his thie, because of feare in y<sup>e</sup> night, if we wil not fight for y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch. Ch may come to be surprised. Solamon lyeth in his bed, & there is such men bought the bed of Sollamon, & they watch ouer Sollamon, & wil not suffer Sollamo to be taken away; & who is this Sollamon, but y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch; and what is y<sup>e</sup> bed, but y<sup>e</sup> Church of true beleeuers, & who are those valient men of Israel, but al the children of God, they ought to shew themselves valient, they should haue their swords readie, they must fight, & fight w<sup>th</sup> spiritual weapons, for the weapons of our warfaire are not carnal but spiritual, &c. 2 Cor: 10, 4. therefore wheresoe euer we liue, if we would haue y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch to be abundantly p'sent w<sup>th</sup> vs, we must all of vs ppaire for battel, & come out ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> enymies of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, & if we doe not strue, those vnder a cōenant of workes wil p'uaile. We must haue a spetial caire therefore to shewe our selues coragious. al y<sup>e</sup> vallient men of Dauid, & all y<sup>e</sup> men of Israel, Barak, & Debora, & Jael, all must out & fight for Ch; curse ye Meroz, because they came not ought to helpe y<sup>e</sup> Lorde ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> mighty, Judg: 5. 23—therefore if we wil keepe y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch & his p'sence, & power amongst vs, we must fight.

That thes things may be y<sup>e</sup> better cleared, we must vnderstand & cal to our considerations, y<sup>e</sup> as soone as euer Ch was borne into y<sup>e</sup> world, Herod

& al Jerusalem was troubled. Math: 2, & if y<sup>e</sup> Lorde had not p'uented him, he sought to destroy him, & when Ch Jesus came once to shew him selfe, & to declaire him selfe, & exeraise his publique minestery, y<sup>e</sup> world seteth them selues ag<sup>t</sup> him to intrap him, & they labour to kille him, & neuer lefts, til they crused y<sup>e</sup> Lorde of glory, for this was done by Herod & Pontius Pilat, Act. 4; & when they had crused him, that would not serue y<sup>e</sup> turne, but he being buried, they come & make it suer, & sealeth y<sup>e</sup> stone, & seteth a watch & warde, & would haue buried y<sup>e</sup> Lorde for euer, & would haue kepte him eternally in the graue, but he raised him selfe by his power; and sins Ch reserrection & assention al y<sup>e</sup> enymies of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, they endeauour to doe it spiritually, & as they buried y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, & laboured to keepe him there, soe spiritually they hurie Ch, & they doe not onely labour to do this, y<sup>e</sup> are pagonish, but y<sup>e</sup> antichitian. Why doe y<sup>e</sup> heathen raige & the people imagine a vaine thing, Psal. 2, 1, what people are they, the people of God, y<sup>e</sup> people of y<sup>e</sup> Jues, this people doe imagine to take away y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, & what hath beene y<sup>e</sup> practis of all Antechitian spirits, but onely to take away y<sup>e</sup> Ch, y<sup>e</sup> Son of y<sup>e</sup> liueing God, & to put in fals Ch, & to deceiue the electe, if it were possible, Math. 24, 24; for what is Antech., but one being ag<sup>t</sup> Ch., & for Ch, his being for Ch, is being ag<sup>t</sup> Ch, he is ag<sup>t</sup> Ch. becaus he would put one in y<sup>e</sup> roome of Ch, therefore if we wil keepe the Lorde Jesus Ch amongst vs, we must stande vpon our gairde, & watch ouer y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, as y<sup>e</sup> vallient men of Israel watched ouer Solomon.

Ob. It may be heare demanded what course must we take to p'uaile in this combat, for fight we must?

A. If we would p'naile thorow y<sup>e</sup> strength of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde for of our selues we can doe noe thinge, then we must first contende for y<sup>e</sup> faith once deliuered to y<sup>e</sup> saints, y<sup>e</sup> Epistle of Jude. v. 3, y<sup>e</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> Gospel, it was but once deliuered for y<sup>e</sup> substants, though many times in regairde of y<sup>e</sup> manner, we must therefore strue for y<sup>e</sup> faith of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel, & strine together for y<sup>e</sup> Gospel, Phil. 1, 27, if y<sup>e</sup> light once be taken away, & darckenes come vpon y<sup>e</sup> face of y<sup>e</sup> Church, then we may be eaysly deluded, and a false Ch. put in y<sup>e</sup> trew Ch roome.

Ob. It may be demanded, what is y<sup>e</sup> gospel.

A. It is y<sup>e</sup> same glad tideings y<sup>e</sup> the Lorde sente into y<sup>e</sup> world of a Saviour y<sup>e</sup> is borne vnto vs, euen Jesus Ch y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, this same gospel is y<sup>e</sup> heauenly doctrin y<sup>e</sup> was pfesied of before by y<sup>e</sup> pfet concerning Jesus Ch the Lorde, to be maide of y<sup>e</sup> seede of Dauid. Y<sup>e</sup> gospel is a deuine heauenly supnaternal doctrin, containing in it y<sup>e</sup> reuelation of Jesus Ch, to preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospel is to preach Ch, & y<sup>e</sup> Apostle sath, Gal.



6, 14. God forbid y<sup>t</sup> I should glory in any thinge but in y<sup>e</sup> crosse of Ch: soe y<sup>e</sup> Gospel is such a doctrin as doth houlde forth Jesus Ch, & noe thinge but Ch, when such a doctrin is houlden forth as doth reueale Jesus Ch to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our sanctification, our redemption. 1 Cor. 1, 30, when al is taken away from y<sup>e</sup> creatuer, & al giuen to Ch, soe y<sup>t</sup> neither before our conuention, nor after, we are able to put forth one act of true, sauing spiritual wisdom, but we must haue it put forth from y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, w<sup>th</sup> home we are made one; & such a doctrine houlden forth as declares that we are not able to doe any worke of sanctification, further then we are acted by y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, nor able to puer our Justification, but it must be the Lorde Jesus Ch y<sup>t</sup> must apply himselfe & his righteousness to vs, & we are not able to redeeme our selues from y<sup>e</sup> least euil, but he is our redemption; when Ch is thus houlden forth to be al in al, al in y<sup>e</sup> roote, al in y<sup>e</sup> bransh, al in al, this is y<sup>e</sup> Gospel, this is that fountaine open for y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of Juday & Jerusalem for sin & for vncleanenes: Zack. 13, 1, & this is the well, of w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> wells vnder y<sup>e</sup> old testament were certaine types, this same wel must be kepte open, if y<sup>e</sup> Philistines fille it w<sup>th</sup> earth, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> earth of there owne inuentions, those y<sup>t</sup> are y<sup>e</sup> seruants of Isaack, true beleuers, y<sup>e</sup> seruants of the Lorde, must open y<sup>e</sup> wells againe; this is y<sup>e</sup> light y<sup>t</sup> houldeth forth a greate light, y<sup>t</sup> is Jesus Ch. for he is y<sup>t</sup> greate light y<sup>t</sup> lighteneth euery one y<sup>t</sup> cometh into y<sup>e</sup> world, John, 1, 9, & if we meane to keepe Ch, we must houlde forth this light.

Ob: It may be heare demanded, is there noe thinge to be houlden forth in pointe of Justification, but onely y<sup>e</sup> righteousness of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, may there not be a reuelation of some worke of sanctification, & from y<sup>t</sup>, may not we be carryed to Ch Jesus, & soe come to beleue in y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, must Ch be al in this point of Justification?

A: Truly both in y<sup>e</sup> pointe of Justification, & y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of this our Justification by faith, there must be no thinge in y<sup>e</sup> world reuealed but Ch Jesus, none other doctrine vnder heauen able to Justifie any, but mearely y<sup>e</sup> reuelation of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch. I am not ashamed of the Gospel, saith Paule, for it is y<sup>e</sup> power of God to saluation, Rom. 1, 16, how? for in it y<sup>e</sup> righteousness of God is reuealed: soe it could not be a doctrine w<sup>th</sup> power to conuirt a soule, if y<sup>e</sup> righteousness of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde were not reuealed: therefore when the Lorde is pleased to conuirt any soule to him, he reuealeth not to him some worke, & from y<sup>t</sup> worke, carryeth him to Ch, but there is noe thinge reuealed but Ch when Ch is lifted vp, he draweth all to him, that belongeth to y<sup>e</sup> election of grace; if men think to be saued, because

they see some worke of sanctification in them, as hungering & thirsting & y<sup>e</sup> like, if they be saued, they are saued w<sup>th</sup> out the Gospel. No, noe, this is a couenant of workes, for in the couenant of grace nothing is reuealed but Ch, for our righteousness; & soe for y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of our iustification by faith, nothing is reuealed to a soule but onely Ch, & his righteousness freely giuen, it was y<sup>e</sup> very grace of God y<sup>t</sup> appeared, y<sup>e</sup> same apperition whereby y<sup>e</sup> soule cometh to knowe y<sup>t</sup> he is Justified, y<sup>t</sup> obiect of it is Ch freely giuen, when y<sup>e</sup> loueing kindenes of Ch appeared, in y<sup>e</sup> 3 ltitus 5, not by workes of righteousness, &c., they are laide aside, & y<sup>e</sup> Lorde reuealeth onely to them y<sup>e</sup> righteousness of himselfe giuen freely to y<sup>e</sup> soule, if men haue reuealed to them some worke of righteousness in them selues, as loue to y<sup>e</sup> bretheren & y<sup>e</sup> like, & heare vpon they come to be assured they are in a good estate: this is not y<sup>e</sup> assurance of faith, for faith hath Ch reuealed for y<sup>e</sup> obiect, therefore if y<sup>e</sup> assurans of ones iustification be by faith as a worke, it is not gospel.

Ob: It may be further demanded, must not any sanctification in y<sup>e</sup> gospel be pressed vpon those that are y<sup>e</sup> children of God, but onely as it doth come from Jesus Ch y<sup>e</sup> roote, & as he worketh it in those y<sup>t</sup> are true beleuers.

A: Not in y<sup>e</sup> gospel. Sanctification must be preached noe other way, al duties of sanctification pressed vpon y<sup>e</sup> children of God, must be soe vrge, as w<sup>th</sup> all it be declared y<sup>t</sup> they growe from the roote Jesus Ch., worke out y<sup>e</sup> saluation w<sup>th</sup> feare & trimbleing Phil. 2, 12; it is he y<sup>t</sup> worketh in you both to wil & doe of his good pleasure; this is y<sup>e</sup> couenant of Grace, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch wil be our sanctification, & worke sanctification in vs & for vs. A new harte wil I giue yow, & a new spirit, & they shal walke in my statuts & iudgements to doe them. Ezek. 36, 26, 27. I wil forgieue there sins, & wrighte my law in there harts & inwarde p<sup>ar</sup>ts; If works be soe pressed as if a beleuer had power in him selfe to worke, it killeth y<sup>e</sup> spirit of Gods children, put any worke of sanctification in a legal phraime & it killeth him; y<sup>e</sup> law killeth but it is y<sup>e</sup> spirit y<sup>t</sup> quickens, y<sup>t</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> gospel in w<sup>ch</sup> the spirit of God is conuayed, when God speaketh he speaketh y<sup>e</sup> wordes of eternal life, & Peter saith to Ch, whether shal we goe, for w<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> wordes of eternal life, therefore ought noe workes of sanctification to be vrge vpon the seruants of God, soe as if they had a power to doe it, it wil kille y<sup>e</sup> soule of a man, & it oppresseth the pore soules of y<sup>e</sup> saints of God; Ch saith, Math: 11, 28, come vnto me al ye y<sup>e</sup> labour & are heauie ladened, &c., as long as we are absent from Ch, we are heauie ladened, but when Ch pulleth vs to him selfe, & takes our burthen vpon him, then we finde ease. Learne of me, for I am meeke &

lowly, & yow shal finde rest to yo<sup>r</sup> soules. Ch was soe meeke & lowly, as content to receiue al fro the Father, & soe must we be meeke & lowly, & contente to receiue al from Ch, if y<sup>e</sup> duties be pressed any other way, they wil be burthens that neither we nor our fathers wil be able to beare; therefore if we meane to keepe y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, we must keepe open this fountaine, & houldforth this light, if there be a night of darkenes, y<sup>e</sup> feare saith the Spirit of God, is in the night.

2. The second action y<sup>t</sup> we must pforme, & y<sup>e</sup> seconde way we must take is, when enymies to y<sup>e</sup> truth oppose y<sup>e</sup> way of God, we must lay loades vpon them, we must kille them w<sup>th</sup> the worde of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, Hos. 6, 5, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde hath giuen true beleuers power ouer y<sup>e</sup> nations, & they shal breake them apieces, as shiuere w<sup>th</sup> a rod of Iron; & what rodde of Iron is this, but y<sup>e</sup> worde of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, & such honour haue al his saints, Psa. 149, 9. y<sup>e</sup> Lorde hath maide vs of thrushing instruments, w<sup>th</sup> teeth, & we must beate y<sup>e</sup> hils into chafe, Isa. 41, 15, therefore in y<sup>e</sup> feare of God handle y<sup>e</sup> sworde of y<sup>e</sup> spirit, y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, for it is a too edged sworde, & Heb. 4, 12, this worde of God cutteth men to y<sup>e</sup> very harte.

Ob: It may be objected y<sup>t</sup> there wil be but littel hope of victory for y<sup>e</sup> seruants of God, because y<sup>e</sup> children of God are but few, & those y<sup>e</sup> are enymies to y<sup>e</sup> Lorde & his truth are many?

A: Trew, I must confes & acknowledge y<sup>e</sup> saints of God are few, they are but a littel flocke, & those y<sup>e</sup> are enymies to y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, not onely Pagonish, but Antechristian, & those y<sup>e</sup> runne vnder a couenant of workes are very strong: but be not afraide y<sup>e</sup> battel is not y<sup>ours</sup>, but Gods; ye know y<sup>e</sup> speech rendered by the pfet when soe many came ag<sup>t</sup> Joshua; Josh. 23, 10, one of yow shal chase athousand, &c. if we should goe in our owne strength, we should be swallowed vp, many a time may Israel say, if it had not benee for the Lorde, we had bin swallowed vp, if it weare not for y<sup>e</sup> I. <sup>in</sup> not dists, there were littel hope of p<sup>er</sup>uailing ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> saints, but out of y<sup>e</sup> mouthes of babes & sucklins, God ordaineth him praise, to still the enymies, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde wil magnify his name in y<sup>e</sup> saints, & though Gods people be but few, yet it is y<sup>e</sup> Lorde of hoasts, that God of heauen & earth, y<sup>e</sup> layed y<sup>e</sup> foundation vpon y<sup>e</sup> seases, & in comparison of home all y<sup>e</sup> nations are as noe thinge, Jehouah is his name, that greates God; it is Micael that fighteth w<sup>th</sup> his angels; therefore though the people be few, yet it is al one for God to saue whether w<sup>th</sup> many or those w<sup>ch</sup> haue noe strength.

Ob: 2 It wil be objected y<sup>t</sup> diuers of those who are opposite to y<sup>e</sup> waies of grace, & free couenant of grace, they are wonderous holy people, therefore it should seeme to be a very vncharitable thing in y<sup>e</sup> seruants of God to condemne such, as if soe be they were enymies to the Lorde & his

truth, whils they are soe exceeding holy & stricte in there way.

A: Bretheren, those vnder a couenant of workes, y<sup>e</sup> more holy they are, y<sup>e</sup> greater enymies they are to Ch, Paule acknowledgeth as much in y<sup>e</sup> 1 Gal: he sath he was zelus according to y<sup>e</sup> Law, & y<sup>e</sup> more he founde in a legal way, y<sup>e</sup> more he p<sup>er</sup>secuted the waies of grace, 13 & 14 Act. where al deuout people were such as did expel Paule out of Antioch, & out of all y<sup>e</sup> coasts. It maketh noe matter how seemingly holy men be, according to the law, if they doe not know y<sup>e</sup> worke of grace & waies of God; they are such as truste to there righteousnesses; they shal dye, sath y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, Ezek. 33, 13: what a cursed righteousness is that, y<sup>t</sup> thrusteth out y<sup>e</sup> righteousness of Ch, the Apostle speaketh they shal transforme themselves into an Angel of light, 2 Cor. 11, 14, therefore it maketh noe matter, how holy men be, y<sup>t</sup> haue noe acquaintance w<sup>th</sup> Ch. Seest thou a man wise in his owne conceite, more hope there is of a fooles then of him. Pro. 26, 12. We know (thorow y<sup>e</sup> mercy of God) as soone as Ch cometh into y<sup>e</sup> soule, he maketh y<sup>e</sup> creatuer noe thinge, therefore if men be soe holy, & soe stricte, & zelus, & trust to themselves & there righteousnesses, & knoweth not y<sup>e</sup> waies of grace, but opposeth free grace; such as those haue not y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, therefore set vpon such w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> sworde of the spirit, y<sup>e</sup> worde of God.

Ob: 3. It wil be objected, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> children of God should be a meeke generation, it is an exhortation y<sup>e</sup> Apostle giueth, Jam. 3, 13.

A: ffor to fight corragiously, in y<sup>e</sup> cause of God, & to be meeke, they are diuers, but not opposits, they may stande very wel together: yow know when Steuen was in a meeke phrae, for y<sup>e</sup> spirit of God was in him, and was in a calme quiet frame & disposition: & yow see what a vehement speech Steuen maide to y<sup>e</sup> enymies of God, Act 7, 51, it cutteth them to y<sup>e</sup> very harte, yet Steuen, a meeke man, he prayeth for his enymies in a meeke phrame of spirit, & yet vehement to those that oppose y<sup>e</sup> waies of God. Ch was meeke, I am suer yow wil say, & he sath, learne of me, for I am meeke and lowly, yet when he cometh to those that did oppose y<sup>e</sup> waies of grace, yow are the children of y<sup>e</sup> Denel, Joh. 8, 44, & in the 23<sup>d</sup> Math: 23, woe be to yow, Scribs, Pharises, hipocrits, a vehement speech he vseth, yet Ch y<sup>e</sup> meekest y<sup>e</sup> euar was, therefore yow may eaysly beate downe thos houlds by y<sup>e</sup> sworde of y<sup>e</sup> spirit, y<sup>e</sup> worde of God.

Ob: 4 It wil be objected this wil cause a com-bustean in Church & comanwealth.

A: I must confesse & acknowledge it wil doe soe, but what then, did not Ch come to sende fier vpon y<sup>e</sup> earth? Luke 12, 49, & what is it, y<sup>t</sup> it were already kindled, he desireth it were kindled, & it is y<sup>e</sup> desier of y<sup>e</sup> spirit of y<sup>e</sup> saints

y<sup>e</sup> this fier were kindled; is not this that that is p<sup>r</sup>eseyed of, Isa. 9. 5. This battel betweene Michael & his Angels, y<sup>e</sup> battel betweene Gods people & those that are not, thos battels of Ch<sup>r</sup>tians must be burneing, and what is it, but y<sup>e</sup> burneing of y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, accompanied by y<sup>e</sup> Holy Goast, this prophesied of in Mal. 4. 1, y<sup>e</sup> day shal come y<sup>t</sup> shal burne like an ouen, & al y<sup>e</sup> wiced shal be stuble, &c. this is y<sup>e</sup> terrible day of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, when the gospel is thus helde forth, this [is] a terrible day to al those y<sup>t</sup> doe not obey y<sup>e</sup> Gospel of Ch. Bretheren, we know that y<sup>e</sup> whore must be burnt, Reu: 18, it is not shaueing of her heade, & p<sup>r</sup>aiting her nails, & changing her rayment, that wil serue y<sup>e</sup> turne, but this whore must be burnt. Many speake of y<sup>e</sup> external burneing of Rome, but I am s<sup>u</sup>er there must be a spiritual burneing, & y<sup>e</sup> burneing by y<sup>e</sup> fier of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel. This way must Antech be consumed. 2 Thes: 2. why should we not further this fier, who knoweth how soone those Jues may be conuirted, Reu: 18. 19. chap. after y<sup>e</sup> burneing of y<sup>e</sup> whore follows Alleluia, a praiseing of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde in Hebrue; we knowe not how soone y<sup>e</sup> conuirtion of the Jues may come, & if they come, they must come by y<sup>e</sup> downefal of Antech, & if we take him away, we must burne him, therefore neuer feare combustions & burneings.

Ob: Lastly it may be objected ag<sup>t</sup> thos cum-bats & fightings, if minesters & Ch<sup>r</sup>tians be soe downeright, & soe striue & contende, & houlde forth y<sup>e</sup> worde of God, w<sup>th</sup> such violens & power, this wil be a meanes to discourage those y<sup>t</sup> are weake Ch<sup>r</sup>tians, & doe them a greate deale of hurte.

A: Let y<sup>e</sup> Gospel be neuer soe clearely helde forth, it neuer hurteth y<sup>e</sup> childeren of God, noe it doth them a greate deale of good, y<sup>t</sup> same very fier of the worde, y<sup>t</sup> burneth vp al vnbelefsers, & al vnder a couenant of workes, y<sup>t</sup> Gospel doth exceedingly cleare Gods childeren. Mal: 4. 2. then y<sup>e</sup> sonne of righteousness shal come w<sup>th</sup> healeing in his wings, &c. & in Math. 3, Ch when he handeleth y<sup>e</sup> gospel, he layeth y<sup>e</sup> axe to y<sup>e</sup> roote of y<sup>e</sup> tree, & what followeth heare-vpon, he will purge his flore, layeth y<sup>e</sup> axe to y<sup>e</sup> roote, & cuteth downe al hypocrits, & those y<sup>t</sup> builde vpon any thing besides Ch, & then he wil purge his Church, & gather y<sup>e</sup> wheate into y<sup>e</sup> garner, true beleuers wil come in; vnbeleuers & hypocrits, chaffe wil be al burnt vp: soe y<sup>e</sup> same Gospel y<sup>t</sup> is a worde of terror to wiced men, is a greate comforte to all that beleue in y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch.

3. Thirdly, if we meane to keep y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, we must be willing to suffer any thinge, yow knowe in 12 Reu: 11, the saints of God ouer came, & ouer came by y<sup>e</sup> bloode of y<sup>e</sup> Lambe, y<sup>t</sup> is, by y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, & worde of y<sup>e</sup> testimony, y<sup>t</sup> is, the Gospel, & they loue not there

liues to death, y<sup>t</sup> is, if we wil ouercome, we must not loue our liues, but be willing to be killed like sheepe; it is vnpossible to houlde forth y<sup>e</sup> truth of God w<sup>th</sup> external peace & quietnes, if we will p<sup>r</sup>uaile, if we be cauled, we must be willing to lay downe our liues, & shal ouercome by soe doing; Samson slew more at his death, then in his life, & soe we may p<sup>r</sup>uaile more by our deathea, then by our liues.

4. fourthly, if we wil keepe Ch, we must consider y<sup>t</sup> we can not doe any of this, by any strength y<sup>t</sup> is in our selues, but we must consider y<sup>t</sup> it is y<sup>e</sup> Lorde y<sup>t</sup> must helpe vs & acte in vs, & worke in vs, & y<sup>e</sup> Lorde must doe all. When as Zerobabel & Joshua & y<sup>e</sup> people came out of captiuitie to builde y<sup>e</sup> temple, they al take there rest, & leteth y<sup>e</sup> temple alone, til y<sup>e</sup> Lorde come & stirre vp y<sup>e</sup> spirit of Zerobabel & Joshua & y<sup>e</sup> people, & then they falle of building: soe (bretheren) we may thinke to doe greate matters; and lye quiatly & calmly, & let y<sup>e</sup> enymies of y<sup>e</sup> Church doe what they wil, till y<sup>e</sup> Lorde stirre vs vp; y<sup>e</sup> Judges stired not, till the spirit of God came vpon them, & then they did wonderful things, soe in some measure we must looke for y<sup>e</sup> spirit of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde to come vpon vs, & then we shal doe mighty things thorow y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, it is y<sup>e</sup> Lorde himselfe y<sup>t</sup> must effecte & doe all: this for the first exhortation, not to suffer the Lorde Jesus Ch to be taken violently away from vs, wheresoe euer we liue, we shall finde some y<sup>t</sup> goe vnder a couenant of workes, & those are enymies to Ch, & y<sup>e</sup> flesh will luste ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> spirit, &c. Gal: 5. 17, & soe we shal finde it in our spirits, those y<sup>t</sup> are in y<sup>e</sup> flesh, mind the things of y<sup>e</sup> flesh, Rom: 8. 5; therefore, wheresoe euer we are, we shal haue Ch taken away from vs by violence, if y<sup>e</sup> Lorde be not pleased to giue vs to use those meanes.

Vse 2. The second vse of exhortation, we y<sup>t</sup> are vnder a couenant of grace, let vs all haue a caire soe to carry our selues y<sup>e</sup> may haue y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>esens of the Lorde, y<sup>t</sup> he may p<sup>r</sup>esente from vs; for if y<sup>e</sup> Lorde dep<sup>r</sup>te, then we shal haue cause of morning indeede. Y<sup>t</sup> we may carry and behaue our selues, as y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, who is amongst vs, y<sup>t</sup> he may stil be more & more p<sup>r</sup>esent w<sup>th</sup> vs.

1. We must haue a spetial caire, in the first place, y<sup>t</sup> as any of vs is interested w<sup>th</sup> the gospel, soe to deale faithfully in the despenceing of it, whether we be in place or not in place, whether bretheren or sisters, being maide ptakers of the grace of God, being maide stuards, we are to be founde faithful, therefore let vs haue a caire to deale faithfully, & hould forth y<sup>e</sup> truth, as it is in the Lorde Jesus Ch, & then we shal finde y<sup>e</sup> Lorde to be p<sup>r</sup>esent w<sup>th</sup> vs, Math: 28. 28. Be-hould I am w<sup>th</sup> yow, if y<sup>e</sup> teach y<sup>t</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> he hath comanded, he wil be w<sup>th</sup> them, therefore in y<sup>e</sup> feare of God haue a caire, y<sup>t</sup> we do renounce y<sup>e</sup> hidden things of dishonesty, & we doe not vse

any deceate. Let vs not be as some y<sup>t</sup> doe corrupte y<sup>e</sup> worde, but as in senserity, in y<sup>e</sup> sight of God, as in Jesus Ch: soe let vs speake, let vs all haue a caire to hould forth Ch, & not runne into generalities. If Ch vanish away in a cloude, y<sup>e</sup> saints of God stande gaiseing, & haue sad harts, when we are to hould forth any truth, let vs deale faithfully in this kinde, & y<sup>e</sup> Lorde will be abundantly p<sup>s</sup>ent, we shal finde he shal be a Saueour where soe euer he cometh either of life or death, & if we be faithful in a few things, he wil make vs rulers ouer many, Math. 25: therefore if we meane to inioy y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>s</sup>ence of Ch, & stail to haue more of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch, & haue Ch to come and say, good & faithful seruant, & bestowe more of his p<sup>s</sup>ens amongst vs, let vs be faithful in despencheing any worde of truth.

2. Secondly, let vs haue a caire, al of vs. y<sup>t</sup> we loue one an other; this is my comendement y<sup>t</sup> ye loue one an other, as I haue loued yow, 1 Joh. 3, 23: y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Ch delighteth in a loueing people, when the saints of God loue one an other, and are willing to lay downe there liues one for an other, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde delighteth in it, Ch was loueing when he was vpon the earth, if the desiples were in danger at any time, he came & supported them, & helped them, when they were poased by the scribs & pharises sometimes he came & answered for them. Act 2, 15. sum mocked at them, then Peter stepeth vp & sath, thos are not drunke as ye suppose, he loued them and answered for them. Moses seeing an Egiptian striueing w<sup>th</sup> his brother, he came & killed him. Act. 7, 24, 25, 26; soe Ch puteth into his people a loueing spirit, therefore let vs haue a caire y<sup>t</sup> we doe not alienate our harts one from an other, because of diuers kindes of expressions, but let vs keepe y<sup>e</sup> vniety of the spirit in the bonde of peace, let vs haue a caire to loue one an other, & then y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch wil be stil more & more p<sup>s</sup>ent.

3. Thirdly, let vs haue a caire that we doe shew our selues holy in all maner of good conuirsation, 1 Pet. 1, 5, both in priuat & publike, & in all our carriges & conuersations, let vs haue a caire to indeuour to be holy as y<sup>e</sup> Lorde is; let vs not giue ocaytion to those y<sup>t</sup> are coming on, or manifestly opposite to y<sup>e</sup> waies of grace, to suspect y<sup>e</sup> way of grace, let vs cary our selues that they may be ashamed to blaime vs; let vs deale vprightly w<sup>th</sup> those with home we haue ocaytion to deale, & haue a caire to guide our famylis, & to p<sup>o</sup>forme duties y<sup>t</sup> belonge to vs; & let vs haue a caire y<sup>t</sup> we giue not ocaytion to others to say we are libertines, or Antinomens, but Chitians; let vs expresse y<sup>e</sup> vertue of him y<sup>t</sup> hath cauled vs, & then he wil manifest his p<sup>s</sup>ence amongst vs, John 14, if yow loue me I wil manifest my selfe to yow; he wil crowne his owne worke w<sup>th</sup> his p<sup>s</sup>ence, he wil come into his garden, & eate of the pleasant fruts: therefore let vs

carry our selues, soe y<sup>t</sup> we may haue no cause of mourning, for if y<sup>e</sup> Lorde be absente, there is cause of morneing.

Vse. 3. The third vse for reproofe, & first it serueth to condemne al such as in there fastings & dayes of humiliation doe principally & aboue al seeke for blesseings to be p<sup>o</sup>cured, & euels to be remoued, and this is y<sup>t</sup> that they are first carryed vnto, this is not y<sup>e</sup> maine matter, y<sup>e</sup> maine matter is, the absens of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde; therefore if we wil doe as we ought to doe, and p<sup>o</sup>forme this duty aright way, we must first of all be carryed vnto the Lorde Jes. Ch: they may p<sup>o</sup>cure greate blesseings from y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, & yet y<sup>e</sup> Lorde neuer accept of them, they may pray to y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, & fast & humble themselues, & y<sup>e</sup> Lord may heare them & p<sup>o</sup>don them, & turne away his wrath; & yet for all y<sup>t</sup>, neuer saue them, how did the Lorde carry himselfe towards the people of y<sup>e</sup> Jues, yow know the Lorde gaue them his p<sup>s</sup>ence in the wildernes, & gaue them an extraordinary signe of his p<sup>s</sup>ence, they had a pillar of fier by night & cloude by day, & the Lorde did cause y<sup>e</sup> angel of his p<sup>s</sup>ence to goe before them, & gaue them his good spirit to instructe them, Isa. 63. & yet for al y<sup>t</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> body of them was hipocrits, & y<sup>e</sup> Lorde aware in his wrath, y<sup>t</sup> they should neuer enter into his rest, what is y<sup>e</sup> matter, they p<sup>o</sup>cure vnto themselues things from God & y<sup>e</sup> blesseing of God; but they did not get y<sup>e</sup> Lorde himselfe, they had y<sup>e</sup> Angel of Gods p<sup>s</sup>ence to goe before them, they had not y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch in them, they had y<sup>e</sup> spirit to instructe them, but not y<sup>e</sup> spirit to lead in them, they p<sup>o</sup>cure to themselues blesseings from y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, but they neuer get the Lorde of blesseings; therefore al those y<sup>t</sup> doe turne vnto those blesseings in y<sup>e</sup> first place, & doe not first of al turne vnto the Lorde, wil neuer be maide ptakers of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde.

2. The second sorte to be condemned, are all such as doe set themselues ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Je. Ch. such are y<sup>e</sup> greatest enymies to y<sup>e</sup> staite y<sup>t</sup> can be, if they can haue there wils, yow see what a lamentable estaite both church & coman welth wil be in, then we haue neede of morneing. the Lorde he cannot indure those y<sup>t</sup> are enymies to himselfe & people, & vnto y<sup>e</sup> good of his church, such shal neuer be able to p<sup>o</sup>uaile ag<sup>t</sup> the Lorde. What wil be the end & Issue, doe yow thinke, if people doe set them selues ag<sup>t</sup> the waies of grace & y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jesus Ch? this wil be y<sup>e</sup> Issue of it, those that oppose y<sup>e</sup> waies of grace, & resist the truth, they shal waxe worse & worse, 2 Tim. 3, & they may happily p<sup>o</sup>ceede a great way, but y<sup>e</sup> time wil come that they shal goe noe further, & by reason of y<sup>e</sup> agitations of things, it wil come to passe, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> truth wil be cleared, & there follye wil be manifested to al men, soe sath y<sup>e</sup> Apostle; it is a harde thinge to kicke ag<sup>t</sup> the prick. Act. 9, 5, who soe euer striueeth ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup>

Lorde can not pſper; if men or women doe faule vpon y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jes. Ch they breake, but if y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jes. Ch doe faule vpon them, he wil breake them all to powder, if any faule vpon Ch, & they will not let Ch alone; but faule vpon them w<sup>ch</sup> houlde him forth, & wil abuse them, & be buffetting y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Je Ch, there is neuer a stroke they giue, but maketh wounds in their consciences, but if they wil be beausing out Ch, they ſhal finde it y<sup>e</sup> heuieſt ſtone that euer was, it wil faule & breake them all to powder, if people ſet themſelues ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, & ye waies of grace, & his truth, this wil be y<sup>e</sup> iſſue of it on there pte, either thoſe y<sup>e</sup> ſet [them] ſelues ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> waies of God, y<sup>e</sup> wil be put to ſilence by y<sup>e</sup> light y<sup>e</sup> cumeth from Ch., y<sup>e</sup> they wil be ſoe conuinced, y<sup>e</sup> they ſhal not be able to ſpeake any more in there cauſe, as Ch put downe thoſe that came ag<sup>t</sup> him, y<sup>e</sup> they durſt aſke him noe more queſtions, & there cumeth ſuch a power from y<sup>e</sup> worde helde forth by y<sup>e</sup> ſaints of God, y<sup>e</sup> it wil ſtrike a feare into there harts y<sup>e</sup> oppoſe it. What aiſt thou, O Jordan, y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> fluds goe backe, tremble thou earth at y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>re</sup>ſens of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, y<sup>e</sup> that cum to take Ch, they ſel backe, there cumeth a deuine power from y<sup>e</sup> Lorde, & turneth them al backe, y<sup>e</sup> Lorde wil ſtrike w<sup>ch</sup> trimbleing thoſe y<sup>e</sup> cum ag<sup>t</sup> Jeruſalem, or if they be not put to ſilence, it wil come to paſſe in time, they wil faule into wonderful ſtronger paſſions, & wil quaril w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ſaints of God: it was y<sup>e</sup> cauſe of Zedekiah & Micah, y<sup>e</sup> queſtion was w<sup>ch</sup> of them had y<sup>e</sup> ſpirit of God, he came & ſmott y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>re</sup>ſet vpon the cheek, but God's ſpirit is noe ſmiteing ſpirit. Steuen conuinced y<sup>e</sup> Jues, & did by y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Goſt, euidence his cauſe to be y<sup>e</sup> cauſe of God, and y<sup>e</sup> were not able to reſiſt y<sup>e</sup> ſpirit by w<sup>ch</sup> he ſpake, & they al came & runne vpon him, why doe yow reſiſte y<sup>e</sup> Holy Goſt? what maketh y<sup>e</sup> ſin ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Holy Goſt, but enlightening, & ſetting them ſelues ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> waies of truth, & p<sup>re</sup>ſecuting it in malis & wrath; it is a feareful thing to faule into y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> liueing God. Heb. 10, 31, for our God is a conſumeing fier, Heb. 12, 29, let euery one (in the feare of God) haue a caire, how they ſet themſelues ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> truth & waies of God, & y<sup>e</sup> waies of Jeſus Ch, for we muſt al appeare before y<sup>e</sup> Judgement ſeate of Ch. 2 Cor. 5, 10.

Vſe 4. The laſt vſe ſhal be for conſolation, (howſoeuer this be a day of humiliation, yet y<sup>e</sup> apprehenſion of Gods grace, and mercy, & goodnes, it worketh y<sup>e</sup> kindeſt humiliation, ſins are to be conſidered & looked vpon, but ſins ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> God of grace may melte one: in y<sup>e</sup> day I will power vpon them y<sup>e</sup> ſpirit of grace, & they ſhall morne, &c. Zack: 12, 10. therefore y<sup>e</sup> laſt vſe ſhal be for conſolation,) & it may ſerue to cumforte the children of God, w<sup>ch</sup> doe houlde forth y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jeſus Ch, & doth deſier y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Je

Ch might be receiued into churches, into phamilies, into y<sup>e</sup> harts of y<sup>e</sup> people of God. (brethren) thoſe y<sup>e</sup> walke this way, are y<sup>e</sup> greateſt freinds vnto y<sup>e</sup> church & vnto coman welth: they intende, & labour, & indeauour to bringe in y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Je Ch, & if Ch be p<sup>re</sup>ſent, there wil be noe greate cauſe of faſting & morneing: therefore let me (in y<sup>e</sup> name of God) incorage al thoſe y<sup>e</sup> houlde forth the waies of grace & doe indeauour to make knowne y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Jeſus Ch. Brethren & Sisters endeauour to bringe Ch into y<sup>e</sup> harts of people, & then yow ſhal make y<sup>e</sup> Church happie, & yow ſelues ſhal be happie; liſte vp yow heads O ye gaits, &c. Pſal. 24, 7, bringe the Lorde Je Ch not onely into thy howſe, but into thy chamber of him y<sup>e</sup> did beget yow, endeauour it for this is God's way, & it is a way to bringe peace & happyneſſe, both to church & coman welth.

Secondly, it may cumforte y<sup>e</sup> ſaints of God in this reſpect, y<sup>e</sup> ſeeing y<sup>e</sup> the Lorde Je Ch his abſence is y<sup>e</sup> cauſe of faſting & morneing, this is a cumforte to y<sup>e</sup> children of God, y<sup>e</sup> cum what wil come, they ſhal be in a happy eſtaite, they ſhal be bleſſed, ſuppoſe thoſe that are Gods children ſhould looſe there howſes, & lands, & wiues, & freinds, & looſe y<sup>e</sup> actings of y<sup>e</sup> giſte of grace, & looſe y<sup>e</sup> ordenances, yet they can neuer looſe y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Je Ch; this [is] a greate cumforte to Gods people: ſuppoſe the ſaints of God ſhould be baniſhed, deprived of al the ordenances of God, y<sup>e</sup> were a harde caiſe (in ſum reſpect) for we had better pte w<sup>th</sup> al, then y<sup>e</sup> ordenances; but if y<sup>e</sup> ordenances ſhould be taken away, yet Ch can not, for if John be baniſhed into an Iland, Reu. 1, 9, 10, & y<sup>e</sup> ſpirit cum vpon him on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, there is amends for the ordenances, amends for baniſhment, if we looſe y<sup>e</sup> ordenances for God, he wil be ordenances to vs. Therefore let y<sup>e</sup> ſaints of God be incoraged, though they ſhould looſe al they haue, yet they being made one in Ch, & Ch dweling in there harts by faith, they may be pſwaded noething can ſeperate them from Ch. Rom. 8, 38, 39: therefore let y<sup>e</sup> ſaints of God reioyce y<sup>e</sup> they haue y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Je Ch, & there names writen in y<sup>e</sup> booke of life, be glad & reioyce, for greate is yow rewarde in heauen.

## XII.—THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM—CONTINUED.

### IN COMMON COUNCIL.

*Resolved.* That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to make copies of and to publiſh in that work, from time to time, ſuch portions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and ſuch of its papers on file as, in his opinion, ſhall ſerve to illuſtrate the early hiſtory of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the ſame ſhall be done un-

der the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Aldermen, December 6, 1866.

Adopted by the Board of Councilmen, December 10, 1866.

Approved by His Honor the Mayor, December 13, 1866.

D. T. VALENTINE,

Clerk of the Common Council.

[Original, 51, 52; Translation, 72-74.]

THE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland To all persons who shall see or hear these presents read, Greeting:

They give notice, that for the purpose of preventing all calamities by fire, they have long since condemned all *Flag roofs*, *Wooden and Platted chimneys*, within this City;\* and, also, to that end, have appointed Firewardens† and Inspectors of Buildings,‡ which Statutes and Ordinances the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid have repeatedly published and renewed; yet, unto the present time they have been by many of the Inhabitants carelessly or obstinately neglected, either because the penalty and fine therein established is too trifling or because the penalties have not been inflicted and collected; which neglects have all along occasioned several calamities and accidents by fire, and more such are to be apprehended, yea, even the entire destruction of this City, in regard to the buildings which are now daily going up, so that it is necessary to make provisions in the case. To which end, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid have not only judged it to be right and necessary to revive their former enactments and Proclamations, but, also, to amplify and amend them, wherein they were deficient, or to cause them to be promptly executed. To that end, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid [73] do Ordain that all *flag roofs*, *wooden chimneys*, *hay-barracks*, and *hay-stacks* shall be taken down and removed, within the term of Four months after the publication of these Presents, under the penalty of Twenty-five Guilders for each and every month,—and the penalty shall be promptly executed,—for every house, small or great, hay-barrack, or hay-stack, or wooden chimney, within the walls of this City, after the expiration of the Four months aforesaid, to the inclusion of hen-houses and hog-pens: the fines to be appropriated, One-third to the officer who shall enforce the law and Two-thirds to the behoof of the City; and if, in the mean time, in any such chimneys or houses, any fire shall take place, a four-fold fire penalty shall be paid for it, to wit:

One hundred Guilders, to be appropriated according to the Proclamations heretofore issued.

Whereas, furthermore, in all well-regulated Cities and Corporations it is customary that *Fire-buckets*, *Ladders*, and *Hooks* are in readiness at the corners of the streets and in public houses, for the time of need, and these things are here more necessary than ever before, through the paucity of stone houses and the abundance of wooden-buildings within this City, erected by one and the other, the Director General and the Councillors do Ordain and Authorize, in these premises, the Burgomasters of this City, either personally or by their Treasurer, to promptly demand for every house, whether small or large, ONE BEAVER, or Eight Guilders, in Seawant, [74] according to the established price, for the purpose of ordering, from the revenue of the same, by the first opportunity, from Fatherland, Two hundred and fifty leathern Fire-buckets; and out of the surplus to have made some Fire-ladders and Fire-hooks: and, in addition to this, once a year, to demand for every *Chimney*, One Guilder, for the support and maintenance of the same.\*

Thus done in the Session of the Director General and the Councillors, held in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 15<sup>th</sup> day of December, Anno, 1657.

C. V. RUYVEN,  
Secretary.

[Original, 52; Translation, 74, 75.]

WHEREAS, the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, to their sorrow, do daily observe that their former issued Orders, enacted against quarreling, fighting, striking and smiting, are not practised, observed, and executed, according to their good intent and meaning, as it is becoming; but, by some frolicsome persons, for the utterance of one word, it is contemned and trodden under foot, on account of the trifling fine in the aforesaid premises, as it is sufficiently evident; and, Whereas, some persons do not hesitate to twit the Officers that it is not more than One Pound, Flemish, in Seawant;

Therefore, being desirous of preventing further accidents resulting from such fighting, The Director General and the Councillors do, by these Presents, [75] peremptorily interdict and forbid any Street riots and quarrels, much more the beating and striking of one another, which can occasion nothing else than bitterness, calamities, yea, homicide, under the penalty of the transgressors' paying, for One single blow with the fist, Twenty-five Guilders; and in case blood shall be drawn, Four times as much; and in case such shall happen in the presence of the Officer, Burgomasters,

\* Vide, Orders dated January 23, 1648; and January 16, 1656.—H. B. D.

† Vide, Orders dated January 23, and September 28, 1648; April 13, 1655 (App. LXIX.) and January 18, 1656 (App. LXXVII).—H. B. D.

‡ Vide, Orders dated July 25, 1647; and December 15, 1648.—H. B. D.

\* Vide, Order dated January 23, 1648.—H. B. D.

or Schepens, a double fine, to be applied as the Law directs.\*

Let every one be warned hereof, and take heed of damage.

Thus done at Fort Amsterdam, this 25<sup>th</sup> day of December, Anno, 1657.

[Original, 53-55; Translation, 75-79.]

The Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, by daily experience, have seen and observed that the foregoing Orders and Proclamations have not been regarded according to the good intent of the same; but that, notwithstanding the repeated renovations thereof, many large and spacious lots, even in the best situated parts of this City, remain unimproved, and by the possessors and owners are held in reserve, either for greater profit or for their pleasure, and thereby this City is checked in its population, extension of business, and consumption, and, also, in the style of building, whereto new-comers might be encouraged in case such persons [76] could procure a lot, in an eligible place, for a reasonable price:

In conformity with the Proclamations, heretofore issued,† the neglectors, if not countenancers, in holding in reserve so many large and spacious lots, either for their profit or pleasure, because, by the before-issued Proclamations, no penalty, fine, or forfeiture was incurred by such neglect or omission; and, since the possessors and owners have held the lots for years, without any burdens, reserving them for greater profit or using them at their pleasure for orchards and gardens, whereby the building and population are retarded, and, consequently, the increase of the Commerce, Consumption, and Prosperity of this City, contrary to the benevolent intention and meaning of their High Mightinesses, the Directors of the Privileged Company, Lords and Patrons of this Province, as the first donors and grantors of these lots for this purpose; that for the scattering the population, increasing the number of inhabitants, the Commerce, the Consumption, and the Prosperity of the City, these lots should be built upon, as expressed in the granted *Ground-briefs*, together with the consequent stipulation and submission of such costs as shall be established by well-qualified persons, or by those daily authorized; For the observance and execution of the same, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, having long before this, through their sworn Surveyor, with the assistance of this City, at the arrangement of the streets, sur[77]veyed the vacant and unimproved

lots, and found some hundred lots within the walls of this City, vacant and unimproved; that these lots, according to the good intent and meaning of their High Mightinesses the Directors aforesaid, and in conformity with the former-issued Proclamations, may be the sooner built upon, it being certainly disorderly to possess such large and spacious lots, either for profit or pleasure, without being subject to any burden; and that those disposed to build may be accommodated with lots at a reasonable price, the Director General and the Councillors, in amplification of the before-issued Proclamations, by these Presents, do Ordain that all vacant and improved lots, as they have long since been surveyed and laid out by the Surveyor of the Director General and the Councillors, after the Publication and Affixing of these Presents, shall be taxed and appraised, first of all by the Possessor and Owner, himself, that he may not hereafter complain of the undervaluation; and that as long as the owners shall retain the lot or lots, or shall let them lie without having suitable and tenantable houses built thereon, he shall, yearly, in two installments, pay the fifteenth penning, One-half on May-day and the other half on the Fair-day of this City, the revenue to be applied to the Fortification of this City and its repairs; and the Burgomasters are hereby authorized and command[78]ed, after the publication of these Presents, to summon the owners of these lots, without any respect of persons, to appear before them at the Council-house of this City, to attend to the taxation, and by their Secretary to make a record thereof, as the Law directs, and to place the revenue in the care of their Treasurer; and, in case of opposition or refusal, in a Christian manner to amend such. Such lots to be appraised according to their value and the situation of the place, Provided however, that it be left to the option of the Possessor and Owner, whether the lots appraised by the Burgomasters shall appertain to themselves, by their paying the aforesaid Fifteenth Penning, or, otherwise, to give them over, at that price, to the Burgomasters, for the behoof of the City: in the same manner, also, on the other hand, it is left to the option of the Burgomasters aforesaid, to take the lots at the appraisal of the owners, on account of the City, and to offer them for sale at that price, to other admirers who are disposed and prepared to build, in case the owner, himself, will not or is not able to build in conformity with the foregoing Proclamation, or to leave them in the possession of the owner, until they shall have been built upon by him or by others, when the imposed [79] tax, laid for weighty reasons on unimproved lots, shall cease.

And the better to promote immigration, and the prosperity and the strength of this city, the Director General and the Councillors do *Ordain*.

\* Vide, Order dated May 31, 1647, and the numerous Orders regulating Taverns.—H. B. D.

† Vide, Orders dated July 25, 1647, and December 15, 1648.—H. B. D.

and *Command*, that, from this time forward, by and within the walls of this city or its gates, within the jurisdiction of the same, no Dwelling-houses shall be permitted to be built, before all the lots herein aforesaid shall have been suitably built upon.

Thus done in the Session of the Director General and the Councillors, at the Fort Amsterdam, this 15 day of January, Anno, 1658.

P. STUYVESANT,  
C. V. RUYVEN, Secy

[*Original*, 56; *Translation*, 79, 80.]

WHEREAS, the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland have not only been informed, but have, themselves, seen and remarked, that some persons, after the Publication and Proclamation of their Banns of Matrimony for the third time, do not further the consummation of their marriage, as is becoming, but are putting off the same, from time to time, not only for weeks but for months, which is directly in contravention of and contrary to the excellent order and custom of our Fatherland: Therefore, being desirous of making provision in the premises and for the purpose of preventing, for the time to come, all the injury and irregularity flowing therefrom, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid do hereby Ordain, that all persons whose Banns have been published, after the third Proclamation shall have been made and no lawful impediment occurring, shall cause their Marriage to be solemnized at the longest within One month after the last Proclamation, or, within the said term, to appear and render in his reasons for his refusal, as it behooves him; and this under the penalty of Ten Guilders for the first week after the expiration of the aforesaid month, and for the succeeding weeks, Twenty Guilders for each week, until the time he shall have made known the reason of his refusal.

FURTHERMORE, no male and female shall be permitted to cohabit, before they shall have been lawfully married, in the penalty of One hundred Guilders, or as much less or more as their circumstances shall be found to warrant.

Such persons may be amerced anew every month by the Officer, according to the order and customs of our Fatherland.

Thus done, in the Session of their High Mightinesses the Director General and the Councillors, held at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 15<sup>th</sup> day of January, Anno, 1658.

P. STUYVESANT  
C. VAN RUYVEN, Secy.

[*Original*, 60-62; *Translation*, 85-90.]

THE Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland To all persons who shall see or hear these presents read, Greeting:

BE IT KNOWN, that they (notwithstanding the reduction of the value of the Seawant at the General Compting-house, from Six to Eight White, and from Three to Four Black Seawants for one Stuyver] through the Remonstrance of the Burgomasters and Schepens of this City, as well by the information of others, have come to the knowledge of the great, excessive, and intolerable high price of necessary commodities and family articles, through the abundance of the Seawant in trafficking for Beavers, which have been driven up to Sixteen Guilders and upwards for one Beaver, according to which price all family commodities and the common daily necessities take the same course, so much so that the Shopkeepers, Mechanics, Brewers, Bakers, Tapsters, and common Grocers make a difference of Eighty, [86] Ninety, nay, even One hundred per cent, whether they sell their labor or their goods for Beaver or for Seawant, the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid have been induced and persuaded, by the particular request of the Burgomasters and Schepens of this City, to permit the Seawant to pass agreeably to the foregoing reduction of the Compting-house, to wit; in place of Six, Eight White, and instead of Three, Four Black Seawants, for one Stuyver; YET, WHEREAS, from past experience, not the imaginary but the probable result will be, that, through this *reduction*, the complaints concerning the high prices or the disproportion betwixt the payments in Beaver and Seawant will not be remedied; but, on the contrary, we have a right to presume that the Trader, for the greater number of Seawants for the Stuyver he receives, the greater length of the *hand* or of the *fathom* he will have to give for the Beaver, and, consequently and necessarily, the high prices must continue for such necessities as Beer and Bread, and will be justified under the cloak of the great disproportion betwixt the Seawant and the Beaver: The which, for the time to come, to remedy and prevent, as far as it is practicable, The Director General and the Councillors cannot [87] devise any better expedient or means than what they have repeatedly declared, to wit: an absolute traffic upon the principle, to sell and buy according to value and quality of the article, to barter and exchange by the measure or the Guilder, as the parties, the Buyer and Seller, can agree; and that the payment in Seawant, above Twenty Guilders, by right shall not be valid unless by written contract or by the agreement of the parties it appears to be quite otherwise. Yet, as much as the Seawant, though the deficiency of ready money and for the daily necessities of the



family, must serve between the Buyer and the Seller, the Director General and the Councillors have come to the conclusion not to reduce the Seawant, but the necessaries, such as Bread, Beer, and Wine; and to fix them according to the worth of the Beavers, as the common market price is among their associates.\*

Wherein the Director General and the Councillors Order and Command the Bakers, Brewers, Tapsters, and other retail-dealers, not to sell the Bread, Beer, and Wine at a higher price than the price established by the Director General and the Councillors, and, also, by the respective subordinate rulers, each in his own jurisdiction, with the Consent of the Director General and the [88] Councillors: WHEREIN, to prevent the too great clamor and noise about the high prices, and to establish some order concerning the necessary family articles,—Bread, Beer, and Wine—which should be regulated and reduced according to other things, the Director General and the Councillors, with the communication and advice of the Burgomasters of this City, have determined, resolved, and ordained, and, by these Presents, they do Ordain, that the Brewers, Tapsters, Bakers, and other Shopkeepers and Common Grocers, shall sell daily, necessary, family commodities to the Buyer at Three different prices, to wit: Silver money, Beavers, or Seawants, as by the present provisions, throughout the Provinces, it has been reduced; to wit: Eight White or Four Black, for one Stuyver; in conformity with which standard the Brewers shall deliver One Barrel of good Beer for Ten Guilders, in Silver money, according to the Holland value of Fifteen Guilders in Beavers, the Beaver at Eight Guilders to Twenty-two Guilders in Seawants—Eight White or Four Black for One Stuyver: the Small Beer, Three Guilders in Silver, Four and a half Guilders in Beaver, and Six Guilders in Seawant.†

[89] THE TAPSTERS.

*By the Vaan.*‡ Six Stuyvers in Silver money; Nine Stuyvers in Beavers; and Twelve Stuyvers in Seawant.

*By the Can, for French wine.* Eighteen Stuyvers in Silver money; Twenty-four Stuyvers in Beavers; Thirty-six Stuyvers in Seawant.

\* The Currency was a subject which seems to have thrust itself into the Council Chamber at New Amsterdam quite as often and with quite as cool a welcome as in more modern times, it has come before the Congress of the United States; and we are not inclined to yield to the latter body any more credit in its management of the subject than I am disposed to yield to the Dutch, two hundred years ago.

The reader, by turning to Orders dated November 30, 1647; May 30, and September 14, 1650, will find other Legislation on the subject.—H. B. D.

† Vide, Orders dated November 19, 1653 (App. XXVII.), November 29, 1655 (App. LXXXII.), etc.—H. B. D.

‡ About two quarts.—TRANSLATOR.

*By the Can, for Spanish Wine.* Twenty-four Stuyvers, in Silver money; Thirty-six Stuyvers in Beavers; Fifty Stuyvers in Seawant.

*By the Gill, for Brandy-wine.* Five Stuyvers in Silver money; Seven Stuyvers in Beavers; and Ten Stuyvers in Seawant.\*

THE BAKERS.

*The Coarse Wheat Loaf of Eight pounds weight.* Seven Stuyvers in Silver money; Ten Stuyvers in Beavers; and Fourteen Stuyvers in Seawant.

*The Rye Loaf of Eight pounds weight.* Six Stuyvers in Silver money; Nine Stuyvers in Beavers; and Twelve Stuyvers in Seawant.

*The White Loaf of Two pounds weight.* Four Stuyvers in Silver money; Six Stuyvers in Beavers; and Eight Stuyvers in Seawant.†

[90] Thus done, resumed, and approved, in the Session of the Director General and the Councillors of New Netherland, held at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 11th day of November, 1658.

Signed by P. STUYVESANT and the Councillors.  
C. V. RUYVEN, Secy.

[Original, 64; Translation, 91, 92.]

THE Director General and Councillors of New-Netherland &c.

WHEREAS, daily, there are great complaints and clamours, that the Posts, Rails, Pales, and other Fencings around Grain-land and Gardens, made with great expense, trouble, and labor of the Inhabitants, for the preservation of their sowing and planting, are stolen by night and by day, in which, if there be no seasonable provision made, it is to be feared that what has been sown and planted and what may yet be sown and planted will be wholly trodden down and destroyed by the Cattle, through the deficiency of fencing, and for the next year there will be no grain reaped from the acre; to prevent which, [92] the Director General and the Councillors aforesaid, with the advice of the Burgomasters and Schepens of this City, desirous of making provision herein, as far as is practicable, Do by these Presents, peremptorily warn all and every one, of whatever state and condition he may be, and peremptorily command that, from this time forth, no person shall strip any Gardens, Sowings, or Plantations, of Posts, Rails, Pales, or other Fencing, under the penalty, on the conviction of any person of having wholly or partially stripped away any fencing; for the First offence, of

\* Vide, Orders dated June 5, 1651 (App. XIII.), November 19, 1653 (App. XXVIII.), November 29, 1655 (App. LXXXII.), etc.—H. B. D.

† Vide, Orders dated June 5, 1651 (App. XIII.), November 19, 1653 (App. XXVII.), etc.—H. B. D.

being Whipped and Branded, and for the Second offence, of being punished with the Cord until death ensues, without any reserve or respect of persons. And if, after this date, any person who knows of any robbing of fields or gardens of Posts, Rails, Clap-boards, and such like, will give information thereof, he shall receive honor, and his name will be concealed.\*

Let every one take warning.

Thus done at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 9th day of October, 1655. Revived the 30th day of December, 1658. At the Stadthouse of the city of Amsterdam in N. Netherland this 7th day of January, Anno, 1659.

### XIII.—JANE MCCREA.

By WILLIAM L. STONE, ESQR.

G. H. M., in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January, pertinently asks, what disposition Messrs. Lossing and Stone "have made, or we are "to make, of the contemporary accounts of those "who, certainly, *ought to have known* what they "were writing about, and whose statements can "hardly be overthrown or set aside by those tra- "ditions on which the new version rests?" G. H. M. might have added to the names of "Mr. "Lossing and Mr. Stone," those of Alfred B. Street, Doctor Shea, (in his notes to Mrs. Coghlan,) Mrs. Coghlan herself, and the contemporaneous accounts of those on the spot, such as General Morgan Lewis, Robert Ayers, and Surgeon General Bartlett.

But this question is not to be answered by mere *authority*, however respectable, but by *proof* of facts, neither traditional nor newer in version than July 27th, 1777; and such as have been established by the corroborative testimony of Mrs. McNeal, herself, and Mrs. Tearse, a lady of much intelligence and unquestionable veracity. The latter's means of knowledge were abundant, since she participated in an investigation of the facts of the tragedy at Moos street, in July, 1777, and resided with her grandmother, Mrs. McNeal, from that time till the latter's decease—Mrs. McNeal having devised and bequeathed her estate to Archibald Campbell Tearse and William Hunter Tearse, charged, contingently, with their mother's support, administered by General Pettit, of Glens Falls, Doctor Zina Hitchcock, of Sandy Hill, and Charles Trame, President of the Mohawk Bank in Schenectady.

Who, then, probably, did understand, more accurately than Mrs. Tearse, her grandmother's

statement in relation to the abduction and decease of Jane McCrea? Certainly not William Gordon, D.D., who resided in Roxbury, and could vouch only for "the *substance* of the relation "given by Mrs. McNeal, who was in company "with Miss McCrea when taken by the Indians." The Reverend gentleman concedes (ii., 261) that "the murder of Miss McCrea exasperated the "Americans, and from that and other cruelties "occasion was taken to blacken the Royal party "and army. The people detested that army "which accepted of such Indian aid, and loudly "reprobated that Government which could call "in such auxiliaries." This was just censure and deserved indignation, although its consequence is added by Gordon as follows: "General Gates "was not deficient in *aggravating* by several pub- "lications the excesses which had taken place; "and with no small advantage to his military "reputation." Such, also, was the character and purpose of his "famous 'tickler on the subject of "scalping,' " with epistolary correspondence; the egregious egotism and vanity of whose author General Wilkinson has so fully exposed. His statement, exaggerated at least, and about which he had neither personal knowledge nor authentic information, has been frequently republished. Still, repetition of error, a thousand times, cannot verify it, nor change its deceptive nature, although often perpetuated as historical truth.

General Burgoyne, as well as General Frazer, utterly discarded the American report that David Jones had employed two competing parties of Indians, or any of them, to bring his betrothed into the British camp—a statement, by the way, which was also implicitly denied by Robert Ayers, (father-in-law of Ransom Cook, now residing at Saratoga Springs,) who had been sent at that very time by Jones to Albany with a letter from him to his betrothed. All who had been acquainted with Captain Jones were confident that his statement was correct, and that he was utterly incapable of such conduct. Indeed, on being apprised of Mrs. McNeal's captivity, and the death of her companion, he supposed the victim to be Dolly Hunter, until he saw her in Frazer's Marqué. Jones, until then, believed that Jane McCrea was in Albany. The latter, however, unknown to him, was on a visit to John Jones's wife, who had recently become a mother, at the Widow Jones farm, opposite Fort Edward, and had casually gone over to Mrs. McNeal's for a mere call on her friend Miss Hunter, who had gone to Argyle. Why Jane McCrea remained over the night of the 26th at Mrs. McNeal's house it is not material to the present purpose to mention.

Many pages could easily be taken up in presenting all the facts which demonstrate the cor-

\* Vide, Orders dated July 1, 1647; December 31, 1654, (App. LX.), October 11, 1655, (App. LXXIII.), etc.—H. B. D.

rectness of Mrs. Tearse's narrative—a narrative that cannot be countervailed by Lord Harrington's *ex parte* or other similar *hearsay* evidence, nor even by Burgoyne's responsive letter, which seems to adopt, argumentatively, Gates' allegations, and endeavors, after such assumption, to exculpate from accusation of crime, concerning which the implicated declares he would not be guilty "for the whole continent of America, if 'the wealth of worlds were in its bowels, and a 'paradise on its surface.'" Nor, as our late civil war has shown, need we go back to the distant past for proofs that Generals, even in official despatches, have, for political purposes, put forth the grossest calumnies.

In short, if Mrs. McNeal, who was captured with Jane McCrea, is not the best authority for what happened to herself and companion; if the negro boy and woman, who were hidden in the cellar with Jane McCrea, did not know that fact about themselves, which they related to Judge Hay, Mrs. Judge Cowen, and numerous others; and, finally, if General Morgan Lewis, who buried Jane McCrea, and saw her fall from her horse, accidentally shot by his own men, did not know this fact, which he also related to David Banks, Judge Hay, and others yet living, why, of course, it is useless to write history based on any facts whatever. Indeed, the only question is, to whose statement is to be attached the most credit—that of Burgoyne, Gates and Gordon, who were at the time miles away from the scene, and two of whom had especial and powerful motives for concealing the real truth, or that of equally respectable parties who were on the spot and active participants in the tragedy, with no motive to relate the occurrence other than it was?

But it may be said, Burgoyne's, Gates' and Gordon's testimony is "written testimony." So, also, is Mrs. McNeal's and that of General Lewis; the only difference being, that a private secretary, *who is dead*, took down Burgoyne's letter as it fell from his lips, and Judge Hay, *who is living*, took down the words of General Lewis and Mrs. McNeal as they fell from their lips. There is, in fact, only one of two ways to get rid of this latter testimony—either to deny, *point blank*, that Mrs. McNeal and Governor Morgan Lewis told the truth, or else that they never stated these facts to David Banks, Judge Hay, and others, still living, whose names can be given. Respecting the first point, Mrs. McNeal and Governor Lewis were, in their lifetime, always considered perfectly truthful and honorable; and in regard to the latter, Judge Hay and Ransom Cook have heretofore been looked upon as men of probity and fairness.

The remark of G. H. M., that "Burgoyne was a 'gentleman,'" seems to us to have no bearing on the point at issue. There are many "gentlemen"—in the conventional sense of that term—whose

statements are not remarkable for their truth. But aside from this, a portion of the testimony of Burgoyne, in his *State of the Expedition*, has recently been shown to be utterly false by the MS. journals of General Riedesel and numerous other German officers, which have been exhumed from the archives of different German States, and which will soon be given to the public both by the Long Island Historical Society and the writer.

I fully appreciate the motives of G. H. M. in his query, and cordially hold out my hand to him in sympathy with his endeavors to arrive at the truth of the case, for, certainly, the *truth* is that for which both of us are searching. Nor do I believe he would have pursued the course of a certain writer, who, it is said, when at Lake George, on being told by a gentleman of the real facts of the McCrea tragedy, and that, if he would tarry for a few hours, he would put him in communication with authorities which threw a new light upon it, replied, that "he had no time to 'stop!'" Even if the "authorities" to which he was referred had not changed the old version, still one would have more confidence in his story were he assured that the author had patiently investigated both sides. All of us are fallible; and it is impossible, even with the most careful and patient investigation, to secure perfect accuracy. But no one is fitted to write for future generations who, for any reason, neglects to examine every accessible authority.

#### XIV.—CHURCH COWS.

*To the Editor of The Historical Magazine :*

On the early settlement of Kings County, it was customary for the Reformed Dutch Churches to own cattle, which they hired or let out on shares for the benefit of the Churches or for the support of the poor. Agreements for the letting of three cows in 1662, and one in 1664, are entered in full on the old Brooklyn Church Records. The first Cow appears to have been valued at 150 Guilders in seawant, the second at 165 Guilders, the third at 140 Guilders 19 Stuyvers, and the fourth at 177 Guilders 20 Stuyvers.

The following is a translation of the agreement for the letting of the second cow :

"The undersigned Jeurie Probasco, acknowledges to have received from the hands of the 'exalted Consistory of Brauckelen [Brooklyn] for the Poor of the same place, a certain Cow : 'in the first place for one half of her increase ; 'second, of the yield of butter, ten pounds for 'the running year, and fifteen pounds for the ensuing years, for which he promises in 'seewant'

"(*wampum*) in place of butter to hand in for the benefit of the poor; and lastly with promise for loss, to pay one half if the animal happens to die. Done at Breuckelen this 14th May, 1662.  
GEORGE PROBASCO."

The above cow was valued at 168 Guilders, or about \$67.20, and is entered as having, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1662, had a miscarriage, in 1663 having had a heifer calf, and also one on the twenty-fourth of June, 1664.

TEUNIS G. BERGEN.

BAY RIDGE, N. Y., March 28, 1867.

## XV.—NOTES ON THE RECENT CIVIL WAR.—I.

### THE ARMY AMBULANCE CORPS.

The Army Ambulance Corps, which was created by Act of Congress just as the late war was coming to a close, is regarded by some persons as having originated with the present Surgeon-general and Secretary of War. The truth, however, is, that during the administration of Doctor William A. Hammond, as Surgeon-general, a bill, embodying in substance the provisions of the present law, was prepared by that officer, and submitted by him to Congress, but was rejected at the direct instigation of Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, then, as now, Secretary of War. So great was the hostility of Mr. Stanton to an Ambulance Corps that he refused to sanction any measures looking to the safe and speedy removal of the wounded soldiers from the battle-fields. He gave to Doctor Hammond verbal permission to prepare a plan, and to submit it to him, but when this was done he shifted the responsibility of considering it on Major-general Halleck, then General-in-chief; and that officer refused, peremptorily, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of Doctor Hammond and General McClellan, to entertain any proposition on the subject.

The efforts of Doctor Bowditch, of Boston, were directed to the same end, and it was mainly through the exertions of this benevolent physician, after Mr. Stanton had succeeded in removing Doctor Hammond from office, that the present law was enacted.

As a matter of history, the following letters, showing the animus of Mr. Stanton, General Halleck, General McClellan and Doctor Hammond, are adduced. It is scarcely our province to inquire into the motives of men, but we cannot avoid expressing our surprise and regret that the two first-named officials should remain indifferent to the frightful state of facts presented by Surgeon-general Hammond. We can account for Mr. Stanton's indifference to the sufferings of

the wounded upon no other hypothesis than that his intense hatred to Doctor Hammond caused him to view with hostility every measure which that officer brought before him:

### 1.—SURGEON-GENERAL HAMMOND TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

SURGEON GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,  
August 21st, 1862.

SIR:

In accordance with your verbal permission, I have the honor to submit the enclosed project for an *Hospital Corps*, and to ask your favorable consideration for the same.

The plan is merely submitted as a basis on which the Corps can be organized. Much will remain to be done by regulations, and I propose, should you approve the enclosed outline, to ask for a Board of Medical Officers to perfect the organization. I have not considered it necessary to enter into details, the first thing essential is to obtain your sanction to the organization of such a Corps. The need for it is most urgent. In no battle yet have the wounded been properly looked after, men under pretence of carrying them off the field leave the ranks, and seldom return to their proper duties.

The adoption of this plan would do away with the necessity of taking men from the line of the Army to perform the duties of nurses, cooks, and attendants, and thus return sixteen thousand men to duty in the ranks.

In view of these facts and many others which could be adduced, I respectfully ask your approval of the enclosed project.

I am Sir Very Respectfully  
Your obedient servant  
WILLIAM A. HAMMOND  
Surgeon General

Hon. E. M. STANTON  
Secretary of War

A true Copy.  
E. S. DUNSTER  
Asst. Surgeon U. S. A.

### 2.—SURGEON-GENERAL HAMMOND TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

SURGEON GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,  
Sept. 7th, 1862.

SIR:

I have the honor to ask your attention to the frightful state of disorder existing in the arrangement for removing the wounded from the field of battle. The scarcity of *Ambulances*, the want of organization, the drunkenness and incompetency

of the drivers, the total absence of Ambulance attendants, are now working their legitimate results; results which I feel I have no right to keep from the knowledge of the Department.

The whole system should be under the charge of the Medical Department. An Ambulance Corps should be organized and set in instant operation. I have already laid before you a plan for such an organization which I think covers the whole ground, but which I am sorry to find does not meet with the approval of the General in Chief. I am not wedded to it, I only ask that *some* system may be adopted by which the removal of the sick from the field of battle may be speedily accomplished, and the suffering to which they are now subjected, be in future, as far as possible avoided.

Up to this date six hundred wounded still remain on the battle field, in consequence of an insufficiency of Ambulances, and the want of a proper system for regulating their removal in the Army of Virginia. Many have died of starvation, many more will die in consequence of exhaustion, and all have endured torments which might have been avoided.\*

I ask Sir, that you will give me your aid in this matter, that you will interpose to prevent a recurrence of such consequences as have followed the recent battle, consequences which will inevitably ensue on the next important engagement, if nothing is done to obviate them.

I am Sir, Very Respectfully  
Your Obedient servant  
WILLIAM A. HAMMOND  
Surgeon General

Hon E. M. STANTON  
Secretary of War

A true Copy  
E. S. DUNSTER  
Asst. Surgeon U. S. A.

### 3.—GENERAL McCLELLAN TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

HEADQUARTERS  
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC  
Oct. 25. 1862.

GENERAL,

An Ambulance Corps has been in existence in this Army since August 2nd, 1862, and has been of great service. It would be of still greater service were the men enlisted for this particular duty. I approve of an Ambulance Corps for the whole Army, and consider it indispensable for he proper care of the wounded.

\* This fearful record refers to the wounded in the second Battle of Bull Run, fought on Saturday, the thirtieth of August, 1862.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

The men should be enlisted especially for this purpose and used for no other, and should be placed in a Camp of instruction and taught their duties.

The plan now in force in this Army I recommend, with some modification, to be adopted throughout the forces of the United States.

I am very respectfully  
Your Obedt servt  
GEO. B. McCLELLAN,  
Maj. Genl. U. S. A.

Maj. Genl. H. W. HALLECK,  
Genl. in Chief.

### XVI.—REMINISCENCES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1800.

[Communicated by WILLIAM DUANE, Esq., of Philadelphia.]

#### 1.—DR. MICHAEL LEIB, M.C.\* TO COL. WILLIAM DUANE.

GEORGE TOWN, Decr. 18th 1800

DEAR SIR

The success which has crowned our exertions: you are already informed of; but you, perhaps, are not aware that the business, thro' mismanagement, is still incomplete. It will fall upon the House of Representatives to decide who shall be the President, Jefferson or Burr, owing to an equal vote for the two candidates. We have carried our good faith rather to an extreme—we have been more than "up to the hub." It is now too late to regret that we had not ordered these things better; on another occasion we may profit by the present lesson.

The federalists were much relaxed in their countenances yesterday by the information that Georgia had given an unanimous vote for our two candidates, as it again gave them a chance of disappointing us in our favourite man. They played us off with an idea that they would vote for Burr. Not to be behind them in complaisance, we agreed to unite with them and in order to pay a still higher compliment to Mr. Burr, we assured them that we would carry the seat of Government to New York and place it at his door. This was a burr to them. The Marylanders did not relish it, more especially when they were assured by many of the southern members that they would vote for the translation. This menace has proved indigestible, and has

\* Dr. Leib was one of the representatives from Philadelphia. He was afterwards United States Senator and Postmaster in Philadelphia.—W. D.

sobered some of the Maryland federalists. If they could embarrass us, they would certainly do it; but I cannot persuade myself that they will play so desperate a game as to make choice of the man that no party and no State intended for the office. The imperfection of our Constitution has put this in their power. We must have a President, and we must elect him or the Government becomes dissolved, and rather than submit to a dissolution of the bond which unites us, we should be compelled to unite with them in the choice of Burr, if they should determine on the measure. The Constitution has made no provision to embrace the case of a disagreement in the House of Representatives, it only provides for a removal, death, resignation or inability; an interregnum would, therefore, follow, if the two parties should prove inflexible.

We are very usefully employed, for we are doing nothing. It would have been well for the United States if the federal legislature had been thus employed for the last three sessions. My wish is that the Session may pass by as it has commenced and that nothing may be the fruits of it; for as we are in a minority, we cannot do good.

The Senate are employed on the Treaty. Yesterday it was determined by the casting vote of the President that the injunction of secrecy should be taken off. An effort is making to reject it. I have not yet seen it; if I can lay my hands on it, I will transmit it to you.

Make my compliments to Mrs. Duane.

God bless you

Yours sincerely

M. LEIB.

P. S. I have sealed this letter with my cypher. You will be able to judge whether the seal has been violated.

2.—HON. JAMES A. BAYARD\* TO COL. ALLEN McLANE.†

CHAMBER OF REPS

12 Feb<sup>y</sup> 10 o'clock in the morning

DEAR SIR

The House is in Session and engaged in balloting for President. 19 times the ballots have been given in and produced the same result, 8 votes for Jefferson, 6 for Burr, and two divided.

\* Mr. Bayard represented Delaware in the House of Representatives.—W. D.

† Colonel McLane was a distinguished officer of the Revolution. An interesting account of him is to be found in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*. He was Collector of the Customs at Wilmington, Delaware, a post which he held under many administrations until his death at an advanced age. The Hon. Louis McLane was his son.—W. D.

How or when the affair will end we know not.

I am with regard

Your obt<sup>s</sup> sert

J. A. BAYARD.

3.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

WASHINGTON 17 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1801.

DEAR SIR

Mr. Jefferson is our President. Our opposition was continued till it was demonstrated that Burr could not be brought in and even if he could, he meant to come in as a Democrat.

In such case to evidence his sincerity he must have swept every officer in the U. States. I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan.

The N. England gentlemen came out and declared they meant to go without a Constitution and take the risk of a civil war. They agreed that those who would not agree to incur such an extremity ought to recede without loss of time. We pressed them to go with us and preserve unity in our measures.

After great agitation and much heat, they all agreed but one. But in consequence of his standing out the others refused to abandon their old ground. Mr. J. did not get a federal vote. Vermont gave a vote by means of Morris's withdrawing—the same thing happened with Maryland. The votes of S. Carolina and Delaware were blank.

I have taken good care of you. I think if prudent you are safe.

Your obt<sup>s</sup> sert

J. A. BAYARD.

## XVII.—NOTES.

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.—Mr. Bancroft, in the ninth volume of his *History of the United States*, has the following passage (p. 263):

"White men alone could claim the franchise in Virginia, in South Carolina and in Georgia; but in South Carolina, a benign interpretation of the law classed the free octaroon as a white, even though descended through an unbroken line of mothers, from an imported African slave; the other ten" (i. e. the ten other) "States raised no question of colour."

As far as Pennsylvania is concerned, this last assertion is a mistake. The Constitution of 1776 and that of 1789 confined the right of suffrage to *freemen*, and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided\* that this meant something more than

\* In the case of *Hobbs v. Fogg*, 6 Watts' Reports, 553.

men who were free, and included only white men. The amendments to the Constitution adopted in 1838 by a large majority of the Convention, and afterwards by the People, confined suffrage to white men by express words. D.

PHILADELPHIA.

THE TAVERN-KEEPERS' TEN COMMANDMENTS.—The following is a copy of a framed and glazed handbill hanging up a few years ago in a hotel in the interior of Pennsylvania:

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF THE TAVERN AND HOTEL KEEPERS.

I. When thou art thirsty thou shalt come to my house.

II. Thou shalt always keep my name in thy memory.

III. Thou shalt visit me often on Sundays and Holydays.

IV. Thou shalt honor me when I deserve it, so that thou mayest live long and that thou mayest continue drinking in my house.

V. Thou shalt neither break nor destroy anything for me in my house; if thou dost so thou must pay me each time double for it.

VI. When thou want to sing do not bellow like an ox, neither make a noise nor raise a riot like a beast.

VII. Thou shalt not steal anything from me for I need all I have myself.

VIII. Thou shalt not dare to pass counterfeit coins or money on me.

IX. Thou shalt not expect large or full glasses, because the landlord has to live off his profits.

X. Thou shalt after thou hast been eating and drinking in my house pay me honestly for it, for the landlord never likes to have anything to do in the chalk line.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The following letter was published in the (Boston) *Independant Chronicle*, May 15, 1777:

MESSEURS PRINTERS,

I would hope that you are the Sons of Liberty from principle and not merely from interest, wish you therefore to be consistent, and never more to admit the sale of negroes, whether boys or girls, to be advertised in your papers. Such advertisements in the present season are peculiarly shocking. The multiplicity of business that hath been before the General Court may apologize for their not having attended to the case of slaves, but it is to be hoped that they will have an opportunity hereafter, and will, by an act of the State, put a final stop to the private and public sale of them, which may be some help to-

wards eradicating slavery from among us. If God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, I can see no reason why a black rather than a white man should be a slave.

Your humble servant

WILLIAM GORDON.

ROXBURY, May 12, 1777.

N. B. I mean the above as a hint also to the other printers.

TREASON IN NEW JERSEY IN 1779.—We learn that pardons have been issued to sixteen of the persons who were found guilty of high treason and who received sentence of death at a Court of Oyer and Terminer lately held at Gloucester in New Jersey. One other, who had deserted from the American service and entered into that of the enemy, was condemned at the same time and was to have been executed yesterday.—*Boston Independant Chronicle*, March 11, 1779.

XVIII.—QUERIES.

THE MONUMENT TO CHIEF-JUSTICE POPHAM.—It is written in the eloquent and ingenious address at the two hundred and fifty-seventh anniversary of Popham's Colony at the mouth of the Kennebeck, that "His memory is *truly consecrated* "by one of the most magnificent monuments ever "erected over the remains of departed worth." Certainly, this is a remarkable structure, possessed of singular virtue. Is it known in what year it was erected, and at whose expense? Who was the author of the inscription? A copy of it would be appropriate to these pages. In what part is the "consecrating" power—in the marble, the inscription, the architecture, or in the general magnificence of the whole?

BOSTON.

SEDIR DING.

HASHAMOMMOCK, L. I.—In 1660, a certain Henry Whitney resided, according to some ancient records in my possession, in Hashamommock, Long Island. Where was this place? I find no mention of it in the books.

NEW YORK CITY.

S. W. P.

COMMISSIONER HALLOWELL.—I find in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, page 240, the following: "The journals contain a minute description "of a street-fight that took place in August, between Commissioner Hallowell and Admiral "Graves." Who will give me information about Commissioner Hallowell, and this street-fight, or refer me to works where it can be found?

AUGUSTA, Maine.

S. L. B.

**JOSEPH OTIS.**—Who was Joseph Otis, jailer in charge of American prisoners in Boston, after the battle of Bunker's Hill? S. L. B.  
 AUGUSTA, Maine.

**BOON ISLAND.**—(H. M., NEW SERIES, I., 61).—This name is applied by Mr. Vetromile to De Mont's Island, in the St. Croix. What is the authority? There is an island of this name on the coast of Maine, off against "York Nubble," but the one to which he applies it has been known as *Neutral Island*, while the national ownership was unknown, by reason of the undetermined boundary between Maine and New Brunswick; and as *Dochet Island* (pron. *Dosha*), from the native name. In August, 1864, several members of the Historical Society of the State, as invited attendants with the Congressional Committee for inspecting the Coast Defences, in passing this island in the U. S. Steamer *Mahoning*, decided to give it the honored name of De Monts—the first European occupant of its small territory and commanding position. B.  
 BRUNSWICK, Me.

#### XIX.—REPLIES.

**RALE'S MONUMENT.**—(H. M., NEW SERIES, I., 61).—This monument was "prostrate" at the time when Mr. Vetromile made his drawing, and for some years before and after. The present writer made a sketch of it in that condition, into which it had been brought by reckless river-men, to show their spite against certain active temperance men who had been instrumental in its erection. It has since been replaced in proper position. B.

BRUNSWICK, Me.

**EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENSIGN.**—(H. M., NEW SERIES, I., 49).—This Company, whose first charter was obtained in the year 1600, bore as a crest to their old armorial ensigns, a sphere without a frame, bound with a zodiac, in bend, or, between two split pennons, floutant, argent, each charged with a cross, gules; over the sphere the words, "*Deus indicat*." On the shield, with other devices, were three ships, rigged and under full sail, the sails, pennants and ensigns being argent, and each charged with the same cross gules. The pennants were long, tapering and split at the end, while the flags or ensigns were perfectly square; similar ones are to be seen on the arms of different companies at that period—as the Merchants of Russia, incorporated 1555, and enlarged 1614; the Merchants of Elbing and

the Merchants of Spain, incorporated under Elizabeth; and the Merchants of the Levant, or the Turkey Merchants, originating in 1579. That the East India Company were entitled to bear on their ships any particular and distinguishing flag does not seem probable, since we read that a Royal Proclamation of James I. was issued, April 12, 1606, ordering all subjects of the Isle and Kingdom of Great Britain, and the members thereof, to bear on their main-top the Union Flag, being the red cross\* of St. George and the white cross (or saltire) of St. Andrew, joined together upon a blue ground, "according to a form made by our heralds, and sent by us to our Admiral, to be published to our said subjects;" and that the subjects of South Britain should carry, as they had been accustomed, in their fore-top, the old national ensign, being the red cross on a white field, while the subjects of North Britain were to wear in the same place, a blue flag charged with a white saltire, as usual. But, on May 5th, 1634, a Proclamation was issued by Charles I., reserving the Union Flag as a distinguishing and proper ornament for the ships of the Royal Navy, and those in the employ and service of the Government, and none others; the ships of English subjects to carry the red cross, "as of old time hath been used," and the ships of Scottish subjects to carry the white, or St. Andrew's cross. After the execution of Charles I., who in his crown only had united the two kingdoms, the new Council of State, on the 22d of February, 1648-9, passed a resolution: "That the ships at sea in service of the State, shall bear the red cross in a white flag. That the engravings upon the stern of the ships shall be the arms of England and Ireland in two scutcheons, as is used in the seals." Soon after we hear of vessels of war sailing under the Long Parliament flag, which bore on a blue field the yellow Irish harp with the St. George's cross next to the staff. Under the Protectorate, we find a blue flag in use, bearing in the field the two shields of England and Ireland, viz.: argent, a cross, gules and azure, a harp, or; these were joined together in a horse-shoe shape and surrounded by a white label of three folds, with the motto in black letters, "*Floreat Res-Publica*," and outside two golden branches of laurel, leaved green; another flag of this period, preserved as late as 1803, in one of the storehouses of Chatham dock-yard, bore the same shields, slightly separated, on a red field, and surrounded by branches of palm and laurel. On the fleet which restored Charles II. to the throne of his father, the Royal cipher took the place of the State's arms, and the harp was removed from the Long Parliament

\* Whether the red cross was fimbriated, or edged with white, at this period, is not so apparent.



flag, which they also bore as having been instrumental in the restoration of that body during the previous year. Soon after this, under James, Duke of York, who had been appointed Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, &c., and of the dominions of New England, Jamaica, Virginia, &c., in America, we find the flags of the navy to have been the Royal standard; the Lord High Admiral's flag being an anchor foul on a red field; the Union Jack; and the English Ensign, red, cantoned with the St. George's cross.

During the Civil War, many and various were the devices which appeared upon the banners of either party, but the colors or flags were principally red for the Royalists, orange for the Parliamentarians and blue for the Scotch; and all cantoned with the red St. George's cross. Perhaps it was at this period that a blue field was adopted for the New England standard, which Carel Allard in his *Nieuwe Hollandre Scheeps-Bouw* (pub. Amsterdam, 1705), describes as bearing a red cross on a white canton, in the first division of which was an intersected globe, typical of America as the New World; a similar flag is depicted in a French work of 1737, upon the subject.\*

At what time the striped flag was first adopted by the East India Company is not evident. A contemporary print, preserved in the Pennant Collection, British Museum, representing the Puritans in 1644, under Sir Robert Harlow (or Harley), destroying the Cross in Cheapside, depicts several flags, one of which apparently bears two red stripes on a white field, and the St. George's cross on a white canton which extends over the first two stripes. It is very probable, moreover, that a striped flag was employed as early as this in the navy, and used as a signal. The basis of all subsequent Admiralty Regulations were the *Instructions* issued in 1640 by the Earl of Warwick; these were improved upon, after 1653, by Sir William Penn, when appointed one of the Generals of the Fleet; and twelve years subsequently, *Additional Instructions* were drawn up by James, Duke of York, on board the *Royal Charles*, the twenty-seventh of April, 1665. All these were soon united by the Duke into one Code of Marine Laws, and in this, under the Sailing Instructions, we have "N<sup>o</sup>. XXIV," "When the Admiral shall put forth a flag striped "with red and white on the fore-topmast head, the "Admiral of the white squadron shall send out

"ships to chase; when on the mizzen-topmast "head, the Admiral of the blue shall send out "ships to chase; &c." In an article on "Signals," in Harris' *Lexicon Technicum*, Second edition, London, 1723,\* we have: "If he (the "Admiral) would have the Red squadron draw "into a line of battle, one abreast of another, he "puts abroad a flag striped red and white, on the "flagstaff at the main-topmast head, with a pendant under it, and fires a gun; if the white or "second squadron is to do so, the flag is striped "red, white and blue;" if for the blue squadron, the flag was to be the general one, or white traversed with a red cross. A chart of flags published in Entick's *Naval History*, (London, 1757,) gives two of these signals, one being eleven stripes, red and white, the other twelve stripes, red, white and blue. Admiral Charles Saunders, while in the harbor of Louisbourg, and before setting out for Quebec, issued certain *Sailing Orders and Instructions*, on the fifteenth of May, 1759, and among the variety of signal-flags mentioned are some yellow and white striped, and others red and white striped; with these striped flags it is quite possible the Provincial vessels which joined the fleet were well acquainted, and the striped flag of the American Colonists, while struggling for liberty, may here find its antecedent, if it were not, on the other hand, assumed as a very bravado, or rather a perpetual remembrance of the East India Company and its three hundred and fifty chests of Bohea, which converted Boston harbor into a teapot, on the night of the sixteenth of December, 1773.

It was in April, 1661, that the renewal of their Charter by Charles II., vested the East India Company with the power or authority to make peace and war with any Prince or People not being Christians; and towards the close of the succeeding reign (1687), "considering Madras as "a Regency, under the protection of the King, "whose authority had been delegated to the "Company, the Court ordered the King's Union "Flag to be always used at the Fort (St. George).†

Under William III. a new company was established, in 1698, by Act of Parliament, which, however, soon became incorporated with the former; its arms were: argent, a cross, gules, in the dexter chief quarter an escutcheon of the arms of France and England, quarterly. Crest, two lions rampant, guardant, or, each supporting a banner, erect, argent, charged with a cross, gules.

The earliest representation of an East India Flag, which I have in my possession, occurs in a work entitled *Present State of the Universe*, Fourth edition, London, 1704, by John Beaumont,

\* John Beaumont, Jr., in his *Present State of the Universe*, 4th edition, London, 1704, gives the New England flag, as bearing on a square red field a white canton with the red cross, in the first quarter of which is a green tree; and the Colonists had as early as 1652, adopted the tree (pine tree) as a device upon their coinage. Alex. Justice's *Dominions and Laws of the Sea*, London, 1705, represents the same flag. Vide, *Notes and Queries*, London, Second Series, xii., 444; Third Series, i., 72; Drake's *History of Boston*, &c.

\* Vide, also, Croker's *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, London, 1766.

† Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*.

Jr.; the field bears thirteen horizontal bars or stripes, alternately red and white, with the St. George's cross on a white canton, which rests upon the fourth red stripe. A French work of 1737, on the subject of flags, which is referred to in *Notes and Queries* (London, 1861, Second series, xii., 444), gives the above flag of thirteen stripes, as an English "Pavillon de Rang ou de Division d'escadre," and another of thirteen stripes, yellow and red, as the "Pavillon d'Enchure en Nort Hollande." In a treatise on *Dominions and Laws of the Sea*, (London, 1705,) by Alex. Justice, we have the East India flag as ten stripes, white and red, cantoned with the red cross; while in Carel Allard's Dutch work on ship-building, published the same year in Amsterdam, the flag is represented as bearing only nine stripes, red and white, with the canton and cross resting on the third red stripe. This last design occurs also in the French work of 1737, already alluded to, and in Howard's *Encyclopedia*, London, 1785. But whereas, by Royal Proclamation of Queen Anne, the twenty-eighth of July, 1707, the Union of the two crosses of England and Scotland,\* was constituted a distinguishing mark of the National ensign, particular fields were ordered to be worn in the flags of the navy or Government vessels and merchant vessels; i. e., the one were to carry a blood-red flag, cantoned with the Union, the other a St. George's ensign (white with a red cross), with the Union occupying the whole of the first quarter.

It may have been at this period that the East India Company adopted the St. George's ensign, barry of twelve red and white, with the Union in the first quarter, as depicted in the London *Encyclopedia*, 1832, and Webster's *Dictionary*, 1867.

A similar flag, without the Union, appears to have been used on the first American fleet which sailed from the Delaware Capes, in February, 1776; for we read that the signal for the *Providence* to chase, was "A St. George's ensign with stripes "at the mizzen peak." Rees' *Cyclopedia*, (London, 1820,) gives still another form of the East India flag, viz.: thirteen stripes, white and red,† cantoned with the present Union, which rests on the fourth white stripe. In Fisher's *Book of the World*, (New York, 1850,) we have a chart of flags, that of the East India Company being nine red and white stripes, the Union extending to the middle of the third red stripe; it differs only in this latter respect from the ensign of the Sandwich Islands, wherein the Union runs quite through the third red stripe, resting on the third white.

\* In 1801 the cross of St. Patrick for Ireland, being argent, a saltire, gules, was added; and the present form of the Union adopted.

† On the certificates of membership for the "Society of the Cincinnati," engraved in France after the close of the Revolutionary War (1784), the American flag is represented as bearing in the field thirteen stripes, white and red.

The flag of Liberia, as herein represented, bears eleven stripes, red and white, with a blue canton resting on the third white, and charged with a single white star.

NEW YORK, Feb. 20, 1867.

I. J. G.\*

"A HISTORICAL DIFFICULTY" SOLVED.—(H. M., NEW SERIES, I., 47).—Influenced by the fear of the partition of Spain among the European Powers, and wrought upon by his spiritual advisers, who were dictated by Pope Innocent XII., Charles II. of Spain, on the second of October, 1700, made his last will and testament, conveying his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou. Charles II. died on the first of November, 1700; and Philip V. was crowned at Madrid, on the fourteenth of April, 1701, King of Spain.

Leopold, Emperor of Germany, alone among all the European Powers, refused to recognize him as the rightful heir to the Spanish throne. Charles II., previous to the making of this will, had "actually nominated the Archduke as his "universal heir." The wars which followed this alliance of the thrones of France and Spain are of too complicated a nature for me to attempt to unroll in this paragraph. In 1706, the Archduke, supported by the English and Portuguese armies, entered Madrid; and was proclaimed King of Spain, under the title of Charles III. In a few days, however, he was forced to leave the Capital. On the twenty-eighth of September, 1710, he again entered Madrid, and was again proclaimed King with the same title, but he was again as unfortunate as he had been in 1706, and was compelled to leave Madrid a second time, and Philip was firmly seated upon the Spanish Throne.

Charles III., however, did not leave Spain, but continued to rule over his Spanish dominions, living himself at Barcelona. His brother Joseph, Emperor of Germany, having died, he left his Spanish dominion, his Queen having been made Regent, and was crowned, at Frankfort, on the twenty-second of December, 1711, Charles VI. of Germany, and King of Hungary, Bohemia and Spain.

This little coin, of which I send you an impression, was probably struck to commemorate the event.

BOSTON, March 11, 1867.

C. S. F.

THE SCRAP TABLE.—(H. M., SECOND SERIES, I., 180).—I have a book entitled *The Scrap Table*, published thirty-seven years ago. Whether it is the same your correspondent, M. T. WALWORTH, Esq., is in search of, I do not know.

21 NASSAU ST., NEW YORK. C. P. KIRKLAND.

\* Our readers will recognize this signature as belonging to a long-tried friend of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and an earnest student of our country's history; and they will welcome, as we do, the re-appearance of it on our pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

## XX.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

## 1.—BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the seventh of March, at 4 P. M.

The Secretary read the report of the last meeting, and presented to the cabinet a proof set of the silver and smaller coins of this year.

The President read a letter from J. A. Bolen, of Springfield, enclosing two copper tokens, a donation to the Society. He also called the attention of members to the fact that Professor John H. Alexander, of Baltimore, an Honorary Member, died in that city on the second of March. He had long been known as an earnest advocate of an international coinage on the decimal system, and in 1857 was Commissioner to a conference held in England; he had been appointed by the President a Commissioner to the French Exposition of this year.

Dr. Fowle exhibited two staters of Philip II., and two of Alexander III., of Macedon, all in beautiful condition. Mr. Pratt exhibited a proof set of English coins, the gold, silver and copper for 1853; it comprised sixteen pieces, and was prettily arranged in a morocco case. The Secretary showed the medal given to him as a Commissioner to visit the Mint. On the obverse is a classical head of Liberty and the legend "MINT OF THE UNITED STATES, PHILADELPHIA;" on the reverse, in a wreath, the words "ANNUAL ASSAY, 1867." It is of size 21, and is composed of silver with one-tenth part of aluminum.

The Society adjourned at about 5.

## 2.—THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At the stated monthly meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held on Thursday, the tenth of January, 1867, after the transaction of some preliminary business, the President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, spoke as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY:

"I have received a communication from our distinguished Honorary Member, Mr. George Peabody, which I am sure will be listened to with the highest gratification, and with the deepest gratitude, by every member present."

Mr. Winthrop then proceeded to read the following letter:

"BOSTON, January 1, 1867.

"TO HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President of  
"the Massachusetts Hist. Society.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I have for some time desired to gratify a wish which I once expressed to you; and, while I

"should at the same time mark my strong personal esteem and regard for yourself, and my appreciation of the past labors and researches of the venerable and distinguished Society of which you are President, to contribute in some degree, to extend its future usefulness, and preserve its valued memorials.

"With these objects in view, therefore, I beg to present, through you, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in the five per cent. 10-40 coupon bonds of the United States, bearing accrued interest from the first of September last; which bonds, or their proceeds, shall be held by them as a permanent trust-fund, of which the income shall be appropriated to the publication and illustration of their Proceedings and Memoirs, and to the preservation of their Historical Portraits.

"I will thank you to do me the favor to communicate this to the Society at their next meeting, to be held on the 10th inst.

"I am, with great respect, your humble servant,  
GEORGE PEABODY."

The Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., then offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have listened with profound gratification to the reading, by their President, of the letter of Mr. George Peabody, accompanying his gift to the Society of an endowment of TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS; and that it is with the sincerest gratitude to the munificent donor that we thus find ourselves sharers in the comprehensive generosity which has been exercised in England and in the United States, with such varied, discriminating, and admirable adaptation to so many noble interests of humanity, science, and liberal culture.

*Resolved*, That we recognize this noble gift as especially opportune in time and occasion; and as peculiarly adapted, in the purposes which its donor assigns for it, to what have recently been felt to be the most pressing wants of the Society. We therefore hereby pledge ourselves, and would bind our successors, to a faithful keeping and improvement of the fund, to be called, henceforward, "The Peabody Fund," of which we are thus put in possession; having regard alike to the conditions so intelligently set forth by Mr. Peabody, and to the importance of the special objects he has aimed to serve.

*Resolved*, That our best appreciation of this gift, and the most fitting return which we can make to its donor, will be in our finding in it, individually, and as a Society, a new and continued incentive to industry, earnestness, and fidelity in pursuing the investigations and labors in whose special service we are here associated.

*Resolved*, That the President be requested to—

communicate to Mr. Peabody a copy of these resolutions; and to assure him that his gift is gratefully received, and shall be faithfully used.

Dr. Ellis followed the reading of the Resolutions by some remarks on the fresh incentive to labor which this large addition to the resources of the Society should offer to its members.

Colonel Aspinwall seconded the Resolutions, and paid a warm tribute to his old friend, Mr. Peabody, whose many acts of benevolence for many years had come under his own observation.

The meeting was also addressed by the venerable ex-President of the Society, the Hon. James Savage; by the Hon. Richard Frothingham, the Treasurer; and by Leverett Saltonstall, Esq., of the Standing Committee.

The Resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

### 3.—NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Boston, Wednesday, February 6.*—A stated meeting was held this afternoon, Winslow Lewis, M.D., presiding.

The Librarian reported that since the last monthly meeting fifty-seven bound books and eighty-six pamphlets had been presented to the Society. The Historiographer read memoirs of Rev. William Jenks, D.D., LL.D., an Honorary Member of the Society, who died at Boston on the thirteenth of November, 1866, in the eighty-eighth year of his age; of Thomas Stickney, of Manhattan, Ohio, who died on the ninth of July, 1862, aged fifty-two; and of Hon. Samuel Ames, of Providence, R. I., who died on the twentieth of December, 1865, aged fifty-nine, Corresponding Members; of John Seaver Howard, of Chelsea, who died on the sixteenth of March, 1865, aged forty-three; and of Colonel Samuel Swett, of Boston, who died on the twenty-eighth of October, 1866, aged eighty-four, Resident Members.

Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., of Northborough, Mass., read before the Society a paper giving biographical notices of members of the old Marlborough Association, formed in 1725, and which had an uninterrupted existence of nearly ninety years, having been dissolved in 1814. This Association contained at first but seven members, the ministers of as many towns bordering on Marlborough, the geographical centre. It was subsequently much enlarged, embracing a territory now containing twenty-three incorporated towns, lying partly in Middlesex and partly in Worcester counties. In 1762, we were told, a division took place—the Eastern part, lying in Middlesex, retaining the name of the Marlborough Association, the Western taking the name of the Worces-

ter Association, of which the body that now bears that name is a lineal descendant.

Rev. Doctor Allen gave a picturesque description of the appearance of some of these worthies, as he had seen them in the College yard on Commencement days, dressed in the fashion of the times, standing in groups or walking with stately gait in search of their classmates and college companions, supported by silver or gold-headed canes, and with silver buckles for the instep and the knee. This was in the early part of the Century, when he was a young man.

Some of the men whom he described were eminent in their profession, whose praise was in all the churches. Some had their foibles and faults, but most of them were men of integrity and sterling worth, with classical attainments which will compare favorably with the graduates of our best colleges at the present day.

As they were the ministers of towns, and not, as is now common, of small fractions of towns, their influence was felt through the whole community, and this power was exercised commonly for good and not for evil. Doctor Allen is engaged in preparing a History of the Marlborough Association, which will soon be published.

On motion of Hon. Charles Hudson, the thanks of the Society were voted to Doctor Allen, and a copy requested.

David Pulsifer exhibited a copy of the 1624 edition of Captain John Smith's *History of Virginia*, and made some extemporaneous remarks with regard to the story of Pocahontas saving the life of Captain Smith, which has been recently questioned by one of our well-known writers. Mr. Pulsifer thinks sufficient grounds of doubt have not been found, and that the statement which has stood so many years unquestioned should still be believed.

*Boston, Wednesday, March 6, 1867.*—A stated meeting was held this afternoon at the Society's rooms, No. 13 Bromfield street.

Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., of Northboro', Mass., read a paper upon the Old Marlborough Association, giving biographical sketches of some of the ministers of that Association who belonged to a former generation, some of whom were men of mark, eminent in their day, and whose influence is still felt in the communities in which they belonged. Among those of whom he made mention were Cook and Bridge, of East Sudbury (now Wayland), Smith and Packard, of Marlborough, Goss, of Bolton, John Mellen, of Sterling, John Martyn, of Northborough, Jacob Bigelow, of Sudbury, and Jonathan Newell, of Stow. He also gave some account of Seccomb, of Harvard, who, among other poetical effusions, was the author of the famous ditty, entitled, *Father Abbey's Will*, and who, we were told, was one of the few ministers in this region who approved of

the course taken by Whitefield, Tennent and others to create revivals of religion. He spoke also of Mellen, of Sterling, and Morse, of Boylston, and Buckminster, of Rutland, father of Dr. Buckminster, of Portsmouth, and grandfather of the late eloquent minister of Brattle Square Church, of the same name. In connection with the notice of Morse, of Boylston, he read a tribute to his memory in blank verse, written by the late Thad. M. Harris, of Dorchester, who, when driven from his home by the burning of Charlestown, at the battle of Bunker Hill, being then a child of ten years, found shelter and a home in the family of the good minister of Boylston, where he remained many years, and by whom he was fitted for college.

Dr. Asa Millett, of Bridgewater, Mass., exhibited some of the records and other writings of Rev. Mr. Angier, an early minister of Bridgewater.

#### 4.—DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of this Society was held on the nineteenth of January, at the house of Hon. E. P. Tileston, when the ballot for officers resulted in the election of Edmund P. Tileston, President; Edmund J. Baker, Samuel Blake, Henry G. Denny, Curators; Edward Holden, Librarian; Ebenezer Clapp, Corresponding Secretary; Samuel Blake, Assistant Librarian; Nathaniel W. Tileston, Chronologist.

The report of the Curators exhibited a large increase, both of the library and the cabinet, since the last Annual Meeting, and the public thanks of the Society were voted to the several donors named in the Register of Collections. Important suggestions were offered by the Board touching the necessity of immediate provision for the better arrangement and preservation of the rare materials now in possession of the Society, the loss of which would be irreparable. The Treasurer's report was read and accepted; and several minor matters were disposed of, when the Society adjourned.

#### 5.—RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A Special Meeting of this Society was held at its hall, on the evening of the twentieth of February, the President, Judge Greene, occupying the chair.

Professor George W. Greene read a history of the defence of Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, on the Delaware.

The paper forms a chapter in Professor Greene's forthcoming work upon his grandfather,

General Nathaniel Greene. The attention of the learned audience was intensely absorbed to the close, in a narration which was more thrilling than romance, and which was the more interesting to those present since many distinguished Rhode Island men took a prominent part in the engagement, among whom were Colonel Stephen Olney, Major Simeon Thayer, and Surgeon Turner.

On motion of Professor Gammell, the thanks of the Society were voted to Professor Greene, for the very able and instructive paper read before them.

In the impromptu discussion which followed, many interesting incidents were related by Rev. Mr. Stone, and others, respecting Major Thayer and other Rhode Island officers who were present in that engagement.

#### SPECIAL MEETING.

A Special Meeting of this Society was also held on Friday evening, the first of March, 1867, the Hon. Samuel G. Arnold in the chair.

A paper was read by Reuben A. Guild, Esq., Librarian of Brown University, upon the contest between the towns of Warren, East Greenwich, Newport and Providence, for the permanent location of the College, the same being a chapter of his History now passing through the press.

In the year 1764, the Rev. James Manning removed from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to Warren, Rhode Island, and there opened a Latin School as a step preparatory to the beginning of College instruction. The year following, he was chosen President of the College, and in 1769, his first class was graduated. The occasion drew together a large concourse of people from all parts of the Colony, and thus inaugurated the first State holiday of which there is any record. It was then proposed to have the College in Warren, where a building was to be erected for its use. Soon afterwards an effort was made to secure the College in East Greenwich, and subscriptions were obtained for this purpose. Providence now came forward and urged that the College be located there. A special meeting of the Corporation was held in Newport, on the fourteenth of November, 1769, which continued three days. At this meeting the claims of the different towns were presented and urged. It was finally voted to place the College in the county which should raise the most money. Newport, with her superior wealth and population, now seemed most likely to secure the prize, but the skill of the President and the resolute energy of Governor Hopkins and the Brown family prevailed. The final contest was between Newport and Providence, which had long been regarded as rival towns, and the centres of opposing political par-

ties. At a special meeting of the Corporation, held in Warren, on the seventh of February, 1770, it was voted, twenty-one to fourteen, that the College edifice "be built in the town of Providence, and there be continued forever."

In the preparation of this chapter of his History, Mr. Guild, as he states, has freely availed himself of a file of papers presented to the University in the year 1833, by Mr. Moses Brown, the founder of the Friends' Boarding School, in Providence. The following letter, relating to these papers, written by the venerable philanthropist when in his ninety-fifth year, will be interesting to our readers. It is published in *The College History* entire, although the latter part relates more particularly to Roger Williams and the First Baptist Church:

PROVIDENCE, 25th of 5th month, 1833.

ESTEEMED FRIEND, FRANCIS WAYLAND:—

Agreeable to encouragement given thee when at my house, I herewith send thee a file of papers containing copies of originals, which I preserved at the time of their transactions, respecting the removal of the College from Warren, after the Corporation had set the Location of it at liberty from Warren, where it had been concluded to place it, and where the first Commencement was held. I had them copied soon after we conversed about them, when thou seemed, as I thought, to have a choice for them. I wish they were better done, but such as they are, after comparing, I leave them at thy disposal. I presume there are no other writings or copies that contain the same, or so full accounts of the progress, labor, and I may say, anxiety which occurred on the subject at and about that business. When the fixing of the College edifice here was firmly settled, rather than at Warren, Newport, or East Greenwich, which all claimed the preference, our house, then composed of four brothers, viz., Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses Brown, concluded to take charge of building the necessary buildings, purchasing land for the same, etc. At that time, gardens and buildings were to be purchased and removed, besides the site for the College; for we then knew the lot from Main street to the neck road on the east was the original home lot of our ancestor, Chad Brown, of whom we had the tradition that he was the first Baptist Elder in Providence. Doct. Edwards when collecting materials for the history of the Baptists here, and examining all the elderly people he could find here, on which business I accompanied him, was informed that Chad Brown was the first Elder, although Roger Williams being a preacher before he came here, was a preacher and continued it here for some time. Richard Scott says he was with him in the Baptist way three or four months, when Roger left

them, and went in a way of seeking. Roger's testimony respecting Chad Brown, I have under his own hand, in a plea of his before the Court of the four New England Colonies, saying, "Chad Brown, a wise and godly soul, (now with God,) "with myself brought the first twelve and the "after comers to a oneness by arbitration." Chad and his wife were buried in their own lot near the northwest corner of the now town house, and had a large square monument of granite over them, till by the request of the town to widen that street, their bones were taken up and interred in the North Burying Ground, and head and foot stones were erected over them by the town. I saw their remains when taken up. His son John Brown (his eldest) was also a preacher, but not an elder, and was the father of James Brown, long a Baptist elder until his death. Thou may see by all this our family had an interest in promoting the Institution now called Brown University, besides the purchase of the name by my worthy nephew Nicholas; and I hope it may continue useful to posterity and retain the liberal principles of the founders of the State and Institution.

Here I may mention that Chad Brown was one, who, in 1640, as a committee-man of the town, reported a plan for the peace of the then town and the establishment of liberty of conscience, and who, in 1643, was appointed to mediate between the Governor of Massachusetts and the settlers in Warwick. These, however, are matters of history, the first in *Simplicity's Defence*, the other in *Hazard's State Papers*. Possibly thou may not have known he also appears on our town records to have been a surveyor of land in early times.

When I began this letter, I had nothing more in view than a few lines to introduce the copies of the minutes, letters, etc., respecting the removal of the College here, but as I have gone further, I conclude to give thee my own knowledge respecting the changes and alterations in the Baptist church in this town, which was in very early time known by the name of Six Principle Baptist. In proof of this, I have an original letter of Elder Pardon Tillinghast, signed by himself, Gregory Dexter and Aaron Davis, in behalf of the brethren of the church in this town, dated in the 5th month, then July, 1681; and this is confirmed by Elder Tillinghast's deed of the Baptist meeting house and lot to the church. Their views are explained by the passage in Hebrews, 6: 2, "laying on of hands." This was the agreed practice in 1732, at a special meeting of the ministers and elders at Elder Brown's, signed by ten ministers and fourteen other members on this subject.\* Also I have a pamphlet written

\* This letter is published in *Manning and Brown University*, page 154.

by James Manning, to a minister desiring his views on the subject, as appears by comparing the manuscript with other writings of his. I mention these facts, not that I consider them otherwise than historical facts, which in the modern history of the society are contrarily represented to support the present ruling writers. Indeed, the difference is marked between the old church of the Baptists in this town and after Elder Manning, a worthy godly man and an excellent preacher, whom I attended in his last moments, and whom we all loved. In divers respects, however, his practice was different from the church here, and much difficulty was in the meeting upon the subject of singing and the contribution box, these being never before known. To give a vote of the church in favor of the first more particularly, the female members were called upon to vote, though not usual, and my mother and sister attended accordingly. This occasioned a serious division with the old deacons and members. Elder Manning having powerful aid from some of the old members, and being prudent enough to keep himself out of the strife, preserved the affection most generally of the church. At length a separation was concluded on, the meeting house and lot were sold, the money was divided, the meeting house in Johnston on the plain was built, and also the house now called the First Baptist. My brother Joseph was a member of the church, and when he brought his contribution box to my mother's pew, I now remember my reluctant feelings for him, our family and the church never having seen the like in our meeting, though often in the Congregational and other churches. And though much has been said of Roger Williams as being a Baptist, yet in his book of *Hireling Ministry none of Christs*, printed in 1652, on page 8, he says, "Jesus Christ never made bargains with his messengers or pastors;" and on page 14, he says, "Universities as to the ministry of Jesus Christ are none of his institutions; the title scholar appointed to the ministry is a sacrilegious and thievish title, robbing all believers and saints." These views of Roger I believe are little known by Baptists, as the book is out of print.

#### 6.—AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

At a regular meeting of the Society, held on the thirteenth of February, 1867, a large number of members were present, and, also, by invitation, Doctor Herzig, of Switzerland, and Henry B. Dawson, Editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

In the absence of the presiding officers, the chair was occupied by C. E. Habicht, Esq., Swedish Consul-General at New York.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected: Professor Louis Agassiz, of Cambridge, Massachusetts; General John Meredith Read, Jr., of Albany; the Sheikh Yusef el Aseer, Professor in the University of Cairo, Egypt, and James Pedersen, of New York and India, as *Corresponding Members*, and Henry Nicoll, Esq., of New York City, as *Resident Member*.

After the transaction of certain business relative to the revision of the Constitution of the Society, the appointment of Committees for the ensuing year, etc., the members of the Society enjoyed the opportunity of examining an exceedingly interesting collection of Lacustrine Remains recently brought to this country by Dr. Herzig, from the Lake Pfäfers, near Zurich, Switzerland.

The Librarian read a brief, but carefully prepared memoir of a lately deceased member, and former Vice President of the Society, the Rev. Francis Hawks, LL.D., from the pen of Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck.

Professor Rau read an interesting paper on *Indian Pottery*, detailing the results of his personal observations and explorations among the places of manufacture near St. Louis, Missouri.

The meeting then adjourned.

#### 7.—LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Regular Meeting was held on the seventh of March, when Doctor Hayes gave an account of his last Arctic explorations.

A Special Meeting was held on the twenty-first of March, when Professor C. Frederick Hartt, who accompanied Agassiz on his recent expedition, read a paper on Brazil.

The Librarian announced that contributions had been received from the following persons:

Rev. Dr. Farley, Miss Frances M. Caulkins, Charles Deane, John H. Hickcox, D. B. Baylis, Day D. Kellogg, Rev. Dr. Storrs, J. Carson Brevoort, Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Hon. Tunis G. Bergen, A. Cooke Hull, M.D., A. N. Bell, M.D., Cyrus Curtiss, Henry Onderdonk, Jr., Charles H. Hart, David M. Chauncey, Mrs. M. C. Brown, Mrs. John H. Stoddard, Captain James Pedersen, Daniel M. Treadwell, G. H. Van Wageningen, Miss Mary Hicks, Hon. John Greenwood, J. Munsell.

The first volume of the Memoirs of the Society is now ready for distribution. The title of the work is: *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80*, by Jaspas Dankers and Peter Shuyter of Wiewerd in Friesland. Translated from the original manuscript in Dutch for the Society by Henry C. Murphy.

The following members were elected in March : John Morton, Charles Cooper, Robert R. Raymond, Marcus Walker, Sidney V. Lowell, Samuel Sloan, R. S. Stenton, Robert Benson, Jr., John V. Van Doren, Homer B. Hawkins, Warren Murdock, Leroy F. Lewis, A. H. King, George W. Leach, Robert C. Geer, E. D. Gilbert, Edward Filley, George C. Blanke, George Brown, John Barker, M.D., Alexander Agar.

#### 8.—THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The first meeting of the Club of this Society was held at the residence of Hon. Millard Fillmore, on Monday evening, the seventh of January, and was largely attended.

Sherman S. Rogers, Recording Secretary, read the minutes of the last meeting, containing an interesting statement of the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Dorsheimer's paper on the late Albert H. Tracy.

The following report of the committee appointed to prepare a resume of the meetings of last year was then read :

#### RESUME.

The Club meetings of the Buffalo Historical Society were resumed upon the fourth day of December, 1865, at the residence of the President. The course of readings for the winter was opened by the Rev. Dr. Hosmer, with a paper entitled *The History of a New England Town, as Disclosing the Elementary Process out of which True Republics must grow*.

It is hardly necessary to say that this was a valuable paper, and that it was something more than the mere history of a town.

The distinguished writer, whose absence this evening we should sincerely regret, were he not engaged in a more important and larger field of duty, and who carries with him our best wishes for his success and personal welfare, has sketched the history of a very celebrated and ancient town in Massachusetts, and made it the occasion for a philosophic analysis of the elements that constitute a State, illustrating thereby the beginning and the growth of a true Republic.

The second meeting was on the eighteenth of December, at the residence of S. S. Jewett, Esq. The Hon. Lewis F. Allen, at the request of the Club, read a paper having for its subject *The Cholera in Buffalo in 1832*.

The subject of *City Sewerage and Sanitary Science* was discussed by O. G. Steele, Esq., at the residence of Hon. F. Lewis Allen, at Black Rock, on the third of January, 1866. This paper related the writer's successful efforts to initiate in this city that admirable system of sewerage which has been carried to its present extent by

the city authorities. Mr. Steele's paper contained excellent and pertinent observations and suggestions on the general subject of sanitary science.

The Club having been invited by W. C. Young, Esq., to accept his hospitality, were entertained by him, at his residence, with the *Reminiscences of the Erie Canal Survey of 1817, by a Rodman and Chainbearer*. The Committee may be permitted to say that the series of papers and recorded discussions opened by Colonel Young's *Reminiscences* have contributed to the history of the Erie Canal many valuable and interesting facts, which otherwise would have been lost.

Colonel William A. Bird having been invited by the Club to address it upon the *Early Transportation from Albany to Buffalo, and the Incipient Measures Relative to the Erie Canal*, accepted the invitation, and read a paper upon the subject, at the residence of Gibson T. Williams, Esq., on the twenty-ninth of January, 1866. The opening chapter of the early history of the commerce of Niagara River and the Western Lakes would have lacked a chapter of the highest interest and importance, had Colonel Bird declined to give us the advantage of his personal reminiscences, and his recollections of the narratives of its pioneers. In this paper the subject of the early history of the Erie Canal, and the writer's views upon the question of its origin (afterwards so elaborately examined by Mr. Hawley), were stated and explained.

Oliver G. Steele, Esq., having offered his residence for the meeting on the sixth day of February, 1866, a biographical sketch of the late Solomon G. Haven, written by Hon. N. K. Hall, was then read. It will not, we trust, be regarded as out of place, if we mention that James M. Smith, Esq., at the conclusion of this paper, pronounced an eulogy upon Mr. Haven's personal and professional character, which, fortunately, was recorded by the Secretary, and is preserved in the minutes of the meeting.

The Club meeting on the twenty-first of February, 1866, was at the residence of General Howard, when M. S. Hawley, Esq., resumed the discussion on the subject of *The Origin of the Erie Canal*, in a paper displaying elaborate historical research, in which the whole subject was carefully examined. This paper has since been published.

The meeting of the eighth of March, 1866, was held in accordance with an invitation of C. F. S. Thomas, Esq., to accept of his residence for that evening.

The Hon. Lewis F. Allen read a paper which he had prepared from his personal recollection, entitled, *The City of Refuge on Grand Island and the History of the Corner-Stone*.

This paper is an important contribution to our local history, and its value is enhanced by the fact that Mr. Allen has obtained this "stone" of



local celebrity and placed it in the rooms of the Society.

Upon the same evening, William H. Green, Esq., read a *Biographical Sketch of the late Thomas T. Sherwood*, in his lifetime a distinguished member of the bar of this county.

In the department of Biography, the contributions to our papers have been exceedingly valuable, and to show this we need to refer only to the sketch of the late Judge Hoyt, by Hon. John B. Skinner; of Edwin T. Skinner, by Judge Clinton; of the distinguished artist, Wilgus, by Mr. Sellstedt; of George Palmer, by Hon. Geo. R. Babcock; of T. C. Welch and Albert H. Tracy, by Wm. Dorheimer, Esq.; of Henry Daw, by Hon. H. W. Rogers; of Walter Joy, by O. G. Steele, Esq.; of Asa Rice and Joseph Clary, by Hon. Millard Fillmore; of Solomon G. Haven, by Judge Hall; of Mr. Sherwood, by W. H. Green, Esq.; and of Rev. W. S. Brown, by Rev. Dr. Heacock. It is greatly to be desired that these, with other contributions which might be selected, should be preserved in a permanent and accessible form.

Colonel James L. Barton read the paper of the next meeting, at the residence of Colonel Viele, on the twentieth of March, 1866, upon a subject which no other person could render with greater interest or illustrate with more interesting and suggestive facts. Colonel Barton's paper will constitute one of the sources from which the future historians of the city will derive a mass of valuable information, which could alone have been supplied by our venerable fellow-citizen, as the result of personal knowledge and actual observation.

The meetings of the past winter were closed by the reading of papers by Dr. Lothrop upon *Ozone*, and *A Biographical Sketch of the late Rev. William Steele Brown, the First Pastor of the Unitarian Parish in this City*, by the Rev. Dr. Hosmer, at the residence of Hon. John B. Skinner.

The meetings of the last winter, as this report will show, were no less interesting, considered with reference to the papers submitted, than those of former years. The attendance has been large, and the interest well sustained.

At this opening meeting of another year, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the prosperity of the Historical Society, and upon the indications which promise that the Local History of the City and of Western New York will this winter receive further and quite as valuable contributions as those which on this and on former occasions we have had the pleasure of receiving.

Richard Williams, Esq., read the paper of the evening, entitled, *Personal Observations in the Great Basin*. It was a very concise and an extremely well-written paper.

The next meeting will be held on the twenty-first instant, at the residence of O. G. Steele, Esq., on Franklin street. Hon. L. H. Mayor, of Rochester, will read a paper relating to the history of the Senecas.

Respectfully submitted, in compliance with a resolution of the Board of Managers.

January 7, 1867.

[Com. Adv., Jan. 8th.

#### 9.—PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Philadelphia, April 9.*—A Stated Meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was held last evening, in its hall, Athenæum Building, southwest corner of Sixth and Adelphi streets, Colonel J. Ross Snowden, President, in the chair.

Mr. Snowden read a letter from D. Rodney King, Esq., presenting to the Society an old volume containing the proceedings of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia, from June, 1793 to 1794, David Rittenhouse, President; Casper Coates and David Jackson, Vice-Presidents. The names of other prominent citizens are enrolled as Secretaries and Board of Directors. The volume is in a good state of preservation, and is quite an interesting document.

Colonel John S. Warner delivered an address, his subject being the history of the song, "The Star-Spangled Banner," from his own recollection.

He said that just previous to the attack on Baltimore, and the bombardment of Fort McHenry, on the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth of September, by the British army and fleet of fifty sail, Francis Key, Esq., a lawyer and writer of merit, was commissioned by our Government to visit the military powers of the invading fleet, and to negotiate some international-law matters regarding an exchange of prisoners, etc. Mr. Key went down to the fleet under a flag of truce. He was received with courtesy on board of Admiral Cockburn's ship, but it being on the eve of the attack on Baltimore and the Fort, it was deemed expedient to detain Mr. Key as a prisoner till the result of the action was ascertained. Thus Key became a painful witness of the bombardment. We may well imagine the anxious feelings of poor Key during the long shelling through a dark and rainy night, but when the dawn of day broke on the fourteenth, and developed the sight, the starry banner still proudly waving on the fort's flag-staff, we can well imagine Key's joy of heart. It was during this detention and consequent excitement of patriotic feeling, that Mr. Key composed the outlines of the national hymn, "The Star-Spangled Banner." After his liberation, Mr. Key returned to Baltimore, and there perfected this very interesting and deep-hearted national poem. The British having been defeated, at once returned

down the Chesapeake Bay, Mr. Key gave the song to Mr. Benjamin Edes, of Baltimore, who printed and distributed it to the citizens. It was first sung at a small frame house, next to the Holliday-street Theatre, in a place kept by Colonel McConkey—a house where the players and quidnuncs of that day met to do honor and to prepare the daily military drill; for every man was then a soldier. It was in September, 1815, when a lot of young volunteers, defenders of the Monumental City, were thus assembled, when Captain Thomas Warner and Captain Edes called the group to listen to the patriotic song. After the song had been read, it was suggested that Ferdinand Durang should sing it. He mounted an old chair and sang the beautiful hymn, the chorus to each verse being re-echoed by those present with infinite harmony of voices.

#### 10.—WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Madison, January 3, 1867.*—The Annual Meeting of the Society was held to-day, the President, I. A. Lapham, LL.D., in the chair.

An amendment to the constitution, providing for five Honorary Vice-Presidents, not residents of Wisconsin, was adopted.

A committee was appointed to nominate suitable officers to fill the places of those whose terms have expired, the vacancy, and for the Honorary Vice Presidents.

During the absence of the committee, the Treasurer's Report was read, and adopted when audited; and the Report of the Executive Committee was read and adopted.

From this Report we learn that the Society is in a flourishing condition.

The Treasurer's Report exhibits the receipts and disbursements of the year. Including the small balance on hand at the commencement of the year, the receipts have been \$1,044.94, and the disbursements \$928.02—leaving an unexpended balance of \$116.92 in the Treasury. Of this expenditure, \$778.04 has been for books, papers, freight and binding—all relating to the direct increase of the Library, and \$149.98 for postage, printing, repairs, and incidental purposes. In no former year have the expenditures been proportionately so large for the Library proper, and the incidental expenses so small.

During the past year, the Library additions have been 923 volumes, and 2,711 unbound documents and pamphlets, numbering together 3,633. Of the volumes proper, 210 were purchased, including newspaper files, bound by order of the Society, and 713 donated; and, of this number, 50 are quartos, 123 folios, and the rest chiefly of octavo size. The Library now includes 1,124

folios, and 914 quartos. To our newspaper department have been added 160 bound volumes, making the total number in the collection 1,296, of which 138 were published in the last century, and one in the century preceding.

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

	Vols Added.	Doc's & Pamp's.	Both Togethr.	Total in Lib.
1854 Jan. 1.....	55	....	50	50
1855 Jan. 2.....	1000	1000	2000	2050
1856 Jan. 1.....	1065	2000	3065	5115
1857 Jan. 6.....	1005	300	1305	6420
1858 Jan. 1.....	1024	959	1988	8403
1859 Jan. 4.....	1107	500	1607	10010
1860 Jan. 3.....	1800	723	2528	12535
1861 Jan. 2.....	837	1134	1971	14504
1862 Jan. 2.....	610	711	1321	15825
1863 Jan. 2.....	544	2373	2917	18742
1864 Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19346
1865 Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20092
1866 Jan. 2.....	368	806	1174	21266
1867 Jan. 3.....	923	2811	3734	25000
	11101	13899	25000	

The committee on nominations reported a ticket, which was duly elected.

The list of officers, as now filled, stands thus:

*President*—I. A. Lapham, LL.D.

*Vice Presidents*—1. Gen. Wm. R. Smith, Mineral Point; 2. Hon. Henry S. Baird, Green Bay; 3. Hon. Edward Salomon, Milwaukee; 4. Hon. James R. Doolittle, Racine; 5. Hon. Walter D. McIndoe, Wausau; 6. Hon. James T. Lewis, Columbus; 7. Hon. Harlow S. Orton, Menasha; 8. Hon. L. J. Farwell, Westport; 9. Hon. Angus Cameron, La Crosse; 10. Hon. Wm. A. Lawrence, Janesville.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents.*—1. Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Mass.; 2. Hon. Perry H. Smith, Ill.; 3. Hon. Henry S. Randall, N. Y.; 4. Hon. John Catlin, N. J.; 5. Hon. Stephen Taylor, Pa.

*Recording Secretary*—Col. S. V. Shipman.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Lyman C. Draper.

*Treasurer*—Prof. O. M. Conover.

*Librarian*—Daniel S. Durrie.

*Curators—Ex-Officio*—Hon. L. Fairchild, Governor; Hon. Thos. S. Allen, Secretary of State, and Hon. W. E. Smith, State Treasurer.

*For One Year*—Dr. C. B. Chapman, Hon. D. J. Powers, Dr. Jos. Hobbins, Hon. S. Mills, F. G. Tibbits, Dr. A. H. Van Nostrand, Gen. G. P. Delaplaine, S. U. Pinney, Hon. Geo. B. Smith.

*For Two Years*—Hon. E. B. Dean, Hon. L. Fairchild, Prof. E. S. Carr, J. H. Clark, Col. E. A. Calkins, F. H. Firmin, Hon. L. B. Vilas, Gen. D. Atwood, H. Rublee.

*For Three Years*—Hon. James Ross, Prof. J. D. Butler, S. G. Benedict, S. H. Carpenter, E. W. Skinner, Hon. Geo. Hyer, J. D. Gurnee, N. B. Van Slyke, Hon. D. Worthington.

The Annual Meeting then adjourned.

## 11.—MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*St. Paul, January 21, 1867.*—The Society held its Annual Meeting to-day in its Rooms in this city. A large number of members were present.

H. M. Rice, President of the Society, took the chair, and stated that the first business in order was the annual reports of the retiring officers.

Peter Berkey, Esq., Treasurer, presented his annual report, showing a balance of \$31.65 in the Treasury.

Charles E. Mayo, Esq., Secretary, read his annual report enumerating the donations of the past year.

The Society then proceeded to elect officers and members of the Executive Council for the ensuing three years.

Hon. H. M. Rice was re-nominated for President, and C. E. Mayo for Secretary, but each of those gentlemen peremptorily declined a reelection.

The following officers and members of the Council were then elected:

*President*—H. H. Sibley.

*Vice Presidents*—1. D. A. Robertson; 2. W. Ingersoll; 3. R. Blakely.

*Secretary*—J. F. Williams.

*Treasurer*—P. Berkey.

Rev. J. Mattocks, Rev. S. Y. McMasters, Hon. W. R. Marshall, Hon. H. M. Rice, Rev. John Ireland, J. D. Ludden, A. H. Cathcart, G. A. Hamilton, W. H. Kelley, C. E. Mayo, A. J. Hill, Dr. C. DeMontreville, Henry H. Eams, R. O. Sweeney, W. B. Dean, S. B. Woolworth, J. P. Pond, Hon. S. J. R. McMillan, Hon. A. Goodrich.

Col. D. A. Robertson, 1st Vice-President, took the chair.

Some debate ensued as to whether the officers elected were officers of the Society or of the Executive Council. The constitution being blind on that point, Rev. Dr. McMasters gave notice that he should move an amendment at the next annual meeting to remedy the defect.

The Society then adjourned.

—who was one of the Commissioners from Pennsylvania who attended the conference with the Five Nations and the River Indians, and effected a treaty with them, at Albany, in October, 1745—and a sketch of the life and services of Mr. Norris, abridged from a more extended memoir, by Isaac Norris, Esq., of Philadelphia. The conference referred to was a notable one; and we need not enlarge on the value of this tract, as a contribution to the materials for History, since it will be obvious to every reader.

But the volume before us is peculiar for other reasons than the historical value of its contents. It is a fine octavo, printed with old-style type, on large quarto paper, tinted, and of fine quality; and for beauty of workmanship, (although, like all others, not wholly without fault,) it will compare favorably with the "fine books" turned out by our best printers in New York and Cambridge—in some cases which we know of, indeed, the professional printers have not approached it in the perfection of their workmanship—although it is the work of a non-professional amateur, a private gentleman, Mr. J. P. Norris, of Philadelphia, who was his own compositor, proof-reader, and press-man, employing only a small *Ramage* press in working off the sheets.

The title-page is displayed with taste; and yet it more nearly approaches the style which prevailed in the middle of the last century than is usual in the work of modern professional compositors, who are not often acquainted with the peculiarities which mark the typography of a century and a quarter since; and as a specimen of wood-cut printing, the coat of arms at the head of the Dedication puts to the blush the widely-celebrated printer in Vandewater street, New York, whose laurels, well-earned, may be taken from him, before he suspects it, by this or some other amateur in Philadelphia.

We welcome this volume, therefore, because of its intrinsic merits as materials for History, which, sooner or later, may serve some anxious student and relieve him of some portion of his burden; and we welcome it, also, because it indicates a taste existing in at least one parlor in our country, which does not hesitate to prompt its possessor to take off his coat and honor himself by becoming, personally, a producer of two blades of grass where only one existed before. The honest pride with which Mr. Norris asks his correspondents and friends to accept this memorial of his taste and mechanical skill is unknown to those who merely purchase the taste and skill of others to do for them what they could have done for themselves; and, although he is an entire stranger to us, even as a correspondent, we take pleasure in giving to him the honor which is justly his due.

The edition numbered eighty copies.

## XXI.—BOOKS.

## 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*The Journal of Isaac Norris, (afterwards Speaker of the Assembly,) during a trip to Albany in 1745, and an account of a treaty held there in October of that year.* Philadelphia: Printed on the Hawthorne Press. 1867. Six pages unnumbered, iv., 31; octavo.

This is a beautifully-printed volume, embracing a brief preface, the *Journal of Isaac Norris*

2.—*Plain Dealing, or News from New England.* By Thomas Lechford. With an Introduction and Notes by J. Hammond Trumbull. Boston: Wiggins & Lunt, 1867. Small quarto and royal quarto, pp. xl., 211, (less pp. 161 to 200, inclusive, out.)

In June, 1638, a lawyer named Thomas Lechford, a member of Clements Inn, London, came to Boston, and settled there—probably the first of the tribe of legal practitioners in that town.

He was a friend of Prynne, opposed to Episcopacy and the ecclesiastical government of England, and a victim of the Star-Chamber; and he came to Massachusetts Bay, desiring to join the church, to establish himself in business, and to live and die there. He was not of the ultra-Puritanic stock, however, and, therefore, he was regarded "with distrust, almost from the hour of his landing in Boston," as others had been who were not of the Radical school of that day; and the ruling spirits of the period made it very uncomfortable for him, and succeeded, finally, in compelling him to return to that despotic and God-forsaken England, from whose outrages he had sought shelter in Massachusetts, less than four years before.

There was, probably, some reason why Thomas Lechford, who had fled from place to place to escape the persecutions of Laud and his satellites, should prefer to encounter all the risks and hardships which were inevitable in England, rather than enjoy the "freedom," civil and religious, of which Messrs. Pierrepont, Palfrey, and Poole have sung, written, and boasted; and there is no doubt, as he was personally acquainted with both the pains and penalties in Europe, and the "Christian," "republican," "civil and religious freedom" which prevailed at the Bay, that when he preferred Laud to Winthrop, and the Star-Chamber to the General Court, and the loss of his estate and his ears in England to the loss of something more important in Massachusetts, that he knew just what he was doing, and just which would be least burdensome.

Like Anne Hutchinson, he had had a parson for a fellow-passenger; and like that mighty woman, he soon learned that, even in New England, the same spirit which controlled Laud, and transformed an Archbishop into a monster, held its Court, also, in the bosom of every *ruling* Puritan—only those who possessed no authority, and they only while thus without it, being professors of another creed—and converted Governors and Elders and "Christian fathers" into the veriest demons of persecution and intolerance.

Like Anne, he believed, and bore testimony, and gave reasons, and courted inquiry—he even, unlike her, wrote his opinions in books, and left them to be read by Hugh Peters and John Cotton—like her, he soon found out that the *New England* Puritanic creed was "Obedience, in ALL things, to those in authority"; and that he had

better have endured open tyranny in England than Pharisaical "freedom" in America. As Dudley said to Winthrop, "It is easier stoppinge a breach when it begins than afterwards"; and he was seriously "*dealt with* both in conference and in writing." He was also "kept from all place of preferment in the Commonwealth," and his business was interfered with by those in authority, who desired rather to control all parties litigant, by their *ex parte* advice, than to decide between them, impartially, after evidence and arguments had been presented by counsel learned in the law. "The Court was willing to bestow employment upon him, but they said 'to him that *they could not do it for fear of offending the churches.*'" He earned only £47 7s. 3d. during the first two years of his residence, and of this £8 18s. 10d. was not paid—something after the fashion of some Boston men, in our day, with whom we are acquainted.

He was "not of them" in Massachusetts; and, gradually, he became disgusted with the *theory* which he had entertained in England, when he saw the direful abuses which were perpetrated under its protection in America. He returned to the Mother Country, therefore, on the third of August, 1641; wrote the volume before us; "and soon after died."

The *Plain Dealing* was printed, originally, in London, in 1642; and again, under the title of *New England's Advice to Old England*, in 1644. It relates to the Church Government, the public worship, and the Civil Government of the Bay Colony; and contains, also, Lechford's Propositions for recording civil causes, his "Paper of the Church her liberties," another on the Baptism of Indians, a relation of the Ministers and Magistrates and their names, a "State of the Country," and some other papers concerning the early history and condition of the Colony (1638 to 1641). "It is," in the words of its excellent Editor, "a view of New England, more particularly of Massachusetts, taken upon the spot by an intelligent observer, who, though unsympathizing, was not in the main unfriendly; and who, while he certainly did 'naught excuse,' cannot justly be charged with setting 'down aught in malice. His mistakes are comparatively unimportant; and the information he gives of the state of the country, civil and religious, from 1638 to 1641, is valuable enough to render his book nearly indispensable to the study of New England institutions.'"

The particular edition before us is carefully reprinted from the first edition; and it is introduced with an elaborate Biographical and Critical "Introduction," by Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, who, also, has added numerous Notes, illustrative of the text, throughout the entire volume.

Of Mr. Trumbull's peculiar qualifications as the Editor of this particular work it is enough to say that, in addition to his extensive and accurate knowledge of early New England affairs—in which we consider he is without a rival—he has devoted especial attention to Lechford, in connection with a manuscript copy of that gentleman's *Diary* in New England, which he is preparing for the Press; and he seems to have employed, to some extent, the material contained in that *Diary* to clear up difficult passages, and render more distinct what, before, was not easily reconcilable with other known facts.

The typography, by Rand and Avery, is excellent; and we earnestly hope that the enterprising Publishers will receive that liberal encouragement to which their judicious and well-directed efforts so eminently entitle them.

This volume forms No. IV. of the *Library of New England History*; is dedicated to our friend, George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford—than whom no man is better entitled to the compliment—and is published in two sizes, of the smallest of which two hundred and fifty copies were printed, and thirty-five of the largest.

3.—*Ale*: in Prose and Verse, by Barry Gray and John Savage. New York: 1866. Octavo, pp. (title and verse, unnumbered) 97.

Commerce sometimes "goes on a spree," and cuts queer capers; and the business man, not untrrequently, with one eye on his "Profit and Loss" account, seeks an association with Art and Literature. Thus, Warren's Blacking, and Huggins, the New York barber, and Pease's Hoarhound Candy, in their time, were made famous throughout Christendom; and bibliopoles, hungry for rarities in Art and Literature, struggle for the waifs, on those subjects, which have come down to us, and prize them as among the most curious and most valued of their treasures.

We have before us, through the favor of our friend and neighbor, Mr. Savage, the beautiful, unpublished volume referred to at the head of this article—the result of an association of commercial enterprise and filial piety with the pens and pencils of able and willing men. It was evidently printed to perpetuate the honor of the venerable John Taylor, of Albany, whose *Ale* is said to have sparkled, during his lifetime, throughout the length and breadth of the country; while his private worth, as a man and a Christian, endeared him to the Burgheers of Albany, and secured for him both municipal and social honors, and the kind remembrance, after his decease, of those whom he had served; although it is also evident that the business interest of the sons of Mr. Taylor, who are, also, his successors in trade, were not lost sight of while it was passing through the Press.

The volume opens with a Prefatory Letter, by the authors, to Joseph B. and William H. Taylor, the sons of John Taylor, relating the circumstances which led to the preparation and issue of the volume: and this is followed with "A Runlet of Ale," in verse, by Barry Gray, in which "Taylor's Ale," of every brand, is duly honored; by "Ale: Antiquarian Historical, and "Literary," by John Savage, in which the history of the beverage is laboriously dissected and exhibited; and by elaborate descriptions of the widely-known Brewery of John Taylor's Sons, at Albany, and their warehouses in Boston and New York. A brief memoir of the founder of the establishment closes the volume.

The entire work is very elaborately illustrated, both with wood-cuts and lithographs, the latter by McNevin, and it is very neatly printed, with rubricated borders to each page, by Russell of New York.

It is proper, in this connection, to note an error, on page 92, in which it is said the New York warehouse of the firm "occupies the site" of the once palatial residence of the late Philip "R. Paulding, formerly Mayor of the city." Had the writer passed that house as often as we have he would hardly have used such an extravagant word as "palatial" in connection with that very plain, substantial, brick house; and, although Philip R. Paulding may have lived in the house, he was never Mayor of New York. The house referred to was the family residence of William Paulding, who was for some years Mayor of the City of New York; and the Messrs. Taylor will undoubtedly be glad to make the correction in their next edition.

Whether considered as a memorial of the founder of the house, or as a literary and artistic curiosity, or as a business card, the volume is worthy of a place among the books of the day.

4.—*Proceedings commemorative of the settlement of Newark, New Jersey, on its two-hundredth anniversary, May 17th, 1866.* Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1866. Octavo, pp. 182.

This tract forms a supplement to Volume VI. of the *Proceedings of The New Jersey Historical Society*, and perpetuates one of the public demonstrations of that distinguished body.

The collection opens with a "Historical Memoir" by W. A. Whitehead, whose peculiar abilities in that line are widely known. He treated his audience with a survey of the country, as it was "two hundred years ago," and of the successive steps which led to its settlement. He told, with becoming gravity, of "the civil and "religious privileges cherished" at New Haven, at that period; of the aversion to the Restoration which marked its inhabitants; and of their opposition to the Union with Connecticut. He

described the compact of the first settlers at Newark; and he diligently set forth, in detail, the purity of their devotion to God—in order, we suppose, that his hearers, their successors, might see how far they had fallen from the original Jersey standard.

Doctor Thomas Ward followed with a "Lyric Poem"—whatever that may be—in which the brag of Massachusetts concerning the Fathers was mixed, in copious doses, with the expectations from "our boundless future," which is the besetting sin of New Jersey.

Mr. Kinney followed the Doctor, in an "Oration," in which the New England fathers were most foully misrepresented as "deeply imbued with the love of liberty, having the courage to denounce the civil and religious despotisms of their times, and tearing themselves away from all the endearments of old homes, in a country full of social refinements, to seek a place in these then savage wilds, where they might establish freedom of thought and enjoy the blessings of a free Church in a free State." "A strict democracy," he said, "existed from the beginning. They appointed their own rulers." "Unconsciousness of self, singleness of purpose, heroic self-reliance, the sense of God and humanity are ever manifest to our consciousness," he thinks, "as we listen to their story; and the test of our own progress will be the appreciation of these virtues."

As an "Oration," by the chosen mouth-piece of a "Historical Society," before the assembled wisdom of a dozen other "Historical Societies," such trash as this could not have tended very much to elevate the New Jersey Historical Society in the estimation of its many visitors; and we fancy we can see, in our mind's eye, his smile when the fearless and untiring historian of New York heard Mr. Kinney tell of the "strict democracy" of primitive New England; and the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Society, a grandson of the stern old Baptist Chaplain of Anthony Wayne, must have listened sceptically, as he heard of the "denunciations of the civil and religious despotism of their times," by the relentless persecutors of Anne Hutchinson, and Roger Williams, and Mary Dyer.

Doctor Samuel H. Congar, at the expense of great labor, has added a series of "Genealogical Notices of the first settlers of Newark," for which every student should be doubly grateful; and a variety of "Notes" and an "Appendix," complete the work.

It is well that such affairs as this are permitted to see the light, occasionally, in order that those who follow us may more correctly note the progress of Historical truths and the resistance which they encounter among those who assume to be the best informed. It is well,

also, because it enables the world to judge of the grade of intelligence to which New Jersey laid claim in 1866; and the exact character, as lovers of the Truth, which belonged to an association, some of whose officers, unrebuked, have been permitted to do, over its own imprint and in its name, what would have wholly discredited any other association, on any other subject, in any part of the world, except New Jersey.

5.—*The Market Assistant*, containing a brief description of every article of human food sold in the public markets of the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn; including the various Domestic and Wild Animals, Poultry, Game, Fish, Vegetables, Fruits, &c., &c., with many curious incidents and anecdotes. By Thomas F. De Voe. Printed at the Riverside Press for the Author, 1867. Octavo, pp. 455.

The title will convey to the reader, as thoroughly as we can, the exact character of the contents of this useful work. Meats of domestic animals—beef, veal, mutton, etc.—and the different parts of each animal which are used; meats of wild animals—buffalo, venison, elk, moose, hares, etc.; poultry—capons, chickens, turkeys, etc.; wild fowl—swan, wild goose, canvas-back duck, etc.; fish; shell-fish; vegetables—plants, pot-herbs, medicinal, etc.; fruits; dairy and household products; a chapter on cooks and cookery; another on "Economy in the use of meats and hung meats"; a third on "Bleeding animals," and ten elaborate Indices—yes, TEN of them—are the subjects of which it is composed; and anecdotes and incidents, directions for cooking and for preparing raw articles for use, are scattered throughout its pages.

Our readers need not be told that the untiring author of *The Market Book*—"the historical butcher" of Jefferson Market, New York—has done well in this, his own professional department, since he was so entirely successful in the other, in which he was only an amateur. He has apparently left nothing undone which he should have done, even to the extent of illustrating, with his own hand, the "Cuts" of meat which he offers, daily, for sale on his stall; and he will be thanked by thousands, we hope, for the service which he has undoubtedly rendered to them.

The copy before us is one of an edition of a hundred copies which the author had printed for private circulation; but it has since been published and is sold by Hurd & Houghton, New York.

6.—*President Reed of Pennsylvania*. A reply to Mr. George Bancroft and others. February, A.D. 1867. Philadelphia: Howard Challer. Octavo, pp. 134.

We have received from the author, Hon. William B. Reed, a copy of this work, which he has prepared for the vindication of the character of

his grandfather, from the assaults of the greater number of those who have written concerning him, and from the bad opinion of many more who never wielded an Historian's or an Editor's pen.

Colonel Joseph Reed, subsequently President Reed of Pennsylvania, was during his short life an active politician; and, like most others of that class, he was well hated by those active partisans who were opposed to him, and often talked about—although not always truly—as is also generally the case when a falsehood will better serve the opposite party.

He was engaged, during his life, in a public controversy with General John Cadwalader, which originated in a series of queries, published in *The Independent Gazetteer*, the organ of the anti-constitutional party of Pennsylvania, in September, 1782, and served to convey the idea that Adjutant-general Reed, in December, 1776, had considered that "our affairs looked very 'desperate'; that 'he ought to take care' of his family; that he had advised his brother to accept the 'protection' of the enemy; and that, in other ways, he had showed evidence of disaffection to the American cause.

This article, probably written by Dr. Rush, quickly involved Colonel Reed in a quarrel with General Cadwalader, who was then supposed to have been its author; and that quarrel produced, FIRST, a pamphlet from Colonel Reed, and, SECOND, a reply, also in pamphlet form, by General Cadwalader—the well-known "Reed and Cadwalader" tracts which are known to every student of the history of that period.

Mr. Reed, in the volume before us, commences his work of vindication at this place, by introducing several letters from General Greene respecting this pamphlet war, showing that that great and good man, with whom President Reed was on the most intimate terms, fully and openly adhered to the latter and defended him against his partisan accusers. He also, very properly, alludes to the personal confidence which President Reed retained, unimpaired, until his death, of John Adams, John Jay, Henry Laurens, Vice-President Bryan, Jonathan D. Sargent, Jared Ingersoll, William Bradford, etc., and to the action of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1784, when he was placed at the head of the Pennsylvania commission to conduct "the 'Wyoming controversy' against the land-hawks of New England.

Having thus described the standing of President Reed among his contemporaries, and inferentially, at least, discredited the testimony of his adversaries by the counter-testimony of their neighbors and friends—for no one will credit the idea that General Greene, President Dickinson, William Bradford, Vice-President

Bryan, or Jared Ingersoll would respect while living, or honor when dead, any one who was a traitor or even an ordinary scoundrel—Mr. Reed proceeds to analyse the Cadwalader pamphlet of 1783, and to ascertain how much or how little reliance can be placed on the testimony adduced by its author to support the two charges which he made therein against President Reed—FIRST: That, in December, 1776, in extreme despondency, he had thought of making his peace with the enemy; and, SECOND: That, with that view, he had opened a correspondence with Count Donop, at that time the Hessian Commander of the enemy's outposts in New Jersey.

Concerning the first of these accusations, Mr. Reed produces a counter certificate of Colonel John Bayard, Chairman of the Committee of Inspection in Philadelphia, flatly contradicting the testimony against President Reed which had been attributed to him by General Cadwalader; and he next boldly meets the main issue, by admitting that his grandfather may have been despondent as to the prospect of the Americans, between the fall of Fort Washington and the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, just as Washington "desponded" on the eighteenth of December, and just as Greene also "desponded," about the same time; and he as boldly maintains that, if he did so, it was done with no more desire or intention on his part, than it was done on theirs, either to desert to the enemy or to abandon the cause. He next dissects the testimony of both General Cadwalader and Doctor Rush; and he produces a letter of the former, dated the twenty-seventh of December, 1776, which proves exactly the opposite of his averments made in his pamphlet, printed about seven years after; and, immediately after, he produces another letter of Cadwalader's to General Washington, dated the twenty-fifth of December, 1776, which positively confirms President Reed's averment on another point and as flatly contradicts the writer's own positive denial of Reed's correctness therein. The celebrated letter of the twenty-second of December, 1776, from Reed to Washington, is also reproduced effectively, in this connection; and two letters from Cadwalader to Reed, in November and December, 1777, introduced by Mr. Reed, proves that Cadwalader was insensible of any criminal conduct on the part of Reed, prior to that period—a year after his alleged disaffection in the Jerseys—and that the whole charge was an after thought, called into being by the party strife of the day, in 1782, and was merely "'a good enough Morgan' until after the 'election.'"

Mr. Reed also re-produces the affidavit of Boves Reed, and the certificate of Colonel John Cox, who were said to have been accessories in his grandfather's alleged disaffection; and he

shows from them that Cadwalader's statements, so far as they were concerned or had knowledge, had no foundation in fact. He also dissects the testimony as well as the character, both private and political, of Doctor Rush, much to the Doctor's disadvantage; and we must say that, although the Doctor was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, we have learned from other authorities, independent of those used by Mr. Reed, to consider that he richly deserved more punishment than he has yet received from any one.

The result of this portion of Mr. Reed's vindication is, that although he admits that his grandfather may have "desponded" during the dark days of November and December, 1776, he denies that that "despondency" was either "dangerous" to the country or tended to personal or professional disaffection—as the like "despondency" of Washington, and Greene, and Morris, and thousands of others, freely expressed, was also loyal to the country and wholly consistent with their patriotism and their official fidelity. The possibility of an opposite character is successfully combated; and the circumstantial evidence which was adduced by General Cadwalader to sustain such a theory is shown to have possessed no value; while the evidence in chief, of the General—who was Mr. Reed's principal accuser—is shown to have been worthless by his own letters, written at the period of the alleged disaffection, and by the flat contradictions of those on whom he claimed to have relied, when he made his charges.

Mr. Reed then proceeded to notice the second branch of General Cadwalader's accusation—the alleged correspondence between Adjutant-general Reed and Count Donop, for the purpose of promoting his desertion to the enemy.

It is said that this accusation did not originate with General Cadwalader, in 1783, but in 1780, with Mr. Robert Lenox or his brother, Mr. David Lenox, of Philadelphia; although it is admitted that it was entertained by Count Donop, in 1776, only as a rumor, and was first publicly insinuated by Benedict Arnold, in 1780.

To counteract the effect of Mr. David Lenox's accusations—which were first published in behalf of the political opponents of President Reed, at a period of great excitement—Mr. Reed states that Mr. Robert Lenox "never testified directly" against the President; and he seems to doubt if Mr. Lenox had ever referred at all to the subject, as stated by his brother, David; that, six months after the story was first published in Philadelphia, by Mr. Lenox, the President and Council were vested by the Assembly of the State with almost dictatorial power, and the former was elected, the third time, President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania—a transac-

tion which may well be considered as an approval of President Reed's character and conduct by those among whom he had lived and labored, and unto whom, if he was really as bad as was represented, his badness could not have been wholly unknown or, if known, wholly unpunished—"the body of the people," in his own words, evidently "continued to be his friends" because they believed that he was, as he truly "was, theirs."

Concerning the charge itself, Mr. Reed produces the evidence of Judge Daniel Ellis, of the Burlington, N. J., Common Pleas, who carried Adjutant-general Reed's letter to the Hessian Head-quarters, to show what the real character of that Correspondence was. It is dated "the twenty-third day of October, 1783," and is very clear. He also produces the *Diary of Margaret Morris*—one of the authorities relied on by the other side—to indicate what was thought of this Correspondence, at the time it occurred, by the inhabitants of Burlington, for whose benefit and protection it was carried on. He alludes, also, to the reply of Count Donop, which was received and answered by his principal accuser, Colonel Cadwalader; and he copies that answer, from an original by Colonel Cadwalader, in order to show just what was *personally known, at the time*, concerning this correspondence, to that accuser. He appeals, also, to the pages of History, both European and American, and notes the entire silence concerning the subject, of Gordon and Stedman, Graydon and Ramsay, Marshall and Adams, Sparks and Irving, Lord Mahon and Joseph Galloway, the Loyalists of 1779 and the American Minister to London, in 1848; and he claims, for that reason, that the charge is, at best, of doubtful character. He refers to, and quotes from, a most emphatic note on the subject, written in 1864, by that intelligent and well-known historian, Doctor Jared Sparks, which we shall refer to hereafter.

He then examines, in detail, the evidence on this subject of Mr. Bancroft; and whatever may have been that gentleman's standing before for accuracy of statement and fidelity in the use of his material, it is not now, in this instance at least, such as should gratify his friends. We need not refer to our own knowledge of Mr. Bancroft's improper liberties with his authorities, either to promote his partisan purposes or to round his sentences, nor to that of Messrs. Greene and Amory, whose observations are before the world; but such as we are, poor and comparatively unknown to the great body of readers throughout the world, we would not exchange positions with him, to-day, preferring rather to enjoy, as we do enjoy, the consciousness that when our labors shall have ended, we shall be carried to Sleepy Hollow by those who



will have known us best, leaving behind us no such dirty record as this, to bear testimony against us, and no such shame as his, to be recorded or talked of by those who shall come after us.

Mr. Reed thus disposes of Mr. Bancroft; and our readers will be enabled from this extract to judge at once of the character of this work and of that of the historian whom it portrays:

"There are no 'Historic Doubts' about Mr. Reed's worst apparent enemy, Benedict Arnold.

"I am wrong in speaking of Arnold, as Mr. Reed's last accuser, for, on this point, Mr. George Bancroft, at the end of more than half a century, has taken up the thread of calumny—He finds it in the dark archives of Hesse Cassel.

"Mr. Bancroft ostentatiously adduces, as proof of Mr. Reed's infidelity, a mutilated extract from what, he describes, as a 'Diary' of Count Donop, the Hessian commander of the advanced posts in New Jersey in December, 1776. He prints it, in the original, in a note to page 229 of his Ninth Volume. He gives no translation (as I shall) possibly because he was conscious that, in plain English, it amounted to nothing at all. There is always an ominous mystery in a foreign language which Mr. Bancroft does not hesitate to avail himself of.

"Before I notice this subject in detail, let me allude to the view taken of such 'historical' evidence, by one Mr. Bancroft will hardly venture to discredit, and whom, rather ostentatiously, in his Preface, he describes as his 'friend' the late Jared Sparks. I have some doubts as to the extent of this friendship, but let that pass.

"In 1864, Mr. Sparks, always alive to such matters, wrote to me:

"I am told that Mr. Bancroft has procured a copy of Donop's Journal. I should put no confidence in Donop's impressions or inferences unless sustained by the positive testimony of some written communication from General Reed. This is not likely to be produced. Donop might imagine motives which had no foundation in reality."

"I will now show that even Donop did not imagine anything of the kind.

"Mr. Bancroft thus introduces the Diary, which is to prove so much: 'Diary kept in Donop's command, written by himself or one of his aids. The narration is very minute and exact,' (page 217.) Again he says, (page 229), 'The Donop Diary, which is remarkably precise, full and accurate, alludes to Colonel Reed as having actually obtained a protection. This statement though made incidentally is positive and unqualified.' Then follows the 'Hessian extract.

"The reader will be surprised to learn, and to see, for I shall quote the very words in English, and Mr. Bancroft will not impugn the accuracy of the translation, that Count Donop, admitting the Diary to be his, made no such statement; but in fact alludes to the story as gossip at his Head-Quarters which he did not 'listen to,' and records it in connection with other matters, which we know, are utterly without foundation in truth.

"I cite every word in the Donop Diary relating, directly or indirectly, to Mr. Reed. There are four entries of the kind.

"On the 20th December, the Diary says:

"December 20th.—Colonel Von Donop to-day received by a flag of truce from the Rebel Colonel Reed, Adjutant General of Washington, a letter in which he, by authority of General Washington, proposed to have on the following day an interview with Colonel Donop on account of Burlington, as this place in the present situation was much exposed to both sides. It was left to Colonel Donop to determine time and place for such an interview. He answered immediately that his present situation did not permit him to leave his post. At the same time the letter of Colonel Reed was communicated, in which he proposed an interview about Burlington, and the answer given thereto; it was not to be presumed that the rebels would try to hold Mount Holly and declare Burlington a neutral place, because from the small island near Bristol they could bombard Burlington with six pounders, while Mount Holly could be taken any time, if it was our pleasure to do so."

"December 25th.—To day a flag of truce was sent by Colonel Donop to Burlington offering to Colonel Reed the interview asked for as to that town, but an answer from Colonel Cadwalader that Reed was not there and was not expected to return before the next morning, he therefore would ask him to appoint another time and place for the interview."

"All this is the record of what actually did take place, with the addition that it was done 'by the authority of General Washington.' I now come to the intermediate entry which I give, *verbatim*, and in English, and which Mr. Bancroft has the assurance to say is 'precise,' 'full,' 'accurate,' 'positive' and 'unqualified.'"

"December 21st.—Colonel Donop reported to General Grant that, notwithstanding it had been his intention to attack ("pay a visit to" General Putnam, he had desisted from such an enterprise after meeting Colonel Blork and Lieutenant Colonel Sterling at Mount Holly and had received trustworthy information that the enemy had no more magazines this side the Delaware. It would not therefore be

"worth while to fatigue the troops who were  
 "already worn out and ragged. Moreover, it  
 "would be impossible for the troops to reach  
 "Cooper's Creek otherwise than by a circuitous  
 "route and muddy roads, for the bridges had  
 "all been destroyed. As his line was already  
 "extended from Bordentown to Black Horse,  
 "fourteen miles, he did not think it advisable  
 "to extend it further, and the less so because Rhall's  
 "Brigade was almost daily alarmed on both  
 "flanks."

"So far what he says is pretty near the truth.  
 "Now for the camp gossip which Donop was un-  
 "willing to listen to, and I beg the reader to ob-  
 "serve that the portion in *italics* which shows  
 "that it was discredited hearsay, is carefully sup-  
 "pressed by Mr. Bancroft!

"The reports about the enemy were so confused  
 "that he would not listen any more to them.  
 "Nevertheless, he would report that it was re-  
 "ported to him that during his stay at Mount  
 "Holly on the 19th inst. 1000 men, via Haddon-  
 "field and 700 via Moorestown, had been march-  
 "ing against Mount Holly for the purpose of at-  
 "tacking the two battalions at the Black Horse,  
 "(that) General Mifflin had advanced with one  
 "corps on the route leading to Moorestown to the  
 "bridge three miles from Mount Holly, but had  
 "done nothing except to destroy the bridge en-  
 "tirely; (that) the Colonel Reed having received  
 "a protection, had come to meet General Mifflin  
 "and had declared that he did not intend any  
 "longer to serve; whereupon Mifflin is said to  
 "have treated him very harshly and even to  
 "have called him a damned rascal."

"It is not surprising that Mr. Bancroft shrank  
 "from putting this trash in English, for it is  
 "very certain, and he knows it well, that it is a  
 "perfect cluster of false reports. On the 19th,  
 "20th and 21st December, no force had advanced  
 "or was advancing via Haddonfield or from any  
 "other direction. Neither Mifflin, nor Putnam,  
 "nor any one had crossed the river, nor ever did  
 "cross the river till this chapter of adventure  
 "was closed. Count Donop treated these stories  
 "as idle tales which, while he or his aid noted,  
 "he did not listen to or believe. And yet, the  
 "American 'Historian of the Revolution,' picks  
 "out the one vague slander on his own country-  
 "man, and prints it as truth, suppressing the con-  
 "text which describes it as mere rumor, and  
 "a discredited rumor too! It would be a de-  
 "parture from the tone which should character-  
 "ize historical discussion were I to describe in fit-  
 "ting terms my sense of this literary enormity."

The author then turns to the record of his  
 grandfather's life; and he gives a carefully pre-  
 pared narrative of the transactions in which Col-  
 onel Reed participated in December, 1776; and  
 the Vindication closes with an examination of

the two charges that Colonel Reed stimulated  
 local prejudices among the troops, and that his  
 friendly relations with the Commander-in-Chief  
 were interrupted in consequence of the now cele-  
 brated "Lee letter."

We have not room to copy this portion of the  
 work, nor is it necessary, since the most promi-  
 nent among those whom the author censures is  
 John C. Hamilton, for whom no one, now-a-days,  
 entertains the least respect, either as an author  
 or a man.

A short series of letters, commendatory of the  
 author's *Life of Joseph Reed*, closes the volume;  
 and the author leaves, once more, the reputation  
 of his grandfather to the judgment of the world.

We have read this effort of Mr. Reed, whose  
 personal friendship we have enjoyed for several  
 years, with entire satisfaction. It is thorough,  
 earnest, and merciless—as it should be—yet its  
 author has nowhere lost his temper or forgotten  
 his first duty, as a Historian. There seems to  
 have been no desire to conceal anything; and,  
 unlike his former practice, he has not shrunk  
 from the truth because of the hazard of hurting  
 some one's feelings by telling it—we only re-  
 gret that a similar fearlessness did not previ-  
 ously control his pen, which would have proba-  
 bly rendered unnecessary this latter-day labor.

7.—*Statistics of Population of the City and County of New York as shown by the State Census of 1865*, with the comparative results of this and previous enumerations and other statistics, given by the State and Federal Census, from the earliest period. Prepared at the request of the Committee on Annual Taxes of the Board of Supervisors, by Franklin B. Hough. New York: 1866. Octavo, pp. 316.

The ample title-page describes the contents of  
 this volume—how truly those contents tell the  
 stories attributed to them is another question.

We have, in brief, the different Census returns  
 from that of 1698, when the Colony contained  
 only 13,067 and the city 4,937 souls, through  
 those of 1703, 1712, 1723, 1731, 1737, 1746, 1749,  
 1756, 1771, 1786, the Electoral Censuses of 1790,  
 1795, 1801, 1807, 1814, and 1821, the Federal  
 Censuses of 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840,  
 1850, and 1860, the City Censuses of 1805 and  
 1816, and the State Censuses of 1825, 1835, 1845  
 and 1855, to that of 1865, when the State is said  
 by Doctor Hough to have contained 3,827,818  
 and the city 726,386 souls, of whom 2,598,981 in  
 the State and 364,667 in the City were native New  
 Yorkers, 166,038 in the State and 17,856 in the city  
 were native New Englanders,—the latter mixed  
 up, in the city, with 2,643 Canadians, 19,699 Eng-  
 lishmen, 107,269 Germans, 161,334 Irish, 6,617  
 Scotch, 1,735 Prussians, 1,285 Poles, 5,805 French,  
 and 9,943 negroes.

There were also, in the city, if the Doctor can  
 be believed, only 1,089 Bar-tenders, 1,018 Board-  
 ing-houses, including Brothels, 429 Clergymen,  
 without a single Politician, or Prostitute, or Gen-

tleman, or Missionary, or Professional Gambler, or unprofessional Loafer. Who shall say, in view of these figures, that New York is very wicked, since there were also 1,546 Policemen to keep order in that universally employed and remarkably virtuous community.

The Doctor tells us, also, that there were only 733 rum-shops—"Wine and liquor dealers" are his words—in this State, outside of the city of New York; that there were, in 1865, only *seven* Bookbinders, in New York city, with an aggregate capital of \$66,900, and producing a manufactured total of \$210,000; only *eleven* Printing offices of *all kinds*, with an aggregate capital of \$799,200 and producing \$113,500 of manufactured goods—a profitable investment truly—while of Newspaper offices there are none noted and of Photographers only *six*!!! Only *one* man, in the city of New York, *the Doctor says*, got as low wages as twelve dollars per month; only seven hundred and four received a hundred per month—not one enjoyed a higher rate of wages!!! Who'd believe it, if the Doctor had not told it?

Truly, Doctor Hough is a wonderful man. He has tumbled over a dozen printing offices and knows where are a dozen more, yet he writes down *eleven* as the total. What a pity it is that he did not employ the same acuteness in making discoveries, while compiling this volume, which he employed while "cooking" his last dish for the Bradford Club, referred to in our last number. We certainly should have heard, in that case, of more printing offices and binderies in New York than he has now reported; possibly he might have heard, also, of a few Ale-houses and an occasional Enumerator.

8.—*An Address delivered before the New England Historic-Geological Society, January 2, 1867.* By John A. Andrews, LL.D., President of the Society. Boston, 1867. Octavo, pp. 12.

In this brief Address, Governor Andrews discussed, with great ability, the importance and attractions of History and its effects on both the Present and the Future; and we are the more gratified with it because he has placed himself on the record as a friend of Truth, a Dissenter from the theories of *The Evening Transcript* and the practises of Messrs. Felt and Palfrey, Gray and Sumner, John C. Hamilton and their kind.

"For the sake of History itself," are the golden words which he employs, "let us deal *honestly* and *fearlessly* with the record our *predecessors* have left behind them. For the sake of "every science needful for the development of "human society or emancipation from avoidable "error and pain; and for their own sakes too—"who, now removed from the distractions of this "world's allurements, must desire, more than all "things, the universality of Justice and Truth—"let us explore the lives and actions of men, and

"their generations, with pious carefulness, but "with impartial fidelity and independence."

Coming from Boston, from the lips of one of whom even *The Transcript* dare not whisper a syllable except of praise, we had reason to rejoice when we read these words—we would that they could be printed in letters of gold and placed over every mantelpiece in New England, then would we hear no more of such clap-trap as that employed by the Press of Boston, concerning the "denationalizing tendencies" of stripping the borrowed finery from the jack-daws of bygone days.

We congratulate the speaker and bid him God speed in his glorious work of rescuing the Truth of History from the grasp of those who would strangle it—a duty which is as far above any other which he has ever undertaken as his integrity appears to be above that of "the Brahmins" by whom he is too closely surrounded.

9.—*A Memorial of the Rev. Thomas Mather Smith, D.D., late Milnor Professor of Systematic Divinity in the Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Ohio, and sometime President of Kenyon College.* By W. S. P. Privately printed, 1866. Octavo, pp. (2) 68.

Doctor Smith was born at Stamford, Connecticut, on the seventh of March, 1796. He was the son of the Rev. Daniel Smith; the nephew of Governor John Cotton Smith; son-in-law of Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., of Andover; father-in-law of Rev. William Perry Stevens, of Litchfield, Conn.; and father of the learned Rector of the Church of the Ascension, in New York. He graduated at Yale, in 1816, and at Andover, in 1820; was Dr. Wisner's assistant, in "the "Old South," in Boston; and in 1822, became Pastor of the church at Portland, Maine. A few years after he was called to the pastorate of the church at Fall River, Mass.; in 1831, to that at Catskill, N. Y.; and in 1839, to that at New Bedford, Mass. In 1842, he became a convert to the Episcopalian faith, and, very soon after, he was called to the Chair of Divinity, at Gambier, Ohio, where he remained until 1863. He died on the sixth of September, 1864, at Portland, Maine.

He appears to have possessed, to an unusual extent, the respect of his contemporaries of all denominations, and to have been, what was said of him by his brother-in-law, President Woods, of Bowdoin College, "a faithful minister, an up-right and blameless Christian gentleman, and "an accomplished Christian scholar."

This handsome memorial volume was printed at the Riverside Press, for private distribution; the edition numbering two hundred and fifty copies.

10.—*A Sermon preached in St. Michael's Church, Litchfield, Conn., on the day of National Thanksgiving, Thursday, November 28, 1866.* By Rev. William Stevens Perry, A.M. Philadelphia: 1866. Small quarto pp. 9.

This little tract, of which an edition of fifty copies only was printed, for private distribution,

as the work of one of the most zealous historical students of the day—the learned Clerk of the House of Lay Delegates of the General Convention of the United States—and it indicates some of the grounds for thankfulness, in the past of our country, as well as in the prospect of its future.

Especially thankful should churchmen be, if Mr. Perry is correct, since the great leading minds of the country, in the era of the Revolution, were Episcopalians; and Washington and Henry, Franklin and Laurens, Marshall and the Pinckneys, Jay and Hamilton, Rutledge and Morris, Lee and Stirling, are named as members of that denomination, in support of that very unpopular opinion.

There is room for doubt, we think, that all that has been claimed for it belongs to that denomination; yet it is a matter of very little importance, since the work was done by somebody—it is vastly more important that the work then finished has withstood the storm so poorly, since its completion. Poor human nature is the same, however, whether Episcopalian or Congregationalist; and its works are alike perishable.

11.—*A Quarter-century Review*: being the twenty-fifth annual report of the Ministry at Large, in the City of Providence, presented and read at a public meeting held in the First Congregational Church, Sunday evening, January 20, 1867, by Edwin M. Stone. Providence: 1867. Octavo, pp. 51.

Whatever interests Providence interests us; and, although we have never spent thirty minutes within its boundaries, and have no connections living there, the place where "Soul freedom" was first recognized by "the major will" of a Commonwealth, will continue to be "sacred soil," in our eyes, no matter who now walks on it.

It seems that, in 1841, a religious enterprise was set on foot there, the object of which was entirely local. It provided for a Home Missionary, whose duty it should be to seek and, as far as man could do so, to save that which was lost in the streets and by-ways, and obscure corners, of Providence; although the members of only one denomination, if we understand it aright, united in its support.

This is evidently intended as a record of that Mission, that "Ministry at Large," that Pastor with a city for his parish, during the past twenty-five years; yet, although we have found very much in it to interest, as well as to instruct us, we have gone over it carefully without finding the smallest summary of the receipts and disbursements, and of the grand results of the enterprise, during the period of its operations.

There is one subject, however, which we do find there; and that is the careful contrast of the Providence of 1867 with that of 1842; and the collectors of local histories will do well to secure copies of it. We condense the surveys thus:

In 1842, the population was not far from 24,-

000, nearly equally divided between the two banks of the river. In 1867, it is about 56,000, of whom 18,430 are Irish, 5,463 other foreigners, and about 32,000 Americans—the influx of the foreign-born having ceased ten years ago.

In 1842, there were 3,000 dwellings; now there are 6,800. The assessed value of property has advanced from \$18,918,919, in 1842, to \$83,448,800, in 1867; the rate of taxation from 37-100ths of one per cent, in the former year, to 94-100ths, in the latter; and the productive industry from \$3,280,247, in 1842, to \$30,628,177—the latter the fruits of labor of divers engines and machines, and 12,272 individuals, employed in three hundred and ninety-seven kinds of business.

In 1842, there were twenty Banks in Providence—one for every twelve hundred souls, big and little; now there are thirty-six—one for every fifteen hundred and fifty. In 1842, there was one Savings Bank, now there are seven, with deposits amounting to \$11,009,623.86, belonging to 31,220 persons—more than one half the population, old and young, foreign and native. In 1842, there were four Insurance Companies; in 1867, twenty, covering risks amounting to \$127,966,960.96.

In 1842, there were thirty-nine places for public worship, in Providence; now there are fifty-seven—one for every thousand of its population. In 1842, there was no railroad running into the city; now there are six, freighting, last year, 1,002,791 tons of merchandise and 4,554,434 passengers; while one of its local railways conveyed, in 1866, 829,476 passengers, and another, 3,249,703.

There is not one Pastor now in the city who was a pastor there in 1842; lawyers have been almost as closely extinguished; of the physicians practising in 1842, forty-eight in number, only thirteen remain, although there are now a hundred and seventeen in the city, including five females. In 1842, there were 3,498 pupils in the Public schools, costing \$16,649; in 1866, there were 7,352, exclusive of nine hundred in the Roman Catholic schools, costing nearly a hundred thousand dollars.

## 2.—BOOKS RECEIVED.

We have received the following and shall notice them hereafter:

1.—From JOEL MUNSELL, Albany. *The Siege of Savannah*, 1779. Edited by Doctor F. B. Hough.  
—*The Siege of Charleston*, 1780. Edited by Doctor F. B. Hough.

—*The Byrd Manuscripts*, Westover, Va., 1728. Edited by Doctor T. H. Wynne, of Richmond.

2.—From Doctor D. WILLIAMS PATTERSON, Newark Valley, N. Y. *The Memorables of the Montgomeries*. Privately printed.

3.—From the LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Brooklyn, N. Y. *Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80.* Edited by Hon. H. C. Murphy.

4.—From LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston. *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, Vol. XI.

5.—From CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., New York City. *Studies in English.* By M. Schell de Vere, LL.D.

—*History of England.* By James Anthony Froude, Vols. IX. and X.

—*The Literary Life of James K. Paulding.* Compiled by his son, Wm. J. Paulding.

6.—From LEE & SHEPARD, Boston. *The Soldier's Story of his Captivity at Andersonville, Belle Isle, and other Rebel Prisons.* By Warren Lee Goss.

7.—From the WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Madison. *History of a People as illustrated by their Monuments.* By Hon. Anthony Van Wyck.

8.—From the IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Iowa City. *Annals of Iowa.* January, 1867.

9.—From the AUTHORS. *History of Easthampton.* By Payson W. Lyman, of Amherst, Mass.

—*Sawin: Summary Notes concerning John Sawin, and his posterity.* By Thomas E. Sawin.

—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop.* By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

### 3.—BOOKS IN PREPARATION.

—GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE is engaged in preparing for the Press a new edition of his father's *Memoirs*—the well-known historical work of the hero of Powles Hook.

—LEE & SHEPARD, of Boston, have in Press a history of the Ninth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers. It was written on the field, from official data and personal knowledge, by Captain Macnamaragh; and it has been pronounced by those who have read it in manuscript as a "mirror of the marches, bivouacks, and campaigns" of the Irish Ninth.

—THOMAS W. FIELD, Esq., is busily engaged on his narrative of the military operations on Long Island, in the summer of 1776, which will form the second volume of the *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*.

—THE CATSKILL MOUNTAINS.—Rev. Charles Rockwell, author of *Life at Sea*, &c., who has resided for several years in the region of the Catskills, has been engaged upon a new work, *A Guide Book and History of the Catskill Mountains*. It will contain a variety of sketches, historical and descriptive, of Greene, Ulster and Schoharie counties, and Mr. Rockwell is well fitted for the task. The volume, besides being indispensable to the thousands of visitors to the mountains, will be interesting to all classes of readers.

### 4.—NOTES.

—LEE & SHEPARD, of Boston, issue, weekly, a child's paper entitled *Oliver Optic's Magazine for Our Boys and Girls*, which, we think, is the best of the class for children. There is nothing in it which "our Boys and Girls" cannot fully comprehend, without explanation; the weekly issue keeps a fresh supply continually on hand; and the illustrations are appropriate and well executed. It is a weekly, selling for five cents, or Two Dollars per annum.

—RUMORS among book-fanciers, which we hear in several directions, indicate the publication of what we have had knowledge for some time past, that one of the most widely-known and as widely-honored members of THE BRADFORD CLUB has been "dropped" by his fellow-members.

It is not a matter which particularly interests us; but we feel it to be our duty, as a gatherer of such trifles, to notice it as we pass.

—THE CONGREGATIONALIST.—There is a paper (weekly) bearing this title; the organ, we are told, of Orthodox Congregationalism; and published at Boston, in New England.

We have never seen more than two numbers of this paper, and these had well-filled columns of neatly-printed matter; but the pleasure we should have otherwise taken in the perusal of them was marred by the anti-Christian, if not anti-Orthodox, tone which pervaded them.

The Editor's ignorance of the character of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and of the conduct of its Editor betrays his weakness as well as his indolence; and it is not only in bad taste, but it is something worse, in an Orthodox Congregationalist, to bear false witness against his neighbor, even if that neighbor is not of his way of thinking, nor a resident of Boston. Now that the war is over and falsehood no longer a "necessity," one would suppose that even an Orthodox Christian in Boston might read his Bible and practise its precepts; and it certainly becomes *The Congregationalist*, if it is what it professes to be, either to understand the subjects of which it treats sufficiently to speak truly of them or, else, to remain silent.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is "anti-North" and "anti-Massachusetts" no further than the "North" and "Massachusetts" are antagonistic to the Truth, and common honesty, and genuine Orthodox Congregationalism—the latter of which is pure Republicanism—and its Editor hopes that *The Congregationalist* will teach itself and its neighbors, FIRST, how to KNOW the Truth, and, SECOND, how to TELL it, before it shall again undertake to instruct him what is and what is not "LEGITIMATE historical matter" or what is and what is not HIS duty, as the conductor of a public Press.

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. SECOND SERIES.]

MAY, 1867.

[No. 5.]

## I.—THE FÆDERALIST, NO. LXIII.

THE ORIGINAL DRAFT, BY MR. JAY.

*From the original manuscript, found among "the family papers of Chief-Justice Jay," furnished by his grandson, John Jay, Esq., of the Jay Homestead, to the Editor of The Fæderalist, Edit. Morrisania, 1864; and subsequently presented to the New York Historical Society.*

[This paper will interest our readers, because

FIRST: It will illustrate how little foundation, in fact, there was for General Alexander Hamilton's pretensions, in his own copy of the work and in the Benson Manuscript, that he was the author of this paper.

SECOND: It will serve to illustrate how little reason, in fact, Mr. John C. Hamilton's publisher had, when, in the Prospectus of *The Fæderalist*, "edited by John C. Hamilton," he said, "A preliminary Essay will leave little doubt as to the title of 'Hamilton to the Essays designated by HIMSELF as his own,' by the hand of the Editor of this edition, under the immediate personal direction of his father."—*American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, December 15, 1863.

THIRD: It will serve to illustrate the entire correctness of Henry B. Dawson, the Editor of *The Fæderalist*, when, in his published *Prospectus* for the Morrisania edition of that work, he said, "In the preparation of this edition of *The Fæderalist* 'the subscriber has been favored with copies of the family papers relative thereto of General Hamilton and Chief-Justice Jay,' and the entire incorrectness of Mr. John Jay, of the Jay Homestead, in his published letter to Mr. Henry B. Dawson, dated February 14th, 1864, when he asked, while controverting the above, 'What family papers of Jay or of Hamilton, touching *The Fæderalist*, had you when you wrote the 'Prospectus, or have you now? I GAVE YOU NONE SUCH, FOR THE REASON THAT I HAD NONE TO GIVE.'"

FOURTH: It will serve to illustrate the views of the elder John Jay concerning some features of the Republic and some of the provisions of its Constitution; while it will serve, also, to illustrate how far the present generation have wandered from the paths of the Fathers, and how much confidence can be safely reposed in its teachings.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

It is unhappily the law both with Respect to Measures and to Persons that their opponents seldom confine their Censures to such things only as are worthy of Blame—unless on this Principle it is difficult to account for the Conduct of those who condemn the proposed Constitution in the aggregate, and treat with Severity some of the most unexceptionable articles in it—

The 2 Sec. gives Power to the President "by and with y<sup>e</sup> Advice and consent of the Senate to make Treaties provided two thirds of the Senators present concur—

The power of making Treaties is unquestionable. HIST. MAG., VOL. I. 17

bly a very important one, especially as it relates to War Peace & commerce, and should not be delegated,\* without such precautions [in the mode of constituting them,†] as that the Nation may have the highest Security w<sup>h</sup> the Nature of the Case will admit of, that it will be exercised by men the best qualified for the purpose, and in the Manner most conducive to the public good— The framers of the constitution appear to have been [particularly]‡ attentive to both these Points. They have directed the President to be chosen by select bodies of Electors to be convened for that express purpose, and have referred the appointment of Senators to the State Legislatures.

This mode has, in such Cases, vastly the advantage of Elections by the People in their collective Capacity, where the activity of Party Zeal taking advantage of the Supineness the Ignorance the Hopes and the Fears of the unwary & interested frequently places Men in Office by the Votes of a small Proportion of the Electors, [and Men too with whom the great body of Electors have not always Reason to be satisfied—]||

as the State Electors for President as well as the State Legislatures, will in general be composed of the most enlightened and respectable Citizens, there is [the highest]¶ Reason to presume that their appointments to these [great]\*\* national offices will be [discreet]‡‡ judicious, or in

\* The word "delegated" is interlined over the words, "vested in any man or Body of Men," erased. The importance of this change in Mr. Jay's mind, concerning the status of the proposed "Congress of the United States," and concerning the character of its authority, will not be lost sight of by the careful reader.—ED. HIST. MAG.

† The words in Italics were subsequently erased.—ED. HIST. MAG.

‡ The subsequent erasure of the word "particularly" indicates very clearly the limited respect which Mr. Jay had for "the proposed Constitution;" and it will be yet more apparent when the four preceding words—"appear to have been"—are read in the same connection.—ED. HIST. MAG.

§ This sentence originally read—"in their collective Capacity, where the Supineness of many and the activity of Party Zeal operating on the Ignorance the Hopes and the Fears of "Men."—ED. HIST. MAG.

|| The words in Italics were subsequently erased.—ED. HIST. MAG.

¶ These words were subsequently erased.—ED. HIST. MAG.

\*\* Subsequently erased.—ED. HIST. MAG.

‡‡ Erased.—ED. HIST. MAG.

other Words that the Federal\* President & Senators [so chosen]† will be men who had become eminently distinguished by their Virtue and Talents—nay so exceedingly cautious and attentive were in Convention in providing for this object, that by excluding Men und 35 from the first office, and under 30 from the second, they have confined the Electors to Men of whom the People have had Experience, and with Respect to whom they will be in no Danger of being deceived by those brilliant appearances of Genius and Patriotism which like transient Meteors sometimes mislead as well as dazzle—

From the manner in which they are to be appointed it is reasonable to infer that the power of making Treaties will be exercised by [the most]‡ able and honest Men [to be found in the Country, U. S.]§ for if the observation be just that wise Kings will always be served by able Ministers, it is natural to presume that as an assembly of select Electors possess in a higher Degree than Kings the means of extensive and accurate Information relative to Men [§ their]¶ Characters, so in the same Degree will their appointments be in general more discreet, and judicious.

The Presid\* & Sen\*\*\* so chosen will doubtless be of the number of those in each State who best understand its Interests, whether considered in Relation to the other States or to foreign Nations;†† and we must suppose that the members from each State however well disposed to promote the general good of the whole, will yet be

still more Strongly disposed to promote that of their immediate Constituents—

altho the absolute Necessity of System in the conduct of any Business is universally known & acknowledged, yet the high Importance of it in national affairs has not yet become sufficiently impressed on the public mind. They who wish to commit the power under Consideration to a popular assembly composed of Members constantly coming and going in quick Succession, seem not to recollect\* that such a Body must necessarily be inadequate to the Attainm\* of those great objects which require to be steadily contemplated in their various Relations and Circumstances, and which can only be approached and atchieved by Measures which not only Talents but accurate Information & often much Time are necessary to concert and to execute

It was wise therefore in the Convention to provide not only that this power sh<sup>d</sup> be exercised by the ablest men, but also that they should continue in Place a sufficient Time to become well acquainted with our national Concerns, and to form and introduce a System for the Management of them— by this Provision they will be in Capacity to make daily additions to their Stock of political Information and be enabled by experience to render it more & more beneficial to the Country—nor did the Convention manifest less prudence in so prescribing for the frequent Election of Senators‡ in such a way as to obviate the Inconvenience of periodically committing those great affairs to new Men unacquainted with their exact Situation & circumstances, for‡ by leaving a considerable Residue of the old ones in place uniformity and order as well a constant Succession of Information from the first to the latter Members, will be preserved—

It will not be denied that the affairs of Trade and Navigation should be regulated by a System wisely formed and steadily pursued— It is also

\* The word "Federal" interlined—the importance of which, as an after-thought of the writer, will not be lost sight of by the careful students of his character and opinions.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† Subsequently erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ The words in Italics were subsequently erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

§ It is evident from the style of the erasure that Mr. Jay first erased the word "Country" and substituted for it the initials of the United States; and that he subsequently erased the amendment, together with the five preceding words, as indicated by the Italics.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

|| The word "able" written over "wise," erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ Erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

\*\* The preceding words of this paragraph were interlined over the words "Such men," erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

†† In revising this paragraph for the Press, Mr. Jay seems to have entirely changed his views and thus expressed them in their revised form: "The inference which naturally results from these considerations is this, the President and Senators so chosen will always be of the number of those who best understand our National Interests, whether considered in relation to the several States or to foreign Nations, who are best able to promote those interests, and whose reputation for integrity inspires and merits confidence."—*Federalist*, No. LXIII.—Ed. Morrisania, 1864, 1, 447.

May we not hope to receive, from some one who knows all about Mr. Jay, the information which will enable us to judge whether or not this change was effected by his intercourse with Messrs. Hamilton and Madison—his associates in *The Federalist*—rather than from his own, unassisted "sober second-thought."—Ed. Hist. Mag.

\* The words "to recollect" are written over "to be apprized," erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† The words "in so prescribing for the frequent Election of Senators" are written over the following words, erased, "in directing the manner prescribed for periodical Recall of a certain Proportion of the Senators—for thereby the Right & Expediency of frequent Elections are secured to the People."

The careful student will readily perceive from the above, the drift of Mr. Jay's mind concerning the tenure of the Senatorial office, under "the proposed Constitution"—Envoys, even ordinary agents, are sometimes "Recalled" by their Principals, Sovereign or Subject: who has ever heard of the "Recall" of a Sovereign, such as the Senate has more recently assumed to be, by a "People" who, in that case, could have been only his Subjects? He will perceive, also, that Mr. Jay saw no difference, in fact, between a direct Election by "the People," and an Election by the Legislature, as its Agent and Representative. He speaks, therefore, of "the frequent Election of Senators," as by "the People," itself, notwithstanding "the People," in proper person, has nothing whatever to do with such elections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ The word "for" is interlined over "but on ye contrary," erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

well known that whatever may be the System our Treaties with foreign Nations as well as our Laws on the Subject sh<sup>d</sup> be conformable to it—It is highly important therefore that this conformity sh<sup>d</sup> be preserved; and the Convention by making the Concurrence\* of the Senate necessary to both have taken effectual Care that our Treaties & our Laws shall always harmonize and unite in promoting the attainment of the same national† objects—

Let it also be remembered that in forming Treaties of Peace and [Treaties]‡ of Commerce & particularity the former, it often happens that perfect Secrecy and immediate§ Dispatch are requisite There are Cases when the most useful|| Intelligence may be obtained provided the Parties possessing & conveying it have no Reason to apprehend a Discovery—whether those Parties be influenced by mercenary or by friendly Motives will make but little Difference, for in either Case a Discovery might be equally fatal to them—It is not rash to presume that there are many of both Descriptions who would rely on the Secrecy of the President, but who would not confide in that of the Senate, and still less in that of a large popular Assembly— The Convention have done well therefore in so disposing of this power of making Treaties, as that altho the president must in forming them act by the Advice and Consent of the Senate,¶ yet he will be able to manage all affairs of secret Intelligence in the Way which Prudence and Circumstances may suggest—The Propriety of these Remarks might be illustrated by Facts well known to many but which it would not be advisable to render more public.

They who have turned their attention to the Affairs of men well know that there are Tides in them—Tides exceedingly irregular in their Duration,\*\* Strength and Direction, and seldom found to run twice exactly in the same manner and measure. To Discern†† and profit by these Tides in national affairs, is the Business of those Politicians who preside over them††—in doing

this Days and even Hours are often precious, and Despatch indispensable—The intervening Death of a Prince, the removal of a Minister, in short the least change in the present posture of affairs may give a favorable Tide an opposite Course.\*

as in the Field so in the Cabinet there are moments to be seized as they pass; neither our Governors or our Generals should be restrained from improving them†—we have in more Instances than one, suffered exceedingly from the Delays inseparable from our present Gov<sup>t</sup> and we have much Reason to rejoice that the proposed Constitution has so well provided ag<sup>t</sup> them—for many preparatory and collateral Measures relative to Negotiations may be taken by the President and when such as require the Concurrence of the Senate occur, he may at any time convene them—Thus does the constitution give to the formation of Treaties all the disadvantages of Sec<sup>y</sup> and Despatch on the one Hand and of deliberate Council on the other—

But to this Plan as to all others that have ever appeared in the World, [without excepting even those which descended from heaven]‡ objections have been contrived and urged.

Some object because the Treaties so made are to have the Force of Laws, and therefore that the Makers of them will so far have legislative power This objection is a mere play on the word legislative Is not the Commission of the King of Great Britain to a Judge or a general as valid in Law and as obligatory on all whom it may concern, as if the Judge or the General had been commissioned by Act of Parliament? If the People from whom only civil Power can be derived think it expedient by their Constitution to give to a King the power of issuing such Commissions, they must be as much bound by such royal acts, as they are by those acts which they authorize their Legislature to pass §

[The People of america knowing that they would have occasion to make Treaties or Bargains with other Nations appoint certain men in their Name to make those Bargains for them—again the People of america knowing that Laws regulating their general affairs would be necessary, think proper to appoint certain other Men to make such Laws then—surely in the one Case as in the other the acts of these Men must have equal||]

\* The last eight words originally read as follows—"preserved—Of this the Convention appears to have been apprized, for making the Concurrence" etc.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† The word "national" written over "interesting," erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡ Erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

§ "Immediate" is written over "great," erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

|| The words "the most useful" are interlined, evidently to take the place of "of great Importance" which originally followed "Intelligence," and were erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

¶ In the sentence "altho the president must in forming them act by the Advice," etc., the words in Italics are interlined over "is restrained by," erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

\*\* Originally "is a Tide in them—a Tide exceedingly irregular in its Duration," etc.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

†† "Discern" interlined over "observe," erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡‡ "Them" interlined over "nations," erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

\* The words "give a favorable Tide an opposite Course" are interlined over "terminate this Tide forever."—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† This sentence originally read thus:—"seized as they pass; and in such Cases consequently the Power of improving such fortunate Seasons, should no General should not be re-trained from improving them." The words in Italics were subsequently erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡ The words in Italics were subsequently erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

§ In the published Essay the reference was changed from the King of Great Britain to the Governor of New York.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

|| This entire paragraph was subsequently erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.



Whatever name therefore be given to the obligation of Treaties or whether the making them be called the Exercise of legislative or any other kind of authority certain it is that the people have a Right to dispose of the power to make them as they think expedient—and when made conformably to the power delegated must be valid and inviolable

Others seem uneasy that Treaties are to be the sup.\* Laws of the Land. It is not easy even to suspect Gentlemen of being serious when they profess to believe and insist that Treaties like acts of assembly should be repealable at our will & pleasure—a Treaty is only another name for a Bargain or a Contract, and have no Reason† to expect or hope that any Nation or any private Man of Common Sense can be found, who would consent to make any bargain with us which so far from being mutually binding, should by us be carved, and construed, extended, contracted or annulled just as [the Wisdom or Convenience of‡] our Legislature or Legislatures might think most convenient and advantageous.

They who make Laws may without doubt repeal them and it is equally true that they who make Treaties may alter or annul them—but we are not to forget that Treaties are made not by one of the contracting Parties but by both, and consequently that as the Consent of both was essential to make them at first, so must it ever afterwards be to alter or cancel them—§ The proposed constitution therefore has not in the least extended the obligation of Treaties—they are just as binding and just as far beyond the lawful Reach of legislative acts now as they will be at any future period or under future Gov'¶

Altho now useful Jealousy may be a republics Qualification (virtue it never was nor will be) yet when like Bile in the natural too much in the Body politic, the Eyes of become very liable to be deceived by the delusive appearances which that Malady gives to surrounding Objects¶—

Will the President and Senate make Treaties

with an equal Eye to the Interests of all the States—will not the two thirds often be tempted to oppress the remaining third—[will not the Influence of the eastern & middle States generally preponderate in that Body]\* are these Gent. made sufficiently responsible for their Conduct? if they act corruptly can they be punished? and if they make disadvantageous Treaties can we get rid of such Treaties—[These and similar Questions are may be answered with as much It is easy to ask Questions, and objections put into the form of Questions, is as easy a Way]†

Such questions really betray an undue Degree of Jealousy every objection to the federal Constitution‡ which they imply may at least with equal force be applied to that of this State.

Will the Gov' & Legislature of New York make Laws with an equal Eye to the Interests of all the Counties—will not the majority often oppress the minority. are these Gentlemen made sufficiently responsible for their Conduct—if they act corruptly can they be punished—and if the commissioners make disadvantageous Treaties [with the Indians]§ or Bargains with the Indians or others can we get rid of them—

as all the States are represented equally in the senate which is to vote *per Capita*, they will all have an equal Degree of Influence there, especially if they are careful to appoint [their best men]¶ proper persons to that Body, and insist on their punctual attendance. In Proportion as the united States assume a national Form and a national Character, so will the good of the whole become more and more an object of attention; and the Gov' must be a weaker one indeed if it should forget that the good of the whole [can only consist of the combined]¶ cannot be promoted without attending to the good of each of the parts or Members which compose the whole. It will not be in the power of the President and Senate to form any Treaty by which they & their Estates and Families will not be equally bound

\* Subsequently erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† Subsequently erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ The words "federal Constitution" in this portion of the original Manuscript is peculiarly interesting in view of the persistent efforts which have been made by John C. Hamilton, George T. Curtis, and John Jay to impeach the integrity of *The Federalist*, edited by Henry B. Dawson, on account of its rendering of the word "Federalist" after the manner of the authors of that work; and it effectually disposes, if such additional testimony was actually necessary, of their unsupported denials that "PUBLIUS," the distinguished authors of that work, thus spelled the word, and thus openly recognized the Union as "a firm League of friendship," and its Constitution as supplementary rather than subversive of the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union.

John Jay the elder, it will be seen, considered the Constitution for the United States a "federal Constitution": John Jay the younger, and those who have acted with him, may safely read his teachings, and having learned the truth on this subject, follow his example, by telling it.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

§ Erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ Erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ Erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

\* Supreme.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† Originally, "and have we any Reason," etc.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

‡ The words in Italics were subsequently erased.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

§ The latter part of this sentence was originally in these words:—"But we are not to forget that Treaties are made not by one of the contracting Parties but by both, and consequently the same Consent of both to make them at first, will forever afterwards be necessary to alter or cancel them."—Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ The latter part of this sentence was originally in these words:—"They were just as binding and just as far beyond the Reach of legislative acts before the Convention convened now as they will be at any period or any Govt whatever."—Ed. Hist. Mag.

¶ This sentence was evidently constructed with great difficulty; but the erasures and interlineations are so many and so disconnected that nothing can be done with them.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

and affected with Rest of the Community, and having no private interest distinct from that of the Nation they will be under no temptations to neglect the latter—

as to corruption the Case is not supposable—a man must either have been very unfortunate in his Interchange with the world, or possess a Heart very susceptible of such Impressions: who can think it probable that the President and two-thirds of the Senate will ever be capable of such unworthy Conduct— The Idea is too gross and too black to be entertained— — But even in such a Case if it sh<sup>d</sup> ever happen the Treaty so obtained from us would like all other fraudulent Contracts be null and void by the Law of Nations—

With Respect to the Responsibility of the President and Senate, it is difficult to conceive how it could be increased— Every Consideration that can influence the human mind, such as Honor, oaths, Reputation, the Love of Country, and domestic affection & attachments [*insure*]\* afford Security for their Fidelity—

as the Constitution has provided that they shall be Men of Talents and Integrity we have good Reason to be persuaded that the Treaties they make will be as advantageous as all Circumstances considered could be expected— [*Besides such Individuals among them as may now*]\* and so far as the Fear of Punishment and Disgrace can operate, that motive to good Behaviour is amply supplied and afforded by the article on the Subject of Empeachments

[*In short no Plan If Talent and Integrity, if political Information respecting the State of things at Home and abroad, if Secrecy & Dispatch and the benefit of joint Counsels be desirable*]\*

In short as this Plan appears at least in Theory to have greatly the advantage of any that has yet appeared it certainly merits a fair Trial.

## II.—THE PILGRIM FATHERS NEITHER PURITANS NOR PERSECUTORS.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE FRIENDS' INSTITUTE, LONDON, ON THE EIGHTEENTH OF JANUARY, 1866, BY BENJAMIN SCOTT, F.R.A.S., CHAMBERLAIN OF THE CITY OF LONDON.†

Passing, many years since, from Threadneedle Street, in this city, to take the omnibus

at the corner of Bishopsgate Street, my attention was arrested by a considerable crowd. I naturally enquired the cause of the assemblage, and was informed that a reckless cab-driver had inhumanly driven over a woman, who was seriously, if not fatally, injured; a second bystander thereupon interposed the remark that the man had *not* acted recklessly, but was driving carefully when the woman was run over; no sooner had he spoken than bystander number three asserted that he had seen the woman rush across the street under the very feet of the horse, that the man had not driven over her at all, but that he had, by his tact and admirable management of his horse, been instrumental in saving her life. Entering the conveyance by which I was about to travel I narrated the conflicting statements to which I had just listened, when a gentleman of venerable appearance remarked, with the calm confidence which betokens a settled conviction, "Such, young man, is the material of which 'history' is composed."

This incident originated much thought at the time, but many years elapsed before reading, reflection and experience of passing events compelled me to adopt as my creed the remark I had listened to, and compels me to record my matured conviction that History, as it has been hitherto written, is generally little better than the conflicting testimony of mistaken or careless witnesses, the blundering compilation of half-informed writers, or the distorted caricature of prejudiced partizans. But will History ever continue untrue, unjust and unreliable? I think not. I have faith in truth, and its ultimate triumph in every department. I believe in what has been termed "the Resurrection of Reputations" even in this world. Time, circumstances and Providence work slowly but surely, and often wondrously, towards this end. As, in the case of the accident alluded to, the original evidence was conflicting and irreconcilable,—yet doubtless judicial sifting and cross-examination elicited ultimately the true facts, separated them from hearsay statement, and apportioned fairly the measure of merit or of blame,—so in respect of the World's History a process of reconstruction is going forward, based, in many cases, upon original and unquestioned documents wonderfully and often unintentionally spared to give their unimpeachable testimony in the new historic court of appeal.

Upon such evidence I shall have mainly to rely in my endeavour to do justice to men "of whom the world was not worthy," of whom Englishmen of all classes will one day be truly proud, and to whom Americans cannot be too grateful or too just.

\* Erased.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† From a printed copy, kindly loaned for the purpose, by J. K. Wiggins, Esq., of Boston.

We offer no apology for re-producing this very interesting tract; and we advise all who shall suppose there is something "anti-Massachusetts" in it—*The Congregationalist* and *The Brooklyn Union*, for instance—to read the third paragraph of the learned author's "Conclusion," which clearly expresses our views and sympathies on the subject.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

My address, this evening, is a task imposed upon me by circumstances; a task which I should not voluntarily have assumed. It originated in the fact of my having listened lately to a truly eloquent lecture, delivered in this room, on ROGER WILLIAMS, founder of the Rhode Island Colony. The lecturer on that occasion reiterated (unintentionally of course) the statement, to which some recent writers have given currency, that Roger Williams had experienced persecution for religion's sake at the hands of the noble men known to history as "the Pilgrim Fathers." Admiring the lecture, venerating the character of Roger Williams, greatly respecting "the Friends" before whom and in whose Institute I sat, yet I felt that *truth* was more to be admired, venerated and respected than aught else, and my spirit was stirred within me to claim a hearing on behalf of men whose reputations should be regarded as a sacred inheritance by all of every sect who value true and undefiled religion.

My request was, as I expected, readily granted by the members of the Friends' Institute, and although many of them entertain opinions on this subject at present at variance with my own, yet I know too well their sacred regard to truth to doubt that they will rejoice to have afforded me this opportunity for explanation, even though it should result in their surrendering opinions hitherto entertained.

It will not be my office to narrate the eventful history of the Pilgrim Fathers, or that of Roger Williams, or indeed of their contemporaries in New England, excepting so far as incidental allusion to such histories may be necessary to the elucidation of my point. I shall find it convenient to obtain and make definite my object by supporting the following historical proposition:—

The Pilgrim Fathers were not PURITANS, but SEPARATISTS (who were the first advocates of perfect Freedom of Conscience at the Reformation)—they did not, as has been reported of them by some writers, persecute for conscience' sake either Roger Williams, the Friends, or any person.

In submitting my proofs I shall have occasion to encounter the statements of some recent writers of repute who have affirmed to the contrary, but I must ask my hearers to bear in mind that the testimony of these writers—as they were not contemporaries, and knew not the facts of their own knowledge—is not of more weight than the statement of the *first* of them, with whom may have originated the mis-statement, which careless authors have merely reproduced. The same remark applies equally to those more

eminent historians who have written on the other side. I shall call no such witnesses to-night. They are, in truth, the parties on their trial, and must stand or fall by the evidence of original documents. The reiteration of a statement can never alter the relations of falsehood and truth. Truth and error must continue truth and error eternally, even though the reverse be asserted eternally. To enumerate the testimony of successive writers, therefore, is vain upon such a point as that before us, unless any such had access to original documents newly brought to light; I shall not array, therefore, the testimony of conflicting historians—although the balance would decidedly preponderate on the side of the question which I espouse, whether those writers be tested by their numbers or by their reputation.

I propose first to show that the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth Colony—the only persons to whom that term has been historically applied, the first successful Anglo-Saxon colonists of America, and the real founders of New England—were not *Puritans*, as is often carelessly and erroneously reported, but *Separatists*.

The difference between the early Puritans and the Separatists was not one of name merely, or I should not be found directing attention to the confusion which prevails in some minds on this subject. That difference was not superficial, but wide, fundamental and irreconcilable. It involved nothing less than the whole question of enforced or free religion,—of religion by act of the State or freedom of conscience,—of religion as an act of obedience to the ruler, or as an act of conscience towards God,—the difference, in truth, which separated and still separates the *State Churches* from the *Free* all the world over. It involved in the days of the Pilgrim Fathers the difference between the dominant and persecuting Church which wielded the sword of the State and the persecuted victims of that sword. To confound things which so differ, to treat as one the persecutor and the persecuted, is to put "darkness for light, and "light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet "for bitter," and must result in making history an unmeaning jumble. So to confound persons and parties is in this case to inflict injustice upon the memories of those who have been shaping the good of the present, and whose principles form the best hope of the world's future. It has been asked, "Did the Pilgrim "Fathers repudiate the term *Puritan* as applied "to themselves." I reply they were not and could not, at that day, have been afforded the opportunity of repudiation; no such confusion of terms could then have arisen. Their enemies were too vigilant and unrelenting, and they and their predecessors were too truthful to permit

of their shielding themselves under the term *Puritan*. I shall show you that the difference between the two parties in question was considered so fundamental and irreconcilable that the one party put the other to death for their diversity of sentiment, until the persecuted party fled to a new world to secure that freedom of worship which was forbidden in the old.

It will be necessary to the full elucidation of this point to show who were the immediate religious *precursors* of the Pilgrim Fathers, and for this purpose it will be convenient to recur to that period of the Reformation in England when the Church of England was completely and finally established by Law.

The spiritual supremacy of the King, established and enforced by the Eighth Henry, had been reversed in Mary's reign, and the Pope was once more declared by the Act of Parliament to be the spiritual head of the Church in England. It is to Elizabeth's reign, therefore, that we must look for the final settlement of the ecclesiastical Establishment, which from and since that reign has been in close connection with the State in England. There is an earlier history of both *State* and *Free* religion, and of the struggles of Presbyterianism in Scotland, but my argument lies to-night in connection with the reformation of religion in England, and the most convenient starting point, for many reasons, is that which I propose.

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, and in December of that year issued a proclamation forbidding any change of the forms of religion *until they should be determined according to Law*. Immunity from Papal persecution was obtained by the change of rulers, but no freedom to worship according to conscience, either as it regarded Roman Catholics or Protestants. This is a point too much overlooked, and hence much confusion as to religious parties formed at this juncture. The Queen was a good friend to Protestantism as opposed to Popery, but the bitter opponent of all Protestantism which did not square with her own and that of the State. The Act of Supremacy, declaring her the head of the Church, passed in the first year of her reign, followed closely by the Act of Uniformity, requiring all to worship on the State pattern and in the Parish Churches. Early in 1562 the work was completed by the adoption of the Articles of Religion, and from this date, the Church of England being completely established by Law, we may conveniently trace that "*Separation*" which, with more or less distinctness, can be traced through all subsequent English History to this day.

Side by side with the records of a powerful State establishment we find the frequent,

though incidental, mention of a band of humble earnest "*Separatists*," as they were termed, protesting against errors which the Reformation in England had failed to remove,—against the assumption by any human power, however august, of that headship which belonged of right to Christ, and pleading for permission to worship according to the simplicity of form and practice of the primitive Christians.

Such were the *Separatists*, at that day undivided on the subject of baptism and other questions which have given rise to sects having various names. They constituted, with the Roman Catholics, the only persons then objecting in England to the Church as by Law established. They formed themselves, as did the early disciples, into distinct associations or churches, chose their own teachers and regulated their own affairs. The *Church*, they maintained, was a spiritual association, and should consequently be *separate* from the *world* and its *rulers*, and should be governed only by the laws of Christ as given in the New Testament; hence their distinctive appellation. Their simplicity of sentiments and moral conduct rendered them unpopular in a corrupt age; their opposition to an endowed Church made them obnoxious to the clergy, who held to the wealth and honors of the State; their recognition of Christ as the sole head of the Church gave mortal offence to the ruling powers, and afforded opportunity for charges of disloyalty and sedition, and directed against them the persecuting power of an intolerant court and hierarchy. In a word, they were the "*Nazarenes*" of the English Reformation—were regarded "as the filth and off-scourings of all things." They worshipped only in secret places,—in ships moored in the River Thames,—in obscure corners in the City, in the woods and fields which surrounded London and some other towns. We should know little concerning them but for the depositions of their relentless enemies, and the noble defences of their principles which persecution called forth, and but for the providential preservation of such documents by their opponents. They dwelt almost alone, and were scarcely regarded as a part of the nation.

Of course a term of reproach for the party was soon forthcoming. The occasion was furnished by one Robert Brown, who having ably advocated their principles proved unfaithful to them,\* and accepted a living in Northamptonshire. This conduct of Brown caused to adhere to them the term of "*Brownists*," by which they were long known in history.

Now for the other party which arose at this

\*Vide Lansdowne MSS. xxxiii, art. 13, 20; also Minute Book of St. Olave's Grammar School.

juncture. The English Reformers, many of whom returned from exile on the accession of Elizabeth, were greatly disappointed to find the new Establishment virtually settled, and that the principles of the Reformation had not been carried further in its constitution.\* The greater part of them, however, accepted the change, and with it the Royal Supremacy, Uniformity of Worship and the Articles of Religion. Some took this course for the sake of peace and unity, others from less worthy motives; all of them, however, hoping to effect, in due time, further reformation—a hope which was never to be gratified. This reforming or evangelical party within the Establishment were termed "*Puritans*," and are known in history as the "*EARLY Puritans*," to distinguish them from a party which existed later in history, particularly at and after the period of the Commonwealth.

We have thus the origin of two parties formed at the birth of the Church of England,—parties differing widely both in principles and practice; the *Early Puritans* within the Establishment, and the *Separatists* or Brownists outside of that organisation, declining to recognize the *spiritual* claims of the English Sovereign, and contending for the exclusively spiritual character of His church who had affirmed, "My kingdom is not of this world."

The clearest historical evidence of the existence and organisation of the Separatists may be found from the very period of the State Church establishment, which as we have shown, was finally effected in 1562. Five years later we have a distinct historical notice of a company of Christians meeting at Plummer's Hall, in Laurence Pountney Lane, in this city.† They were brought before the Lord Mayor, and on the twentieth of June, 1567, committed to the Bridewell, on the banks of the Fleet River—a prison still existing in New Bridge Street, Blackfriars; and it may interest you to know that the humble individual who addresses you is the only official person whose jurisdiction of committal there continues to this day. Truly the lines have fallen to us in happier and safer times and places. Had we met for our present purpose in those days, we should doubtless have been committed to prison for so doing; and, while we do justice to those who by their faithful testimony and their blood won for us religious freedom, let us recollect that it is *only thirty-nine years since* it became possible for you, my hearers, being most of you Separatists, as for him who addresses you, being also of that conviction, to have held any office or

place of trust, however humble, either in the service of the State or of this City.

Gathered in the prison around the New Testament, which the Reformation had placed in their hands, this little band spelled out, by the aid of the Holy Spirit's teaching, the spirituality of the true Church, its independence of the powers of the world, and its consequent right to self-government, subject to the laws of Christ. They accordingly formed themselves, in the prison, into a *separate* society or church of believers on the New Testament model, selecting pastor and officers. The original document, with the names of all the parties appended, has been recently found in the State Paper Office.\* Richard Fitz, pastor, the deacon, and several of the members died of the prison plague, but though deprived of their leaders they continued to meet in private houses after their liberation. They were not, however, permitted to worship in peace. A letter of thanks was addressed by the Privy Council to the Bishop of London for his zeal in "discovering their conventicles," in 1574.† Next in order of date we meet with Robert Brown, whom we have already alluded to as unfaithful to his principles.

Robert Harrison, a friend and companion of Brown, with courage and fidelity grasped the banner which Brown threw away, until the Act of the 23rd Elizabeth (1582) made it *treason* to worship, except in accordance with the form prescribed by law. Upon this Harrison escaped to Middleburg, in Zealand, and became pastor there of a church of refugees from Protestant bigotry in high places. Brown had written several books on the nature of the Church and its relations to the State, and Harrison wrote also a treatise on true Church government, which is still extant.‡ These works helped to spread Separatist principles, and soon brought to the scaffold those who were found circulating them. In rural places the Separatists continued to convene in the name of the Lord Jesus. Dr. Freke complained "that their meetings" in Norfolk "were held in such close and secret manner" that he found it impossible to suppress them.§ He apprehended, however, two of their leaders, John Copping and Elias Thacker, in 1576, and kept them some years in prison. They were at last brought to trial, and convicted of the capital offence of circulating Separatist books. Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice, wrote, "that they were condemned to die, and were to be executed immediately, *not waiting*

\* Zurich Letters.

† A Parte of a Register, 23—37.

\* Uncalendered, in Misc. Fascie, State Paper Office.

† Register of the Privy Council, 1574.

‡ 16mo, 1583. In British Museum.

§ Lansdowne MSS. xxxiii. art. 13.

for the possibility of a reprieve.\* These martyrs died at Bury St. Edmunds, acknowledging the civil supremacy of the Queen, but maintaining that in spiritual matters they owed allegiance to "another King, one Jesus." William Dennis, "a godly man," so says the record, was executed shortly afterwards, in Norfolk, for the same offence.†

By these severities the feeble light was almost extinguished, and had it been of human origin, it must have gone out in darkness. "The Church," says Leighton, "hath sometimes been brought to so obscure and low a point that you can follow her in history only by the track of her blood." It was so here, but an ever-watchful Providence raised up two earnest men, fellow-students of Cambridge, to maintain the holy and undying principles for which the martyrs of Bury St. Edmunds had laid down their lives: I refer to John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe, who associated themselves with the scattered Separatists when their cause was at the lowest, and apparently hopeless.

Greenwood, who had been private chaplain to a gentleman of fortune,‡ was surprised one Lord's-day morning in 1586, while reading the Scriptures at a private house in the parish of St. Andrew, by the Wardrobe in this city, and committed to prison. Two of his auditors were from Norfolk.§ Barrowe was also from Norfolk, and connected with an aristocratic family there. He had entered as a law-student at Gray's Inn. On Lord's-day morning, the nineteenth of November, 1586, he, unsuspecting danger, went to visit his friend Greenwood and others imprisoned in the "*Clink*," a prison in the grounds of the Bishop of Winchester, in Southwark, his object being to show compassion "to those in bonds as bound with them." No sooner, however, had he arrived, than the jail-keeper detained him, saying he had orders from the Archbishop to do so.|| Henceforward Greenwood and Barrowe remained in bonds, true to each other, and steadfast in the cause they had espoused. Here the persecutors, as ever, outwitted themselves; for the brethren, although in the society of felons, and surrounded by all that was loathsome and pestilential, contrived to write in confirmation of the truths for which they suffered. Dropping their scraps of MSS. into the jug from which they drank, these were conveyed, day by day, by "Cicely," a faithful handmaid of Mrs. Greenwood, to a trusty friend, who sent them to Dort, in Hol-

land, where they were printed and conveyed to the Separatist brethren.\* Thus the Bible and the printing press supplied the place of the oral teaching which the State had suppressed.

Six years later we find that the prisoners, having obtained liberty to go out during the day, a church was duly organised in Southwark, at the house of Roger Ripon.† Of this little company John Greenwood was appointed teacher. In connection with this church we find another remarkable man, Francis Johnson. Originally a Puritan minister of good repute, he was, under peculiar circumstances, induced to throw in his lot with the Separatists. The circumstances were these. Having, while a Puritan, discovered at a printer's in Holland a copy of the book written in the Clink by Barrowe and Greenwood, he reported the same without delay to the English ambassador, and he was charged to destroy the whole edition. (We have here incidental evidence of the hostility of the Puritan to the Separatists, for which we contend.) Johnson seized the books, and burned the whole, with the exception of two copies, one of which, prompted by curiosity, he perused. It was the means of convincing him, and he embraced the faith he had laboured to destroy.‡ Returning from Holland we find him associating with Barrowe and Greenwood; he was elected a coadjutor of the latter, as pastor of the infant church in Southwark, and was imprisoned in the *Clink* for many years.§

We find at this period the Puritan clergy of this city, under the orders of the Bishop of London, employed discredibly as spies. They visited the Separatist prisoners once every month, apparently for conference, but noting down their conversations, that in the event of their being brought to trial these clerical inquisitors might be sworn.|| The evidence so obtained amounted to nothing more than a declaration of their views as to the character and rights of the Church, but was deemed sufficient to secure their conviction. Barrowe and Greenwood were thus brought to trial, charged with having written books to *lessen the Queen's prerogative in matters spiritual*, and the speech of counsel, which is still extant, charges them with *claiming the right of a church to manage its own affairs*. On the twenty-third of March, 1592, they were condemned to die. The Attorney-General followed them to their cells, entreating them to save their lives by

\* Lansdowne MSS. xxxviii. art. 64.

Ibid. art. 64. p. 163.

Ibid. cix. art. 3.

† State Papers. Domestic.

‡ Harleian Miscellany, orig. edit. 4to, vol. iv. p. 326.

\* Egerton Papers, Camden Society.

† Harleian MSS. 6848, art. 3.

‡ Young's Chronicles, pp. 424, 5.

§ See his Letters to Lord Burleigh, Lansdowne MSS. lxxv. art. 25, and lxxvii. art. 26.

|| Bancroft's Survey. Historical Papers, chap. vii.

recantation, but in vain.\* The next morning they were brought out for execution and bound to the cart, but a reprieve stayed their execution. After a week's interval they were again taken to execution, when a second reprieve arrived, and they returned again to prison, "amidst," as we are told, "the applause and rejoicing of the people." This manifestation of popular sympathy was fatal; their enemies in Church and State became alarmed, and hurried forward their execution, which took place secretly and early in the morning of the sixth of April, 1593.

One extract, out of many which we might quote, from an extant letter of Barrowe's, proves that it was simple liberty of conscience which these men claimed, and for which their lives were sacrificed. "Deal tenderly," he writes, "with tender consciences; we are yet persuaded that we should show ourselves disobedient and unthankful to our Master except we hold fast this cause. \* \* Why should our adversaries wish to persuade the civil magistrates to deal with us by the sword and not by the Word, by prisons and not by persuasions? As for dungeons, irons, close prison, torment, hunger, cold, want of means to maintain families,—these may cause some to make shipwreck of a good conscience, or to lose their life; but they are not fit ways to persuade honest men to any truth or dissuade them from errors."

John Penry, another remarkable man, educated at Oxford, joined the party just before the execution of Barrowe and Greenwood. He was by birth a Welshman. The great desire of his life was to introduce the Gospel to his fellow-countrymen, and he was the first to translate a portion of the Scriptures into Welsh. Disappointed in his efforts he was led to examine the causes which hindered the spread of the Gospel, and finding it to consist mainly in the ignorance and indifference of the State clergy, he expressed his opinions as to the evils of the Established System with honesty and fervidness. This naturally aroused persecution, and he was brought before Archbishop Whitgift, and charged with *heresy* in having written—"That men, by whomsoever ordained—whatever prelate or bishop or presbyter's hand had been upon them—who did not do the work of an evangelist, but neglected to preach God's word to the people, were no true ministers of Jesus Christ." Penry replied, "If it is heresy, I thank God that He has taught it me from His Word." "I say," exclaimed the exasperated prelate, "it is heresy, and thou shalt recant it." "Never!" rejoined the intrepid Welshman:

"Never, God willing, so long as I live." He was liberated, however, but took again to preaching the Gospel so dear to his heart. A warrant was issued accordingly, and he fled to Scotland with his wife and four infant children. Queen Elizabeth followed him with an autograph letter to the Scotch King, insisting upon his extradition.

Proclamation was issued accordingly, in August, 1590, for his apprehension, and death denounced against any who should afford him food or shelter. With a price on his head this intrepid evangelist travelled from Scotland to London, and cast in his lot with the poor Separatists of Southwark.\* He was soon discovered, however, and cast into prison; first in this city, and afterwards into the Queen's Bench in Southwark.

Being subjected to the inquisitorial ordeal of spies a private diary of his was found, and from some expression therein on the Queen's supremacy, construed as disloyal, he was condemned to die for imputed treason, in May, 1593. Letters written by him shortly before his death are extant, which for true pathos, tender affection to his wife and four infant children, and for resolute determination to lay down his life for the truth, are I believe without their equal in the annals of Martyrology. One extract must suffice. Being pressed to save his life by recantation, he replied, "If my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all for the maintenance of this my confession. Far be it from me that either the saving of an earthly life, the regard which I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a friendless widow and four poor fatherless children, or any other thing, should enforce me by denial of God's truth to perjure mine own soul."† And he would not and did not accept deliverance. Orders were sent immediately to the Sheriff, who proceeded the very same day to hang him at a place called St. Thomas-a-Watering, about two miles from London Bridge on the Kent Road. While Penry was at his dinner the officers came to make him ready, and at the unusual and unexpected hour of four the same afternoon he was put to death, the Sheriff preventing his uttering a few words which he desired to address to the people. The place of his burial is unknown; but

"Though nameless, trampled and forgot  
His servant's humble ashes lie—  
Yet God has marked and sealed the spot,  
To call its inmate to the sky."

I have thus traced the party of the Separ-

\* Harleian MSS. 6849, art. 35.

\* State Papers, Scotland.

† Penry's "Protestation," Lansdowne MSS.

tists, reproachfully termed "Brownists," from the date of the complete establishment of the Church of England, in 1562, to the death of Penry, in 1593. This has been essential to my argument, for it is by these preliminary investigations that we ascertain what were the particular principles of the party to which the PILGRIM FATHERS belonged. I now set out to prove that the exiles who left Leyden and the shores of England in 1620, and of whom *all writers* are agreed in terming "the Pilgrim Fathers," were of the sect of the Separatists, and were, moreover, the direct ecclesiastical successors of the noble men whose acts, principles and suffering have been briefly narrated.

The idea of exchanging persecution and death in England for exile to some foreign shore originated with the martyrs Barrowe and Penry. The former, in 1592, bequeathed a fund to aid the persecuted church *in the event of their "emigration,"* while the latter, in his last letter, urged "the brethren to prepare for *banishment in an unbroken company.*" The term *emigration*, as it is now understood, does not convey an adequate idea of the alternative to which this persecuted people were reduced. England at that date had neither colony nor permanent settlement on the American Coast. Emigration was then, in fact, expulsion beyond the limits of civilization, and involved not only danger and suffering to all, but inevitable death to a large proportion of the settlers. This was so much the case that up to the time of the exile of the Pilgrim Fathers no American colony had succeeded, though many had been attempted.

Francis Johnson, already referred to as associated with Barrowe and Greenwood, was the first to put exile to the test. Papers lately discovered bring all the circumstances to light. He memorialized Lord Burleigh on behalf of the church in Southwark in 1593, shortly after Penry's martyrdom. No opportunity offered, however, till 1597, and in the interval many found their way to Holland, where toleration prevailed. In the latter year we find "the Brownists, falsely so called," petitioning under that name to the Privy Council to be allowed to go to Canada.\* From the register of the Privy Council it appears that permission was given, but restricted to the Island of Ranea. The voyage proved unavailing, for the poor pilgrims in the ships *Chancewell* and *Hopewell* were not suffered to land.† Some also went to Newfoundland, a fishing station during part of the year only, but these returned also greatly disheartened and impoverished, and, denied a resting-place in England, they also found a home in Holland.‡

Johnson there became their pastor, and Daniel Studley, elder of the church in Southwark, condemned to death with Greenwood and Barrowe, but afterwards reprieved, joined the same Christian Society. They prepared a confession of their faith, and sent copies to the leading universities of Europe.\* Here we have the first links in the chain of evidence which identify the Separatists of Southwark with the exiles in Holland.

John Smyth, a Fellow of Cambridge and a pupil of Francis Johnson, adopted his views, and forms another link in our chain. He was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and had conference, we are told, with two eminent Puritan divines, Mr. Dod and Mr. Hildersham, who, however, failed to convince him.† (You will notice again the divergence of the views of the Separatists and Puritans.) Being liberated on the ground of failing health he retired to Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, founded a Separatist church there and became its pastor. A second or branch church of the same faith was also established, meeting in the Manor House of William Brewster, at Serooby, a village in Notts, on the borders of Yorkshire. The church at Serooby was under the care of Richard Clyfton, a Puritan minister who had joined the Separatist party, relinquishing his living at Worksop.‡ Clyfton afterwards retired to Holland, affording another link in the connection we are tracing out. He was succeeded as pastor of the church at Serooby by John Robinson, M.A. This Robinson was afterwards pastor of the church at Leyden, and organized the departure of the Pilgrims from that place to their home in the New World. William Brewster, at whose house the church met at Serooby, was also one of the exiles termed Pilgrim Fathers, and filled subsequently the office of elder amongst them. While pastor at Serooby Robinson received into the little Society there a youth named William Bradford, who also went out as one of the Pilgrim Fathers, became Governor, in course of time, of the Plymouth Colony in New England, and the historian of the Pilgrims, whose MSS. volume, now in the Bishop's Library at Fulham, has established and cleared up many of the facts stated in this address. We have thus three of the leaders of the Pilgrims,—Pastor Robinson, Elder Brewster and Governor Bradford,—connected with the Separatist church at Serooby, the branch of that founded at Gainsborough by John Smyth, of Southwark. That all these

\* *The Confession of Faith of certain English People, in Exile in the Low Countries.* 1598.

† *Paralleles, Censures and Observations*, 1603.

‡ Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth*, p. 40. Smyth's *Paralleles*.

\* State Papers, Domestic Series.

† Hakluyt.

‡ Bradford's Dialogues.



men were Separatists from conviction appears from their works and letters still extant. Robinson particularly speaks of the painful struggles which he experienced in breaking from his friends of the Puritan party.\*

One more connecting link between the Separatists of Southwark and the exiles in Holland must be pointed out before we accompany the Pilgrims across the Atlantic. Johnson, of whom we have spoken, when in prison was visited by Henry Jacobs, a Puritan clergyman in Kent, who hoped to convince Johnson of his errors, but who was himself convinced of his erroneous views by the Separatist prisoner. Jacob hoped, with other sanguine men, to obtain, on the accession of James I, permission to practice his religion according to the light of conscience.† But he was soon undeceived; Elizabeth was dead, but the system survived. Being so unwise as to wait upon the Bishop to "argue and reason the matter," as he tells us, he soon found that it was not a matter either for reason or argument, for the Bishop laid hold of him then and there and committed him to the *Clink*. This was in 1605.‡

Bancroft has now succeeded to the Primacy, and the Puritans *within*, as well the Separatists *without* the Establishment, began to feel the weight of his persecuting hand. In 1604 excommunication, with all its attendant penalties, were added to the pains attending nonconformity. Three hundred of the clergy were in one year deprived of their livings. Chamberlain, referring to this period, says, "Our Puritans go down on all sides, and though our new Bishop of London proceeds but slowly, yet he hath deprived, silenced or suspended all that continue disobedient."§ I quote this as particularly defining the term "Puritan" as applied at this date to the nonconforming clergy of the Church of England.

Persecution was not relaxed against the Separatists. Bradford, in his journal, informs us how the members of the churches in the North were watched by informers day and night, imprisoned and prevented assembling. "Seeing," he tell us, "themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard there was freedom of religion for all men, as also sundry from London and other parts of the land that had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause were gone thither, and lived in Amsterdam and other places in that land."||

I must pass over the difficulties, trials and sufferings of these poor people, their oft-attempted escapes and failures. It was more than a twelvemonth before the whole party, with women and children, could elude the cruel vigilance of their enemies. They escaped, from time to time as opportunity offered, from the coast near to the ports of Boston, Grimsby and Hull. Robinson and Brewster, we are told, "were of the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them."\*

Twelve years they spent in Amsterdam and Leyden, not without struggles for maintenance, but enjoying peace in the exercise of their religion, to which they had long been strangers. Robinson became their pastor, Brewster was appointed elder, while Henry Jacob, having been liberated from the *Clink*, joined them and wrote a treatise on Church Government, which again proves incontestably that he, with his associates, were decided and uncompromising Separatists. Time does not admit of my quoting him.

In 1617 we find him again in Southwark, seeking permission for the church there to worship only *privately*, and "not in *public places*," but in vain. The churches in Holland and in Southwark abandoned all hope of toleration at home, and began in earnest to address their thoughts to emigration to some land in which their children would retain their language and nationality with liberty of Christian worship. Negotiations were opened with certain "merchant adventurers" in London who held chartered grants from the Crown of portions of the New Continent: after many difficulties and protracted delays, with many escapes of imprisonment, the terms were settled, and it was arranged that all who were ready should go out under the leadership of Elder Brewster, while Robinson should follow with the remainder of the party at a future day.

The negotiations begun in 1617 did not conclude till 1620. It is no part of my purpose tonight to narrate the history so well known and often written of their eventful voyage. Suffice it to say that a vessel of sixty tons—the *Speedwell*—(not the *Mayflower*, as has been too often carelessly asserted) was purchased in Holland upon receipt of the intelligence that all was ready at London. The Church then, we are told, "held a solemn meeting and day of humiliation to seek the Lord for his direction." Robinson took for his text 1 Samuel, xxiii. 3, 4—"And David's men said unto him, See we be afraid here in Judah, how much more, then, if we come to Keilah," &c. When the ship was ready they had another day of solemn

\* Robinson's Works, vol. ii., pp. 51, 52.

† *Reasons, &c.*, pref. p. 2.

‡ Lambeth MSS.

§ Letter dated Feb. 26, 1605.

|| *Of Plimoth Plantation*, Fulham MSS.

\* *Of Plimoth Plantation*, Fulham MSS.

humiliation, their pastor speaking to them from Ezra viii. 21—"And there at the River by "Ahava I proclaimed a fast, that we might "humble ourselves before our God, and seek of "Him a right way for us and for our children "and for all our substance." "The time being "come to depart," Bradford tells us, "they were "accompanied by most of their brethren to a "town sundry miles off, called Delft Haven, "where the ship lay ready to receive them. So "they left that goodly and pleasant land at "Leyden, which had been to them their resting- "place twelve years, *but they knew that they "were PILGRIMS*, and looked not much on those "things, but lifted up their eyes to the heavens, "*their dearest country*, and quieted their spir- "its."\*

The *Speedwell* arrived safely at Southamp- ton, where it fell in with the *Mayflower* with the party from London, and both vessels put into Plymouth. The *Speedwell* was here found to be unseaworthy, and the whole party of 101 Pilgrims, with the crew, sailed on the sixth of September in the *Mayflower*, a vessel of 180 tons burden.

On the ninth of November, 1620,—while the Lord Mayor of this City was feasting his guests at his inaugural banquet, while the wounded were being cared for and the dead buried who had been slain in the battle of Prague,—this little, solitary, adventurous vessel on its peaceful errand, freighted with the seed of a future nation, unheeded by human eye, but not unregarded by Him who "sees the end from the be- "ginning," sighted Cape Cod, on the coast of Massachusetts, a shore covered with snow and formidable with shoals and breakers. On the eleventh of November the Constitution of the future Colony was signed by all the party in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. On the fifteenth the vessel found safe anchorage in Plymouth Bay, so named from the port of departure in England. On the twentieth of December (Forefathers' Day of the Americans) the wearied, storm-tossed party found rest, landing on the well-known Plym- outh Rock, "The door-step into a world un- "known,—the CORNER-STONE OF A NATION."†

"The breaking waves dashed high  
"On a stern, and rock-bound coast;  
"And the woods, against a stormy sky,  
"Their giant branches tost.  
"And the heavy night hung dark,  
"The hills and waters o'er;  
"When a band of exiles moored their bark  
"On the wild New England shore.

"Not as the conqueror comes,  
"They, the true-hearted, came;  
"Not with the stirring roll of drums,  
"And the trumpet that sings of fame.

"Not as the flying come,  
"In silence and in fear;  
"They shook the depths of the desert gloom  
"With their hymns of lofty cheer.

"Amid the storm they sang,  
"And the stars heard, and the sea;  
"And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang  
"With the anthem of the free.  
"The ocean eagle soared  
"From his nest by the white waves' foam,  
"And the rocking pines of the forest roared—  
"This was their welcome home.

"There were men with hoary hair  
"Amid that pilgrim band;  
"Why had they come to wither there,  
"A way from their childhood's land?  
"There was woman's fearless eye,  
"Lit by her deep love's truth;  
"There was manhood's brow serenely high,  
"And the fiery heart of youth.

"What sought they thus afar?  
"Bright jewels, or the mine?  
"The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?—  
"They sought a faith's pure shrine!  
"Ay, call it holy ground.  
"The soil where first they trod:  
"They left unstained what there they found—  
"FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD!"\*

But did they, as the poet sings, "Leave un- "stained what there they found—Freedom to "worship God?" This is the question to be next determined, and as poets, as well as his- torians, make sad havoc of facts, I proceed to prove, by the light of original and extant docu- ments, that the Pilgrim Fathers remained faith- ful to their principles.

But first allow me to digress, briefly to al- lude to a remarkable letter from John Smyth, addressed to the church at Scrooby, of which he was pastor. In it he addresses to them words which, by the light of subsequent events, we may almost regard as prophetic. "You are "few in number," he writes, "yet, considering "that the Kingdom of Heaven is as a grain of "mustard seed, small in the beginning, I do not "doubt that you may in time *grow up to a mul- "titude*, and be, as it were, a great tree full of "fruitful branches."†

The fact is sublime, and calculated to attract the attention of the world *some day*, that a few poor persecuted villagers and humble worship- pers at Scrooby, who would have gone to their graves in silent obscurity had not persecution driven them into unconscious fame,—that three of them, at least, Robinson, Brewster and Brad- ford, became the *founders of a nation of thirty millions of free worshippers*. The United States of America may well be termed a "great tree "full of fruitful branches;" truly "the little one "has become a thousand, and the small one a "strong nation."

\* Mrs. Hemans.

† A letter written to certain brethren in S—, by Joh- n Smyth.

\* Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.  
† Longfellow.

And here, let me say, my American hearers, who have honoured me by your attendance to-night; here is the fountain-head, or one chief fountain-head, of all your greatness. This remote hamlet of Nottinghamshire, adjacent to the borders of Yorkshire, which now echoes to the whistle of the Great Northern Railway,—here, in the Old Manor House of Scrooby (the outline of whose moat may still be seen from the platform of the station), this ancient hunting-seat of the Archbishop of York, the resting-place of Queen Margaret of Scotland, daughter of Henry VII, on her journey to Scotland in 1503,—here, where disappointed Wolsey retired after his fall, to discover too late that fidelity to God brings a higher and more certain blessing than the most devoted fidelity to an earthly king,—here, where Wolsey's royal rival, Henry, passed a night in 1541,—here, where James the First solicited of the Archbishop "that he might take his royal pastime in the Forest of Sherwood,"—in this very Manor House, or in one of its offices, met the simple, humble Separatist worshippers, Robinson, Brewster and Bradford, the leaders of the Pilgrim band, the founders of the civil and religious liberties of America. I had the honour to lay, a few years since, the memorial stone of a building in Southwark, for the use of the church, the successors of the Separatists of the sixteenth century, on a spot closely adjacent to that on which Peery was martyred. To that memorial building grateful Englishmen and Americans contributed. Would it not be appropriate, let me ask, if some humble but serviceable memorial were erected on the site of the Manor House at Scrooby, to which Americans, in future days, when the sublime story is re-written, and they shall become better acquainted with their own antecedents, might direct their steps as to a shrine sacred to them as the tomb of Washington, who gave them Independence, or as the grave of their Martyr President, who preserved them from dismemberment and proclaimed liberty to the slave?

But to return to my argument—the Pilgrim Fathers were Separatists; did they retain their principles or repudiate them on their arrival in the New World? Did they, as the Poet has asserted, "Leave unstained what there they found, Freedom to worship God"? The probabilities of the case would certainly lean to the side of that conclusion. If they had clung to their principles through persecution, suffering and the loss of all things, it would be *improbable in the extreme* that they should repudiate their most cherished convictions upon crossing the Atlantic. True it is that human nature is often inconsistent; but not that part of it which has passed through the crucible of trial and the

furnace of suffering for the sake of principle. "Can gold grow worthless that has stood the touch"? No; there is a *prima facie* difficulty in the outset in believing that the Pilgrim Fathers persecuted for conscience' sake. Bear in mind also that "had they been mindful of that country whence they came out they might have had opportunity to have returned." The *Mayflower* stood in the harbour with sails flapping for many a week; just one half of the party died during the first winter from privation and exposure, but no one returned.

"Oh, strong hearts and true! not one went back in the  
" *Mayflower* !"  
"No, not one looked back who had set his hand to that  
" ploughing."

*Home, friends, native country, comfort, the world's applause*—all might have been theirs had they changed their opinions, had they abandoned their principles. One, we hear of, returning to transact some business in England, and he was imprisoned on landing, and kept close prisoner for seventeen weeks; why endure this if he had been prepared to abandon views which he found untenable? The charge that the Pilgrim Fathers persecuted is as *unreasonable* as it is *un-historical*, and about as probable as that the Friends should upon landing have entered into a military convention with the other colonists for the extermination of the Indians, or that the Jesuits should have established a Society to send the Scriptures to the people in their native tongue. Had no other course been open to me, I should have been well content to rest my case upon this *a priori* argument, and to have thrown upon any opponent the onus of producing one word of original or contemporaneous history in support of his opinion. I am not, however, reduced to this course, having original documentary evidence of a positive character that is perfectly conclusive that what the Pilgrims were upon landing, that they remained, through evil report and good report; that when charged with their Separatist views they did not abjure them, although they repudiated the term of reproach; that in an age when the majority of men were persecutors in heart and practice, they held aloof from and reprobated such practices, that they sheltered and acted kindly towards the persecuted, Roger Williams included; and that when they, the Pilgrim Fathers, were laid in their graves, and the Friends arrived in New England, their sons and successors were advocates of toleration and supporters of the Friends. The evidence is voluminous; the only difficulty I experience is in reference to selection and

condensation, so as to bring the subject within the compass of this address.

I have failed to find any writer who, until very recent times, say the present century, has given currency to the allegation which I am engaged to disprove—That the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth persecuted for conscience' sake. I have been referred to Sewell's *History of the People called Quakers*, but he does not affirm the matter in question; indeed, if we regard his chronology as correct, he acquits the Pilgrim Fathers of any share of the persecutions alluded to. He was evidently little acquainted with religious parties *outside* the Society, whose history he records, so that his statements upon this point are worthless, either for condemnation or acquittal.

Speaking, as I do, before members of the Society, I must devote a little time to his statements, which, under other circumstances, I should pass by as of no weight in regard to this matter.

In Sewell (vol. i. pp. 6, 7) I find the following:—

"The bishops under Queen Elizabeth were content with the Reformation made by Cranmer, yet it pleased God, in the year 1568, to raise other persons that testified publicly against many of the remaining superstitions; and although Coleman, Burton, Hallingham and Benson were imprisoned by the Queen's order, yet they got many followers and also the name of Puritans. And notwithstanding the archbishop, to prevent this, drew up some articles of faith, to be signed by all clergymen, yet he met with great opposition in the undertaking: for one Robert Brown, a young student of Cambridge (from whom the name of Brownists was afterwards borrowed), and Richard Harrison, a schoolmaster, published, in the year 1583, some books wherein they showed how much the church of England was still infected with Romish errors; which was of such effect that the eyes of many people came thereby to be opened, who so valiantly maintained that doctrine which they believed to be the truth, that some of the most zealous among them, viz. Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and John Penry, about the year 1593, were put to death because of their testimony, more (as may very well be believed) by the instigation of the clergy, than by the desire of the Queen. \* \* \* \* \*

"After the death of Queen Elizabeth, when James I. had ascended the throne, the followers of those men suffered much for their separation from the church of England: but very remarkable it is, that even those of that persuasion, of which many in the reign of King

*Charles I.* went to New England to avoid the persecution of the bishops, afterwards themselves turned cruel persecutors of pious people by inhuman whippings, &c., and lastly by putting some to death by the hands of a hangman."

A more involved and illogical statement was never penned. I must devote a few minutes to its dissection.

The writer first enumerates certain reformers in the Church of England—to wit, Coleman, Burton, Hallingham and Benson; he states, truly enough, that they got the name of "*Puritans*," that they drew up articles of faith to be signed by "*Clergymen*": all this is quite true, and he might have added that which I supply from their Petition to the Privy Council, in which they say of the "*Brownists*" or "*Separatists*," "*We abhor these and we punish them.*"\*

Sewell then goes on to enumerate correctly other sufferers for conscience' sake, beginning with Brown (from whom he says the term "*Brownist*" was borrowed), Richard Harrison, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and John Penry; he tells us further that the three latter were put to death about 1593 by the instigation of the clergy, more than by desire of the Queen, that their followers in James's reign suffered much for their "*separation*" from the Church of England. All which is perfectly true.

We have here, then, two distinct parties; one of them described as "*Puritans*" and "*Clergymen*," imprisoned for desiring reform in the Church of England, temp. Elizabeth; another party executed in the same reign for "*separation*" from that Church, and treated with severity in the reign of James I.

Here are the premises; now then for the conclusion, "but very remarkable it is that even those of that persuasion who went out in *Charles the First's* reign persecuted by whipping and hanging."

"Those of that persuasion"! WHICH persuasion? *This is the very question.* Sewell does not tell us, and it is evident that he did not know the difference between the two persuasions enumerated, and that the one "*abhorred*" the other and "*punished*" them, even to death, and had done so for half a century. Could these persons of undecided persuasions be the Pilgrim Fathers? Certainly not, according to Sewell, for the Pilgrim Fathers emigrated, according to every authority, in 1620 (eighteenth year of James the First), while Sewell tells us that it was "persons of that persuasion" who went out in the reign of *Charles the First* who persecuted by whipping and hanging. He

\* *Parte of a Register*, p. 129.

acquits, therefore, the Pilgrim Fathers, for those who emigrated in James's reign could not be those who came to New England in the following reign. The truth is, however, that Sewell, however reliable an authority he may be as it regards the Society of Friends, evidently did not know and failed to notice that he was writing of *two perfectly distinct religious parties*, and ignorantly confounding these parties, draws conclusions which are historically worthless. I may remark that Sewell wrote in Holland, in low Dutch, of events which happened in England and America, and was probably in no position to speak from original documents, excepting such as were supplied by the Society of Friends. From some such involved history it is probable that the whole confusion of dates and parties has arisen.

The facts, so far as they can be compressed into a paragraph, are these. The colony of Virginia (South) was first attempted by settlers exclusively EPISCOPAL. But that settlement resulted in a total failure. The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth in 1620 (18th James I.), and they were, as I have shown, SEPARATISTS or Brownists. The THIRD colony or settlement was that planted at Salem and Boston, Massachusetts, by PURITANS in 1630 (5 Charles I.), that party having in turn come under the persecuting hands of the English Prelates, Bancroft and Laud. It was these *Puritans* of Massachusetts or Boston who passed the Acts against the Quakers, and were guilty of cruel intolerance, which has been ignorantly charged to the account of the Pilgrim Fathers.

I now proceed to prove that the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth *remained Separatists*; that they neither repudiated the term nor relinquished their principles; that they received Roger Williams into their Church, and sheltered and helped him; that they had gone to their graves before the first of the Friends came to New England, and therefore had no opportunity (in the flesh at least) of persecuting them, and that their successors—some of them, at all events—inherited their principles and advocated toleration of the Friends.

And, first, as to the Pilgrim Fathers retaining their Separatist views. The colony of Plymouth was dependent greatly upon the "Merchant Adventurers" of London, who were of the State religion, no other being tolerated. From a correspondence which survives we learn that the Pilgrims were directly charged by the Merchant Company with holding Separatist views.\* A letter written by Mr. Sherley, one of the merchants, dated the twenty-fifth of January, 1625, states that charges had been

brought against the colonists that they allowed "diversity about religion"; they replied, "We know no such matter, for there was never any controversy or opposition, either public or private, to our knowledge, since we came." But what was the religion on which all were agreed? In the same year, another letter charges them "with receiving a man into their Church that in his confessions renounced universal, national, and diocesan Churches, by which (say they) it appears that, though you deny the name 'Brownists,' yet you practice the same, and therefore 'you sin against God in building up such a people.'" The Adventurers demanded that they should conform to their views of governing the colony; that the "French discipline" (whatever that may have been) should be practiced, and "that Mr. Robinson and his company at Leyden should not be allowed to join them, unless they would reconcile themselves to the Church by a recantation under their hands." This recantation was never forthcoming. Mr. Sherley wrote again at this juncture, and tells the colonists that a party of the merchants "were for a full desertion and forsaking of them," and he adds, "it is pretended that you are 'Brownists,'" and he abjures them to leave their "evil views." This advice, though well intended, was not adopted. Through good and evil report they held to their principles.\*

We must now turn our attention to the Massachusetts colony. Finding the colonists of Plymouth to be holding their ground, after eight years' struggles, the Puritan party in England, who had now come in turn to experience the rigors of persecution, formed a large company in 1628. The first fleet of three vessels left the Isle of Wight in May, 1629. There can be no question as to their religious views, for in their farewell address they say, "We do not go to New England as SEPARATISTS from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it."† Some, however, of the Separatists found a passage in their ships and joined their friends at Plymouth, and an outcry was accordingly raised against the company. John White, promoter of the Company, in 1630, found it necessary to meet the charge thus raised: "I persuade myself," he says, "there is no Separatist known unto the Governor, or if there be any it is far from their purpose, as it is far from their safety, to continue him among them." In the course of the voyage it was discovered that Ralph Smith, a minister who had adopted Separatist views, was on board. Cradock writes on behalf of the

\* Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.

\* Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.

† Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III, Part II, Chap. I.

Company to the Governor, Endicott, April 17, 1629, "Passage was granted to him (Smith) before we understood his difference of judgment in some things from our ministry, and though we have a very good opinion of his honesty, we give you this order, that unless he will be conformable to our government, *you suffer him not to remain within the limits of your grant.*" Here is the first persecuting edict, and it is directed against a *Separatist* minister by a *Puritan* Company.

Ralph Smith was kept for a long time in isolation—a sort of spiritual quarantine. Now mark the different treatment he received from the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth. Bradford, the Governor, writes, "There was one Ralph Smith and his wife and family that came over into the Bay of Massachusetts, and sojourned at present with some straggling people that lived at Nantuckett." Bradford then says Smith was reduced to great straits, and had requested a passage to Plymouth and shelter there, and adds, "he was here *accordingly kindly entreated and honoured*, and had the rest of his goods sent for, and exercised his gifts among us, and afterwards was *chosen into the ministry*, and so remained many years."\* Hubbard, an early historian of New England, says, "He, Smith, approved the rigid way of *Separation* principles."

We now come in chronological order to the case of Roger Williams. He arrived in the ship *Lyon* at Boston on the fifth of February, 1630-31. He was from Wales, a Separatist; he held Baptist sentiments for a time, and then relinquished them. We should classify him, according to the language of the period, as "Separatist Anabaptist." He was no member of the Society of Friends; indeed no more uncompromising opponent of some of their views ever existed, but he was no persecutor, although Fox charges him with being one. When George Fox subsequently visited New England, Williams sent him a challenge to meet him in argument upon fourteen several points. Fox had sailed before the challenge reached him, but he replied in a letter, which is extant. These documents I shall not quote; they reflect too much the spirit of bitter partizanship which then characterized religious controversy; besides, I consider that Williams unfairly, and untruly speaks of some of the views of the Friends, and Fox altogether mistook his man when he called Williams a bloody persecutor. It is foreign to my purpose to contend as to the particular views of Williams. I entirely endorse the glowing eulogy pronounced upon him by Edward Newman, on a previous evening.

He was a man of whom the "world was not worthy." He belongs to the Church of Christ—to Friends and to Separatists and to Baptists alike. He held the principles of church polity which are common to the free churches, and it will be enough to say of him that he is doubtless a member of that "Church of the First Born whose names are recorded in Heaven."

Let us gather from his own pen what he was in reference to the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth. In a letter addressed by him, late in life, to John Cotton, of Plymouth, he says, "In New England, being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston before your dear father came, divers years, I conscientiously refused, and I withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an *UNSEPARATING* people, as upon examination and conference I found them (*i. e.* of Boston) to be."\*

This is conclusive, he was Separatist in his views, and could not minister to an unseparating church, such as that established at Salem or at Boston, and he withdrew to a more congenial religious society of the Plymouth colony. This is confirmed by what follows. The church at Salem, originally a Puritan settlement, having advanced under the direct influence of the Pilgrim Fathers, to Separatist views, invited R. Williams to become their pastor. Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, in his Journal of the twelfth of April, 1631, informs us how the Boston Council opposed the arrangement: he says, "At a court holden at Boston (upon information of the Governor that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of a teacher), a letter was written from the court to Endicott to this effect, that whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston because they would not make a public declaration of their *repentance for having communion with the Church of England* while they lived there; therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the Council; and withal desiring him that they would forbear to proceed till they had conference about it."† The church at Salem, notwithstanding this dictation, received Mr. Williams. He was, however, obliged to retire from Salem before the opposition of the Boston Council. Where did he retire to? To the Pilgrim Fathers' colony at Plymouth, where he was received with marked respect and kindness, and he became assistant to Ralph Smith, who had been driven out before him by the Puritan colonists. Governor Bradford, in his Journal, says, "He, Williams, was freely en-

\* Original Letter in MSS. of Massachusetts Historical Society.

† Winthrop's History of New England.

\* Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.

"tertained amongst us, according to our poor ability, exercised his gifts amongst us, and after some time was admitted a member of the Church, and his teaching was well approved." This does not look like persecution. A diversity of sentiment, however, afterwards occurred, and, at Williams' own desire, he returned to the church at Salem. Bradford, under date 1633, says, "This year Mr. Williams began to fall into some strange opinions and from opinions to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent, on his part, by occasion whereof he left us somewhat abruptly. Yet afterwards sued for his dismission to the church at Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him."\* The opinions of R. Williams referred to were, as we shall see, political rather than religious; indeed, he called in question the right of the Crown to the soil of the colonies—an opinion which, if put into practice, would now as then justify a charge of high treason. It must be stated, moreover, that just at this juncture (1633) Archbishop Laud, who had heard of the successful planting of the Separatist and Puritan colonies, determined to break them up by force of arms. Orders of the Privy Council were issued to detain the ships about to depart from England. Sir Simon D'Ewes, in 1634, says, "There was a consultation had to send thither (New England) a thousand soldiers; a ship was then building and near finished;" and he tells us further, "there was much fear amongst the godly lest their infant Commonwealth should have been ruined."† Edward Winslow, one of the Pilgrims, visiting England at this date, was thrown into prison for seventeen weeks on account of his religious practice in the colony. Such dangers threatening from England, it can well be understood that the colonists would be careful to give no good ground of offence to the civil rights of the Crown; hence the caution to the church at Salem respecting the political opinions held by Williams, whilst they remitted him to them as a christian brother with whom they had been on terms of amity, and of whom they afterwards spoke with love and affection. After much conflict with the Massachusetts authorities on various points, Roger Williams was ordered to depart out of their jurisdiction, September 3, 1636. He was allowed, however, to remain until the following spring, when Williams proposed to form a settlement at Narragansett Bay. The Boston authorities did not consider him safe at that distance, and gave orders to ship him to England—an unwarranta-

ble act of intolerance, considering that they themselves were fugitives from persecution at home. How did the Pilgrim Fathers regard and treat Williams at this juncture? Winslow, one of them, writes on this occasion, "I know that Mr. Williams, though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall, held forth on the unlawfulness of our letters patent from the King, and would not allow the colours of our nation."\* He regrets his political views, particularly dangerous to the infant colony at this crisis, but he has nothing but kindly words as to his character, and trusts in God to recall him. Roger Williams confirms this under his own hand. From Seekouk (Rehoboth) he writes, "I received a letter from my ANCIENT FRIEND Mr. Winslow, the Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect for me, yet LOVINGLY advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay (the colony of Massachusetts), to remove to the other side of the river, and there, he said, I had the country before me, and I might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbours together."† This was good as well as kind advice, and promoted peace and resulted in security and freedom to R. Williams. In another letter Williams informs us that the good offices of Governor Winslow did not stop at good and kind advice; he writes, "That great and pious soul Mr. Winslow melted, and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply."‡ Beyond this expression of desire for the sake of peace with their neighbours of the Bay, that Williams would cross the river to found his new settlement, there is not one word of MS. history which can be construed into an act of persecution or unkindness on the part of the original settlers of New Plymouth, while, on the other hand, Williams ever speaks gratefully of the kind treatment and loving advice which the Plymouth colonists extended to him.

We now come, in chronological order, to the alleged persecution of *The Friends* by the Pilgrim Fathers,—an allegation which, but for the wide-spread credit it has obtained amongst the members of a truth-loving Society, I should treat with the disrespect which it deserves. Williams was a contemporary of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, the Friends were not. Persecution of the Friends by the Pilgrim Fathers was chronologically impracticable. George Fox, a good authority on such a point,

\* Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.

† *Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simon D'Ewes, Bart.*, ii. 118.

\* Winslow's *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, &c.

† Roger Williams' Letter to Major Mason, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i. 276.

‡ *Ibid.*, 275.

says, "In 1655, many went beyond sea, where 'truth also sprung up; and in 1656 it broke forth in America.'"<sup>\*</sup>

It will be seen that this was thirty-five years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 (a date which cannot be shaken). In 1656 every leader of that party whose name history has recorded was in his grave. John Carver, first Governor, died in 1621; John Robinson died in 1625; Samuel Fuller in 1633; Elder Brewster in 1643; Edward Winslow (Williams's friend and correspondent) died in 1655; Myles Standish in 1656, and in the same year William Bradford, of Scrooby, historian of the party, closed his career, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, in the very year in which George Fox says that the truth held by the Friends broke forth in America. At this date great changes had taken place in New England. Plymouth was no longer an independent colony, but only one of a Confederation of the four New England settlements of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, and we now come in order to enquire whether the successors of the Pilgrim Fathers, who had now passed off the scene, forgot the religious principles of their fathers. I am not called to prove this, but it is very satisfactory to find that some of the sons and successors of the Pilgrim Fathers suffered obloquy and made sacrifices for their hostility to the persecuting acts of the Council in relation to the Friends.

Isaac Robinson, son of John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrims at Leyden, was disfranchised for his opposition to the laws against the Quakers in 1659, and removed from his place in the government of Plymouth colony. At the period at which we have now arrived, an important branch settlement and church of Separatists had been formed at Scituate, near to Plymouth. This settlement was formed of members of the Separatist Church in Southwark, under Henry Jacob, to whom we have had occasion to refer. It was joined in 1634 by John Lothrop, also pastor of the Southwark church, and on his arrival at Scituate some of the Plymouth colonists went to join them. They are known in the Colonial History as "the men of Kent." Amongst those who joined and befriended the church at Scituate, we find Isaac Robinson, just referred to, also Timothy Hatherley and James Cudworth. The church was accustomed to meet at the house of the latter. I have said that Isaac Robinson suffered disfranchisement and removal from office for befriending the Quakers; Cudworth and Hatherley also suffered from the same cause. Cudworth was assistant to the

Governor in 1656-8, and a Commissioner of the United Colonies in 1657. In 1658 he fell under the displeasure of these Commissioners, "because he would not set his hand to the laws which had been propounded to the several Courts to be enacted against the Quakers." He was left out of the magistracy and Board of Commissioners and deprived of his military command. In 1659, being returned as a Deputy by the town of Scituate, the Court rejected him. A letter of his, in 1658, shows plainly what were his sentiments. "The anti-christian and persecuting spirit," he says, "is very active, and that in the powers of the world. He that will not lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matter of religion must not sit on the bench nor sustain any office in the Commonwealth. Last election," he adds, "Mr. Hatherley and myself were left off the bench and myself discharged my captainship because I entertained some of the Quakers at my house that I might thereby be the better acquainted with their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in divers things, and so I signified to the Court; but I told them withal that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no PERSECUTOR."<sup>\*</sup> He then narrates how for two whole years he had been in opposition to the ruling powers on behalf of the same cause, and describes feelingly the sufferings of the Friends, which he says "saddened the hearts of the precious saints of God."

James Bowden, in his *History of the Friends in America*, bears testimony to the noble conduct of Cudworth and Hatherley, particularly in reference to their protecting three members of the Society, William Brand, John Copland and Sarah Gibbons. Hatherley, as a magistrate, furnished them with a free pass to protect them on their way.

#### CONCLUSION.

My task is accomplished. I have shown, as well as I knew how, and so far as time has permitted, that the Pilgrim Fathers and their precursors in England, Holland, and at Plymouth, were *Separatists*, and had no connection with the *Puritans*, who subsequently settled in New England, at Salem and Boston, in Massachusetts; that the principles and practices of the two parties, confounded by some careless writers, differed essentially. The Separatists ever contending for freedom of conscience and separation from the powers of the State, while the Puritans remained in connection and communion with the State Church, and held both in England and New England that

<sup>\*</sup> Fox's Journal.

<sup>\*</sup> History of Scituate, p. 246.



the State should be authoritative in matters of religion. Hence the anti-christian and intolerant acts of the Puritan colony to the Separatists, Ralph Smyth, Roger Williams, Isaac Robinson, John Cudworth and Timothy Hatherley. Hence, also, on the arrival of the Friends, the cruel laws for whipping, banishing and executing for matters of religious faith and practice. I have shown that the Separatist colony of Plymouth had no share in this intolerant conduct during the lives of the Pilgrim Fathers, and, moreover, that they acted kindly, and received into their church both Smyth and Roger Williams when forbidden to worship freely elsewhere; and that after the death of the Pilgrim Fathers, some of their sons and successors, acting up to their principles, shielded the Friends, and refused to be parties to the persecuting laws then enacted. This last point I was not pledged to support by proof, but I felt it due to the noble men of whom I have been speaking to show that they left some noble successors behind them.

It may interest you to know that two eminent historians, recently deceased, virtually admitted the truth of that which I have to-night affirmed. I refer to Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), who as Commissioners for decorating historically the House of Lords, were appealed to respecting an erroneous inscription placed under Mr. Cope's painting of the Pilgrim Fathers landing in New England. The inscription stood "Departure of a Puritan Family for New England," but after listening at the proofs submitted, and hearing Mr. Cope, who stated that he had taken his ideas from Bradford's *Journal*, the Commissioners ordered the terms "*Puritan Family*" to be removed, as unjust to the memory of the parties concerned, and substituted the words "*PILGRIM FATHERS*."

It may be objected "this is merely a question of names, dates and localities; that if the Pilgrim Fathers did not persecute, the Puritan colony of Massachusetts did." It is, however, a question of graver importance than this; even of *truth, justice and principle*. It is due to truth itself that truth should be spoken, if ascertainable, upon every subject. It is due to the parties concerned that justice should be done to their memories; it is just, moreover, to their ecclesiastical successors to this day, and to the end of time. It is due to the high and sacred principles involved that they should be rightly stated—for ourselves, our children, and our children's children, will either learn or unlearn right principles as they are placed truly before them, or withheld from their observation. It is due also upon the common ground of justice from man to man. History

which confounds right and wrong, the persecutor with the persecuted, is not only unjust, but worthless. History so written would confound the slaveholder with the enslaved; indeed would treat as one and the same, the rabble of priests, scribes and soldiers, which clamoured for the crucifixion of our Lord and the small weeping band of sympathisers who surrounded his cross. Religious history which does not accurately and justly discriminate between not *men only* but their *PRINCIPLES*, had better never have been written.

The question is of grave importance to you, my friends, who listen to me to-night. The struggle commenced at the Reformation is not yet over; indeed, in some respects, it has hardly yet begun in some of the countries of Europe. The Society of Friends, in common with all who virtually hold Separatist views, are awakening to the fact that those great religious questions opened in the Tudor and Stuart period, are reserved for final settlement in our day. America—thanks to the Separatists and the Friends—has led the van, and Europe must soon follow; but if our ecclesiastical trumpets give forth uncertain confused and conflicting sounds, who shall prepare himself for the struggle? "Europe," says the late Abbott Lawrence, United States Ambassador to this country, "Europe has begun to study 'the principles of the Pilgrim Fathers;' *well but what were those principles?* This is the question—Were they the principles of a church claiming to be dominant and exclusive, and to hold authority over the minds and consciences of men, placing earthly rulers on the throne of spiritual supremacy? or were they the principles of churches which know no king but Christ, no law but His word, no teaching but that word as it shall be applied to *each man's conscience* individually by the influence of the Holy Spirit? churches which repudiate human authority, however august, whether of kings, councils or parliaments? churches which hold that while the most devoted loyalty is due to civil rulers, loyalty to Christ demands that He should be Lord of conscience? churches which, in short, "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's?"

Are not these two systems sufficiently distinct to render justice to their professors and founders an act of fairness and christian duty? If they be not sufficiently distinctive to render such justice incumbent upon all of us Separatists of the present day (by whatever name we be termed), then it follows as a necessary consequence that we are not justified in our separation from the churches established in this or any other land by the authority of the Law.

I have long known and respected many of those in whose Institute I have the honour to speak to-night, and although I see not with them in all things, yet it has long been my privilege to work with them in various philanthropic departments—for elevating the down-trodden, reclaiming the drunkard, shielding the oppressed, and freeing the slave. My grandfather was first treasurer of the Peace Society formed in this city; and from his and my own experience of the Friends and their history, I have come to regard them as amongst the most uncompromising and indomitable of the advocates of truth and right. The banner of free conscience and free worship, first openly unfurled by the Separatists in the Tudor period and carried through all the bloody struggle, was also grasped and upheld by the Friends in the time of the Stuarts, and the two parties, side by side, both in England and America, have ever since lifted it higher and higher, and have rallied under it an *ever-increasing host*, till this day.\* And there are yet grander triumphs reserved for the allied bands. Thirty millions of free worshippers across the Atlantic, as equal, religiously, before *men* as they are before God, beacon us to imitate and to emulate their example. To do so efficiently we must keep clear our views of truth and right, and we must be just to those who taught us our principles, having tested them in the furnace of suffering; and our course shall be distinct, our conduct consistent, and our alliance efficacious and enduring, and the God of truth and right will second our humble endeavours and give to all the Churches of His Son, as at the beginning, freedom, equality, true fraternity and peace. AMEN."

### III.—SUGGESTIONS FOR A CONSTITUTION FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

By EGBERT BENSON AND RUFUS KING.

From the original manuscript in the possession of M. M. Jones, Esqr., of Utica, N. Y.†

1. That the exception of Murder out of the general Power to the Governor to grant pardons to persons convicted of crimes shall cease

\* Dr. Vaughan, in the *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1865, estimates the number of Churches in England, America and the Colonies which may be termed "Congregational," or self-governing, at over 30,000. If he had included in his enumeration other churches, which, although not congregational, are yet free from State control, such as the Free Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches in America, Scotland and the British colonies, the number of free churches would probably reach 50,000,—far out-numbering those which are dependent upon and subject to the powers of the State.

† In the original, the body of the paper is in Mr. Benson's hand-writing, while Mr. King's suggestions are interlined. In this copy, the latter are in Italics and enclosed in brackets.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

2. That the Article in the Constitution whereby Ministers of the Gospel or priests of any denomination may not hold any civil or military office shall cease—

3. That the office of Lieutenant Governor shall cease and the Senate shall choose their own Speaker—

4. That in case of vacancy of the Office of Governor the Legislature shall forthwith convene [*in such manner as shall be provided for by law*] and a quorum of both houses appearing, they shall form themselves into a joint meeting and having adjudged that a vacancy has happened they shall proceed to elect by Plurality of Votes, by Ballot, a Governor for the residue of the period for which the Governor last in office was elected

5. That every Male Citizen of the United States of full age resident within this State, and who shall have had his home or place of abode in the town, ward or other place where the election shall be held for the space of one whole year [*Eleven Calendar months*] immediately preceding it shall be entitled to vote at every election for public officers within this State—

6. That the Governor shall be elected for four years—

7. That the provision in the Constitution for dividing the Members of the Senate into Classes shall cease, and the Seats of all the Members shall become vacant on the same day in every fourth year—

8. That the Members of the Assembly shall be elected for two years—

9. That it shall always be in the discretion of the two Houses, having met during the first of the two years for which the Members of the Assembly shall have been elected, whether they shall by a special adjournment over, meet again during the second year—

10. That the Legislature shall cause the State to be divided into districts equal in number with the Members of Assembly to be denominated *Assembly Districts*, and also into districts equal in number with the Members of the Senate to be denominated *Senate Districts* and the Several Districts to contain an equal number of Electors, as near as may be; and a Member of Assembly shall be elected in each Assembly District, and a Member of the Senate in each Senate District.

11. That the Legislature shall at certain periods of not less than ten, nor more than fifteen, years, cause a Census of the Electors to be taken, and thereupon if appearing requisite to a due Apportionment of the Representation in the Legislature cause the State to be divided into Districts anew

12. That the period for which a Chancellor, or Judges of the Supreme Court or first Judge of

the County shall hold his office shall be extended to seventy years of age—

13. That the Legislature may in their discretion from time to time divide the State into Districts to be denominated *Judicial Districts*, assigning a Court of Chancery and a Supreme Court with a district Chancellor and district Judges for each District.

14. That on the first division the persons at the time in office as Chancellor, or Judges of the Supreme Court, shall severally, by force of their Commissions, become Chancellor or Judges of the Supreme Court respectively, in one or other, of the Districts according to such distribution of them as the Governor shall appoint—

15. That the present Court for the Correction of Errors shall on such division cease, and the Chancellors and Judges of the Supreme Courts of the Judicial Districts, and the Members of the Senate of the Degree of Counsellor at Law in a Supreme Court, shall become the Court for the Correction of Errors—

16. That the Chancellor, or Judges of the Supreme Court from whose Decree or Judgment the Appeal or Writ of Error shall be, shall not be deemed precluded from having a voice for its Affirmance or Reversal—

17. That the Council of Appointment shall cease, and all Officers, Civil and Military, other than those directed to be otherwise appointed shall be appointed by the Governor—

18. That, with the Exception of the First Judges, the Legislature may in their discretion, vest in the Court of Common Pleas, or Boards of Supervisors, or other public bodies, in the several Cities and Counties the appointment of Sheriffs, Coroners, Clerks or other City or County officers—

19. That the Court for the trial of Impeachments shall cease—

20. That in the Cases where the Office is held during good behavior the Senate and Assembly may by Concurrent Resolution, declare their sense that it is not expedient a person in Office should continue therein and thereupon the Commission to such person shall cease, but such Resolution shall always originate in the Assembly, and a Majority of two thirds of the respective Houses, shall be required to pass it, and the Motion for it in the Assembly shall always be made without Assignment of Cause, and the question on it afterwards in each House be accordingly taken without debate—

21. That the Council of Revision shall cease, but no Bill shall pass the House in which it shall originate, and no amendment thereto from the House to which it may have been sent for concurrence, shall be agreed to, unless by a Majority of two thirds—

[ADDRESSED THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> RUFUS KING,

Jamaica, Queens County

POST MARKED, CAZENOVIA, AUG. 17, 1821]

#### IV.—“THOU ART THE MAN.”

It is a matter of record that, once on a time, a mighty King, claiming to be a special favorite of God and enjoying, to-day, the reputation, at least, of having been a great and good man, saw fit to commit, for lust's sake, a grievous wrong against one of his subjects, and thus proved that, in fact, he was neither great nor good.

It is matter of record, also, that a faithful annalist of that period subsequently called the attention of the King to the outrage of which he had been guilty; but the statement, by design, was not specific, and the King did not perceive either the underlying facts or the criminal who was indirectly arraigned before him.

It is matter of record, also, that the King listened attentively to the general charge which was made against an un-named offender; and that, as the successive steps of his wickedness were gradually unfolded for his judgment, “his anger was greatly kindled against the man” who had apparently outraged his poorer neighbor, by seizing his lone lamb while his own flocks and herds remained undisturbed in his pastures—he went so far, indeed, the record tells us, as to decree, “*As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die*.” he shall “also restore the lamb four-fold, because he did this thing and had no pity.”

Finally, the record bears testimony that, after the King had thus emphatically condemned himself while he supposed he was merely condemning one of his subjects, the same faithful accuser arose a second time before him, and, with that true dignity which belongs only to those who have the Truth on their side and dare proclaim it, promptly introduced the convicted criminal to his angry Judge—“*Thou art the man*” was the simple formula employed by Nathan to bring home to Bath-sheba's self-righteous and self-satisfied seducer and Uriah's murderer the enormity of his outrage and the justice of the judgment which, unwittingly, he had, just before, decreed against himself.

While Nathan employed the glittering generalities of the original accusation, he merely sent his arrows into the air, and no one was hurt: it was only when the criminal as well as the crime was condemned, and David, himself, was designated as “the man” whom David had already sentenced to death, that the great object of Nathan's mission was accomplished and the emphatic message of the Lord was delivered.

What was true in Israel, centuries ago, is equally true, to-day, in America; and that writer of History who rests satisfied with a merely general survey of his field of inquiry will most certainly secure the applause of the unnamed guilty ones, while he will, also, most certainly fail to

accomplish any of the great purposes for which History should be written. It is, indeed, the province of History and the duty of those who write it to hold up for the instruction of mankind, the causes and effects which the Past has transmitted to the Present; but that duty has been only imperfectly discharged while the men who have gone before us remain separated from their measures, and their virtues and vices are examined at a distance, *en masse*, and separate from those to whom they belonged. Like Nathan of old, every writer of History is a servant of God, bearing a message to generations yet unborn; and every Historian is recreant of his duty who fails to say unto those to whom he is sent, and of whose actions he is to write, "*Thou art the man*" unto whom belongeth the merited condemnation, and unto **THEE** shall be awarded the honors to which **THOU** art justly entitled.

We have been led to make these remarks because some of our contemporaries seem to suppose that the duty of a Historian is ended when he has repeated a statement, no matter by whom made; while others suppose that he cannot properly dispute an averment which comes from "a gentleman," even if unsupported, or express a doubt of his personal integrity whose ancestors were "respectable." The inhabitants of particular towns and particular States, it is often claimed, must also be spared from specific censure, even if guilty of wrong-doing; and an "established reputation," no matter on what founded or how worthless it may be, in fact, must be shielded, at all times, from positive condemnation, if not, indeed, from implied censure. Those, for instance, who are not "for" Massachusetts under ALL circumstances are too often considered as necessarily "against" her in ALL things; and those who violate the self-esteem of Boston in the smallest degree are regarded by many as guilty of the whole catalogue of offences, and fit only to be held up to the unqualified condemnation of the faithful. On the other hand, what would have been a Truth if it had come from New England ought to be regarded as necessarily a Falsehood when it comes from the South; while New York is too often regarded as only a modern Nazareth, from which no good can possibly come, under any circumstances.

Our duty and that of our fellow-laborers in the field of Historical inquiry, under these circumstances, is very plain. The offender as well as the offence comes properly within our notice; and as Nathan had discharged only one half of his duty when he had merely held up the offence of David to the indignant condemnation of the King, so will our duty have been only imperfectly performed while we shall hesitate to look a criminal in the face, because of his ancestral pretensions, and say unto him while we condemn the

crime of which he is guilty, "*Thou art the man*" who committed it. H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

## V.—THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM CALLED *THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER*.\*

READ BEFORE THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT ITS MEETING, 1867: BY COLONEL JOHN L. WARNER.

Just previous to the attack on Baltimore, and the bombardment of Fort McHenry, on the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth of September, by the British Army and fleet of fifty sail, the fleet came up to North Point and anchored. Francis Key, Esq., a lawyer and writer of merit, was commissioned by our Government to visit the military powers of this invading fleet, and to negotiate some international law matters as regarded an exchange of prisoners, &c. Mr. Key went down to the fleet under a flag of truce, thus commissioned. He was received with courtesy on board of Admiral Cockburn's ship, but it being on the eve of the attack on Baltimore and the Fort (a simultaneous one by land and water) it was deemed expedient to detain Mr. Key as a prisoner till the result of the action was ascertained. Thus detained, Key became a painful witness of the bombardment of the fort on the thirteenth, from sunrise on the thirteenth to seven o'clock, A.M., of the fourteenth of September. We may well imagine the anxious feelings of poor Key during this long shelling through a dark and rainy night; but when the dawn of day broke on the fourteenth, and developed to his sight the starry banner still proudly waving on the fort's flagstaff, we can well imagine Key's joy of heart.

It was during this detention and consequent excitement of patriotic feeling that Mr. Key composed the outlines of the National Hymn—*The Star Spangled Banner*. After his liberation, Mr. Key returned to Baltimore, and there perfected this very interesting and deep-hearted National poem, which is now chaunted in every civilized country.

The British having thus been defeated before Baltimore, at once returned down the Chesapeake Bay. Mr. Key, having in a few days completed a perfect copy of his stanzas, gave the song to Captain Benjamin Edes, a printer established at the corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets, (and who was a Captain in the Twenty-seventh Baltimore Regiment, which had done good service in the battle of North Point,) to print and distribute to the citizens. It was first sung when fresh from his press, at a small frame one-story house, occupied as a tavern next to the Holiday Street Theatre.

This tavern had long been kept by the widow Berling, and then by a Colonel MacConkey, a house where the players "most did congregate," with the quid nunes of that day, to do honors to, and to prepare for, the daily military drills in Gay Street, (for every able man was then a soldier;) and here came, also, Captain Benjamin Edes, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment; Captain Long and Captain Thomas Warner, of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, and Major Frailey. Warner was a silversmith of good repute in that neighborhood.

It was the latter end of September, 1814, when a lot of the young volunteer defenders of the Monumental City was thus assembled. Captain Edes and Captain Thomas Warner came early along one morning and forthwith called the group (quite merry with the British defeat) to order, to listen to a patriotic song which the former had just struck off at his press. He then read it to all the young volunteers there assembled, who greeted each verse with hearty shouts. It was then suggested that it should be sung; but who was able to sing it? Ferdinand Durang, who was a soldier in the cause and known to be a vocalist, being among the group, was assigned the task of vocalising this truly inspired patriotic hymn of the lamented Key. The old air of *Anacreon in Heaven* had been adapted to it by the author, and Mr. Edes was desired so to print it on to the top of the ballad.

Its solemn melody and impressive notes seem naturally allied to the poetry, and speak emphatically the musical taste and judgment of Mr. Key. Ferdinand Durang mounted an old-fashioned rush-bottomed chair and sang this admirable national song for the first time in our Union, the chorus to each verse being echoed by those present with infinite harmony of voices. It was thus sung several times during the morning. When the theatre was opened by Warren and Wood, it was sung nightly, after the play, by Paddy McFarland and the company.

#### VI.—MR. DRAYTON'S TALK TO THE CHEROKEES, 25 SEPTEMBER, 1775.

[From the author's manuscript, in the possession of the Editor.\*]

A TALK FROM THE HONOURABLE WILL<sup>m</sup> H. DRAYTON ESQ<sup>r</sup> ONE OF THE BELOVED MEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA TO THE BELOVED MEN, HEAD MEN & WARRIORS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION AT THE CONGAREES, SEP<sup>r</sup> 25, 1775.

FRIENDS & BROTHER WARRIORS

I take you by the hand, in witness of the Peace

\* This very interesting paper was picked up in Charleston, by Mr. G. W. Scobie, Acting Second Engineer of the steamship *James Adger*, U. S. N., and was placed on our hands by our friend, Lewis Francis, Esq., of New York City.

and friendship which has so long subsisted between your Brothers the White People of this Country & you & your People; and I hold your hand fast in testimony that your Brothers the White People wish that our Peace & Friendship with you & your People may continue—

I sent a talk to you in your Nation to desire that you would come to see me at the Congarees in order that we might talk together face to face. When I sent to you, I thought to have been here, before you could have arrived: but some of our People who did not understand the things about which I intend to speak to you; & to explain which to them I came into the Country, my stay among those People was therefore longer than I expected; & I was thereby detained from seeing you at the time I appointed. This being the case, I make no doubt but that you will readily excuse my absence which I assure you was as disagreeable to myself, as it could possibly be to you.—

I sent to you, to come to me that I might explain to you, the causes of the unhappy quarrel between a part of the People in Great Britain & your Brothers the White People living in America.—Also, that I might tell you why our People have put on their Shot Pouches, & hold their Rifles in their hands.—

The causes of this unhappy quarrel are very plain, as you will see as I go on with my talk; but, in order that you may see them and understand them clearly, I must first talk to you of the time before any of our White People came to this Country, and what was then done.—

Before our Forefathers left England, they made an agreement with the Great King, that when they came over to America, they and their children after them, should there continue to have and to enjoy the same Rights & Privileges that the People of England who you know were their own Brothers did actually enjoy. And to this Agreement, the Great King put his hand & his seal; and declared that all the Great Kings after him should be bound by the Agreement he had made.—

Now, in consequence of this agreement, your Brothers the White People in America say, the money they have in their pockets is their own; and the Great King has no right whatsoever to send or to order any Officers to take this money or any part of it out of our pockets, or to make any laws to bind us but by our own consent given by our Wise Men who we ourselves elect & appoint to make laws for us. And we say so for this plain and good reason: because the Great King has no right to send any Officers to take any money out of the Pockets of our Brothers the People of England, or to bind them by any laws but by their own consent given by their Wise Men, who they themselves elect &

appoint to make laws for them. For as this is the right and privilege of our Brothers in England, so this agreement declares we have the same right and privilege.—

But notwithstanding these things, the Men about the Great King, have persuaded him, that he and the Men in England whom we never elected and appointed to make laws for us, have a right to take our money out of our pockets without our consent, and to make laws to drag us away from our own Country across the great water, and all this without asking us any thing about the matter and violently against our consent and good liking. And unjust and wicked as all this is, yet this is not the worst part of their usage to us. They have by other laws broken our agreement in whatever particular part they pleased: and these Men about the Great King have so teased & persuaded him, that the Great King and the Men in England, whom as I told you before, we never appointed to make laws for us, have made one law which says the Great King & those Men have a right to bind us by laws of their making, in all cases whatsoever: which is as much as to say, they have a right to treat us and every thing belonging to us, just as they please: and this you know is as much as to say they have a right to take all our money, all our lands, all our cattle and horses and such things; & not only all such things, but our Wives & Children in order to make servants of them, and besides all these things, to put us in strong houses and put us to death whenever they please.

Friends and Brother Warriors, is it not now as plain as the sight at the end of your Rifles that these laws and proceedings are like so many hatchets chopping our agreement to pieces? Are not these unjust things enough to make us put on our Shot pouches, and especially when we find that our Brothers over the Great Water will not only, not hearken to the many good Talks which we have sent them about these matters: but have really sent over People to take the hatchet up against us?

Oh my Brother Warriors, it is a lamentable thing, that our Brothers beyond the great water should use us in this cruel manner!—If they use us, their own flesh and blood in this unjust way, what must you expect: you who are red People; you whom they never saw; you whom they know only by the hearing of the ear; you who have fine lands?—You see by their treatment of us, that agreements even under hand and seal go as nothing with them.—Think of these things my Friends, and reflect upon them day and night.—

Having told you that the Men about the Great King persuaded him, that he and the Men in England have a right to take our money out of our pockets without our consent; I must now tell

you the contrivances they have fallen upon to take this money whether we will or not.—

In order to take this money from us, they have ordered that we must pay a duty upon this and that thing that we are accustomed to purchase, which is as much as to say, that upon these things which we purchase, we must pay to the Great King against our consent a sum of money above the real value of those things. And in particular they ordered, that if we drink Tea, we must pay so much money to the Great King.—I must tell you, this Tea is somewhat like your black drink.—But as we know that this order is contrary to our agreement; and also, as we know the evil consequences of our paying this money, so your Brothers the white people in America have resolved that they will not pay it; and therefore the Men about the Great King have persuaded him to send Soldiers to Boston, and we are told some are coming here to force the People to give their money without their consent; and thereby to give up their rights and privileges which are mentioned in the agreement.

Some foolish People say it is better to pay this money for the Tea, than to go to War about it. But I tell you, it is not about this money alone that we quarrel, for the money itself we do not regard as two corn stalks; but, we are afraid bad consequences will follow if we pay the money, as I will shew to you directly.

We find that the Men in England talk among themselves that they intend to make us in America, pay to them a great sum of money every year. The way they intend to raise this money is as I have told you already by making us pay a duty upon this and that thing that we are accustomed to purchase. Now this duty upon Tea brings in but a very small part of that great Sum of money they want to make us pay to them; and therefore, we refuse to pay this money for the Tea, least, if we paid it, they would be encouraged to go on time after time, to lay duties upon a great many other things, which we are accustomed to purchase; in order that they may at last get from us, that great Sum of money which they want, and which perhaps is all we have. By which means, as your Brothers the White People will be obliged to give more money than usual, for those blankets, strouds, checks, linens, Guns, powder, paint & Rum with which you are supplied; so if money is thus taken out of our pockets without our consent, & against our agreement, it is plain and certain, that you and your People, must pay two and three deer skins for those goods, which you used to purchase of the Traders for one deer skin. And thus you see, that we do not quarrel only upon our own account; but that we have put on our shot pouches, not only to preserve our money, but also to preserve your deer skins.

Friends and Brother Warriors, I have now told you the causes of our unhappy quarrel with the Men over the great water. I hope your Eyes are now opened, and that you see plainly, that your interest is as much concerned in this quarrel as our interest. And that you also see, that we have put on our shot pouches, and have taken up our rifles, only to defend our rights and privileges according to the agreement, and by doing so, to defend your deer skins against those who wish to rob you of them.

Therefore, as your people and our people were born upon and live in the same land—as we are old acquaintances, and have thereby contracted a regard for each other—as our interest in this quarrel is the same, for the Men over the great water cannot take our money against our consent without taking your deer skins also—as you see that no agreement is kept with us, so you cannot expect to be better treated by Men who want all that you and ourselves have. I say, as all these things shew you that if we are hurt, you must be hurt also—if we lose, you must lose also—if we fall, you must fall also: so I tell you in time, that you and ourselves ought to join together, in order to save all of us from being hurt, or from losing, or from falling.—Let us therefore exert ourselves, you at your end of the chain of Peace, and we at our end, in order that we may keep this chain bright and shining.—So shall we act to each other like Brothers—So shall we be able to support and assist each other against our common enemies—So shall we be able to stand together in perfect safety against those evil Men, who in the end mean to ruin you, as well as ourselves who are their own flesh and blood.

I am informed that you have been told, that your Brothers the White People in Charles Town, used you ill, when they seized some ammunition which your Traders intended to have sent to you. It is true my Friends, that we did seize this ammunition; and I tell you, that your Brothers the White People seized it with great concern, because they knew their seizing it would in some degree distress you: but I tell you also, the Men about the Great King, are the only Persons to be blamed in this affair. For as we found, that these Men persuaded the Great King to send Soldiers against us, & to stop all kinds of ammunition from coming to us as usual in order that we should not be able to defend ourselves, so these Men about the Great King by this proceeding compelled us to seize such ammunition for our own defence, as came among us by accident; and accordingly we greedily seized the ammunition that was intended for your hunting, in order to have in our hands the means of defending our lives, our money and your deer skins, as I told you, before, against our oppressors. And this

behaviour of ours was so natural and just, that we knew, that when we came to talk to you on the matter, you would think we did nothing but what was just, and what you would have done had you been in our situation.—However, the ammunition that was seized, was intended to be sold to you: but, to shew you that we regard you as Brothers, we intend to make you a present of some. We wish we were able to give you, as much as your occasions require: but as the Great King has so ordered it, that we cannot get much for ourselves; & as we expect to fight our enemies, therefore we cannot afford to give you much of what we have.—I know your good sense will inform that this is perfectly reasonable; and that we ought not to give away so much ammunition, as would leave us, & you also, exposed to enemies, who, as I told you before, cannot hurt us, without hurting you also.

It is a concern to us when we reflect, that the present quarrel occasions a scarcity of goods in your Nation. But goods are scarce with us also; and we submit to this inconvenience cheerfully, rather than purchase those goods, which if we did purchase, would strengthen the hands of our oppressors against us. We hope our example will encourage you to suffer this scarcity as patiently as we do. When the Public Peace shall be restored, by our rights & privileges being restored to us; and when we can purchase goods without any risque of paying for them more than they are worth, by paying duties upon them contrary to our consent, contrary to our agreement, & contrary to our, & to your interest; then will you and your children after you be plentifully supplied again as usual. In the mean time we advise you to be patient; and to shew you, that we look upon you as Brothers; and that we will give you all the friendly aid, assistance & supplies in our power—I say, as a token of this, I take the Coat off my own back, & I give it to you.—For my part, in this unhappy time, I will be content to wear, an Osnaburg Split Shirt.

I hear that one of your People has lately been killed, and that two others were at the same time wounded by some of the White People on the ceded lands in Georgia.—I feel great grief at this news.—Mr Wilkinson is just come from Seneka, and has brought me a talk from the Warriors & Headmen who were nine days ago assembled at that Town in Council upon the occasion of this bad news.—In this talk the Warrior Sawney, says, he and the other Warriors remember that in the last treaty of Peace it was agreed, that if any White Man should be killed by their People, the Perpetrators of the Murder should be put to death, and that the same satisfaction should be given by the White People in case one of your people should be murdered by

ours. Sawney also says, that the Warriors & Beloved Men will wait to see if this will be complied with or not, & in the mean time they will not think of resentment, or of saying any thing to lessen our friendship. The Warrior Chenesto, also sends a good talk, & says he does not desire to break the line of friendship which the beloved Men who are dead & gone drew between us.—These talks sound well in my ears: and in return to these good talks, I tell you, that this matter shall with all possible speed be fully enquired into, and if the White people have done wrong, and without provocation have killed your Countryman, you may be assured that those White People who were concerned in such a wicked & black affair shall be punished, and thereby your People will have satisfaction according to the Treaty.—I desire you will tell the Relations of the Poor Man who has been killed, how much I am concerned at their loss. I am told he has left a Widow & children: I give these presents; and I desire you will carry them to the unfortunate Widow, in order to shew her that all the White People in this Country pity her misfortune.

**Friends & Brother Warriors.**

This talk I give to you, as a talk of Peace & friendship; a talk to open your eyes; and as a good talk from all the Beloved Men & White People of this Country, to you & your Beloved Men, & all the red Men of your Nation.—I give you this talk as so much oil to keep the chain of peace and friendship between us, bright & shining like the Sun. And as in the Corn planting Season, the Sun warms the earth, & makes the Corn to sprout & to grow for the good of the People; so I hope this talk will warm your hearts, & make thoughts of friendship & good will sprout and grow in you and your People, for the mutual good of our people & all of your Nation.

all of your

VII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN  
VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—H

37.—DR. JONATHAN ARNO  
MRS. MARY CROUCH, C—  
DEAR COUSIN

DEAR COUSIN,

I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your kind favor, by which I have the pleasure to hear of your Comfortable state of health—and that of your Children, may continue to enjoy the same. Permit me to express to you and they may your Letter to me.

\* From the  
White, Coven  
ciety.

original in the possession of Rev. Pliny H. So-

Thro' the short span of which alternate flow  
Sorrow & Joy, Health, Sickness, weal & woe.

But altho' these are the Common Lot, yet I am very sensible great difference arises therein to Individuals—from their more sudden vicissitudes—here therefore permit me to condole with you a Moment, the more than common calamities that have fallen to your share. Had an opportunity offered, long since I should have wrote you, and said many things, on this Occasion, which e'er this your own reflections on the goodness of Divine providence must have anticipated me in.

Were I to undertake a particular relation of the various turns affairs have taken within this Little State, during the year past, it would have the Appearance of Romance rather than real truth and fact. Suffice it to say generally that merchantmen being discouraged, privateering took place and with such success, that the Town of Providence in a few Months had in it more valuable W. India produce than it ever held before in Five years—by which many persons, before of moderate circumstances, made pretty *Northern* fortunes—but on the whole it was yet but partial plenty. Articles of Clothing are extremely scarce and I may add dear too—Our Legislature have taken various methods to prevent effects while the Causes remain—and have had such success as every thinking person would imagine they would have in such case.

Our port is now blocked up—what will be the immediate consequence to this State God only knows, and as the matter is at his disposal, I give myself but little uneasiness about consequences, firmly believing however gloomy the present prospect may appear, all will terminate happily.

happily.

On the 7th December the Fleet arrived, with a Large land force. We were at this time destitute of Troops for defence—the rage for privateering and advancement of private fortunes had too, too much gained the Ascendency over public Spirit, and that patriotism which had heretofore characterized our leading men—the Love of Liberty and regard for patrimonial Estates sunk in too many, to an anxious concern to save personal property—and (perhaps in imperfect creatures at times it must be so)—with confusion I write it, there seemed a general ebb of public virtue—in short, as to ourselves, and our own Conduct we were at the will of our Enemies—but heaven kindly interposed, they contented themselves with the possession of Rho Island & Conanticut, which gave time for a sufficient force to be collected to guard against them—and we are pretty quiet at present.

You mention returning to y<sup>e</sup> Northward again, for my own sake I wish it, but for yours I cannot advise to it, as I conclude the seat of War



the ensuing year will be from the Delaware northward.

I had wrote thus far long since, but had no opportunity to send—I had been particular as to many things then new, but which I dare say you have long since heard—or will hear more intelligibly from Cousin Clara who bears this—had time permitted I would have copied the whole—but General Spencer this Moment orders me away—we are preparing to attack our invaders—in a very few days it will be determined whether we or they hold Rhode Island the ensuing winter. God grant us success. Miss Arnold is pretty well and in hopeful circumstances—the Boys Lyndon and Billy have the hooping Cough, otherwise comfortable. Mrs. Arnold joins in Love to you & Children and Prayers for your welfare.

Dear Cousin Adieu  
JON<sup>A</sup> ARNOLD\*

PROVIDENCE, Oct 7th 1717

P. S.—As soon as I dated my letter it reminded me of the Letters between the two Antediluvians in Addison's works—we poor stunted mortals as to time, are too prone to procrastinate.

38.—AARON BURR TO — WESCOTT.†

N. YORK 19 July 1817.

I am really at a loss, my dear Sir, what to say about Field—no doubt the sale by Ross & Wilkins was a fraud, yet as I have actually paid about 14,000, in money and as Field has often demanded of me the 1-2 of his & his Son's Expenses time &c in attempting the settlement of these lands, it would seem to follow that I might participate in the benefit, if any—

It will not be in my power to visit Phil<sup>a</sup> this Summer. We must therefore meet here & the present is my most leisure time—At 61, Vesey St about 3, doors E. of Greenwich St. you will find in a small brick house, a small room & a most cordial Welcome, but come quickly, for on the

\* Jonathan Arnold was the third child and second son of Josiah (of Richard, of Richard, of Thomas, of English Thomas) and Amy (Phillips) Arnold, and was born in Providence, R. I., the third of December, 1741, O. S. In 1776 he was a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, and was the author of the act of the fourth of May, 1776, by which that State abjured its allegiance to the British Crown. He was a member of the Continental Congress, and a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army. After the war he removed to Winchester, N. H., and thence to St. Johnsbury, Vt., of which last-named town he was the principal grantee and the founder. In 1792 he was elected a Judge of Orange County Court. He was also one of the original trustees of the University of Vermont. By three wives he had eleven children, one of whom, Josiah Lyndon, mentioned in the letter above, was a poet of some celebrity. (See Duyckinck's *Cyclopaedia*, i., 529.) Lemuel H., his youngest son, became Governor of Rhode Island, and a member of Congress from that State. Dr. Arnold died in St. Johnsbury, on the second of February, 1798.

F. H. W.

† In the collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

1<sup>st</sup> Aug! I must set out for Albany—advise me by Mail of the Day & hour You will be here, so that I may not be from home—

In the hope of an early interview, I omit 'till then all further answer to your two letters—

Affectionately

Y<sup>r</sup> friend & s<sup>t</sup>

A BURR

[Address on outside]

\* — WESCOTT Esq

Philad:

39.—DR. FRANKLIN TO CONRAD WEISER AND OTHERS.†

EASTON, Dec 30, 1755

GENTLEMEN:

We are just on the point of setting out for Bethlehem, in our Way to Reading, where we propose to be (God willing) on Thursday Evening. The Commissioners are all well, and thank you for the Concern you express for their Welfare. We hope to have the pleasure of finding you well. No News this Way, except that Aaron Depui's Barn was burnt this Week by the Indians still keeping near those Parts. In haste I am

Gentlemen

Your humble

Servant

B. FRANKLIN

To CONRAD WEISER  
JONAS SEELY  
JAMES READ

Esquires

Reading

40.—DR. FRANKLIN TO SAMUEL RHODES.‡

FORT ALLEN, Jan. 26, 1756.

DEAR FRIEND

I am extremely oblig'd by your kind Concern express'd for my Safety & Welfare. We march'd hither with the greatest Caution, thro' some passes, however, if the Enemy had oppos'd were very dangerous, Hitherto God has and we had been careful we have built one prettily strong Fort, & by the End of next Week, or in ten Days, hope to finish two more. These I suppose of this, & at 15 Miles Distance from Delapose will compleat the projected Line from Delapose to Susquehanah. I then propose, God willing, to return homewards and en-

\* Christian name torn off.

† Communicated by William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia.  
‡ Not published, except one paragraph in a not published Philadelphia. Communicated by William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia.

ure I promise myself, of finding my Friends well. Till then, adieu; My love to all the Wrights.

Yours affectionately  
B. FRANKLIN.

To  
Mr. SAM<sup>l</sup> RHOADS  
Philad<sup>a</sup>

41.—JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE TO WILLIAM  
B. GILES.\*

CLAY HILL March 12 1815.

SIR—

I learn from authority that I cannot discredit, that you have in your possession, & occasionally shew to others, a written paper, which purports to be a letter from Mrs. Gouverneur Morris addressed to me, containing allegations against me of a nature highly injurious. No such letter has ever been received by me—I had been led to suppose that the recollection of past transactions would have caused you to refrain from mingling your name with mine, or intermeddling in any manner in my affairs. If in this I have been mistaken, as I fear is the case, I must apprise you that I cannot consent that any one under the pretext that he is not the *author*, shall make himself the *vehicle* of Calumny against me—neither will I suffer my family history to be raked up with the ashes of the peaceful to subserve the personal views of any man whatever—

Should I be misinformed as to the fact, I shall regret that our correspondence will have been causelessly renewed. Mr. Barksdale, the bearer of this letter is privy to its contents. Circumstances compel me to leave this neighbourhood to-day, but I hope soon to have the pleasure of being in it, of such, if necessary you will be duly apprized—

I am sir  
Yr h<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE  
WILLIAM B. GILES Esq.

42.—GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO MR. BRADFORD.†

LAGRANGE Xber 7th 1828.

MY DEAR BRADFORD

I am much obliged to you for the care you have taken of my letters, and Hope, before long, to offer my thanks in person as I contemplate going to town on Saturday, so as to be in time to deliver into your hands at Mr. Low's House

my American dispatches. I Have also to confer with Him, and with you, respecting several copies in french, and English of which Mr. Sparks Has, no doubt, already spoken to Mr. Low. I will make a list of the addresses of the American ladies now in Paris to call upon them in the short stay, two days, I think, which I intend to remain in town, and should you hear of any of our friends intending a kind visit to us be pleased to inform them of my plan that I may be sure not to loose the opportunity to welcome them at Lagrange. My letters by the *Don Quixotte* are not yet arrived. I see in the french papers that the return of the N. Y elections Has not been favourable to the Adams' ticket. I shall take with me a letter to Doctor Winthrop. The family beg to be affectionately remembered and I am with all my heart

Your old friend  
LAFAYETTE

We have good news from G ; when George was last in that city, He received a most kind welcome and was particularly gratified by the attention His friends had to play American tunes, Washington's March, and Yankee Doodle.

Mr. BRADFORD.

43.—ELBRIDGE GERRY TO MR. MURRAY.\*

PARIS 5<sup>th</sup> June 1798

DEAR SIR,

Immediately after the Sealing of my letter of this day, I received yours of the 28<sup>th</sup> May by the gentleman to whom it was inclosed, with the copies of dispatches from the Secretary of State, the prospect of a ten years imprisonment would not induce me to quit this country as a fugitive—I have done nothing to prompt the measure. General Pinckney has been long since apprized of his Situation—Yours sincerely

E GERRY

Mr. MURRAY, Minister &c &c

44.—GENERAL DEARBORN TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.†

HEAD QUARTERS  
ALBANY Decr 29<sup>th</sup> 1812

His Excellency

Governor TOMPKINS,

SIR,

It has become necessary for me to request your Excellency to order into the service of the United States, one Major, three Captains three Subalterns & a suitable officer to act as Judge Advo-

\* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

† From the original in the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

\* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

† From the original in the collection of the Editor.

cate from the detached Militia of New York, to form a General Court Martial on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of January next for the trial of such deserters & delinquents of Brig<sup>d</sup> Gen. Petits Brigade of detached Militia & of the Companies & Corps ordered into service, on the northern Frontier of this State, since the first day of July last, under & pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1795,—as may be expedient

With great respect, I have  
the honor to be your Excellency's  
Obedient & Humble Servant,  
H. DEARBORN

45.—MR. MONROE TO MR. MYERS.\*

RICHMOND March 17, 1800

SIR,

I want five hundred or a thousand doll<sup>r</sup> for a short time & sho<sup>d</sup> be glad it were in yr. power to accommodate me—I am induced to apply to you from the acquaintance formed in a late transaction—The money will be replaced at the time agreed on, and I am willing to make such acknowledgement for the accommodation as will be desired—With respect I am yr. obt. servant

JAS MONROE

I want the sum to night or in the morning

[Addressed on back:]

Mr. MYERS

46.—MR. CALHOUN, SECRETARY OF WAR, TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.†

DEPARTMENT OF WAR  
May 27<sup>th</sup> 1822.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> inst. and herewith transmit, agreeably to your request, Copies of all the letters addressed to you from this Department within the period designated by you, and the original letter imputed by you to Col. Lamb.

By this days mail I also forward, conformably to your Suggestion, such original letters of Mr. Mercier as are on file in this Office to Mr. Tillotson. By to morrows mail I will transmit Copies of such letters as may be handed me from the Treasury Department as refer to the Corporation loan of \$400,000.

I have the honour to be

Your Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

His Excy

J. C. CALHOUN.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

Vice President U. S.

New York

## VIII.—MARSHALL'S LIFE OF WASHINGTON.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CORRECTION OF ERRORS IN THAT WORK, ADDRESSED TO ITS PUBLISHER.\*

[From the original Manuscript, in the possession of Francis S. Hoffman, Esqr.]

SIR,

The enclosed paper is sent you as the readiest & probably not an improper mode by which it may be made useful. It is too late to have any beneficial effect as to volume already printed; but it may perhaps have a tendency to procure more correct information to the Author of future volumes; or at least be useful in future Editions.

Philada 3 October 1804—

[Addressed on outside]

Mr. C. P. WAYNE.

[ENCLOSURE.]

A person who professes to have derived much gratification from reading the 2d vol. of the Life of General Washington, finds occasion, notwithstanding, to regret that the historian did not possess information so full and particular as might be wished, concerning some of the facts and circumstances stated. He particularly alludes to some of the transactions in the year 1776 and 1777, at which time he was not with the army, and therefore cannot pretend to describe with perfect precision the facts and circumstances, which he perceives, however, stand in need of a more correct Statement. His acquaintance & frequent communication with officers of distinction, together with his own intimate knowledge of the geographical situation of Jersey near the Delaware, enable him to suggest some inaccuracies which he is persuaded the historian will with pleasure receive the information necessary to the correction of, when opportunity will admit. He therefore takes the liberty with great deference, to suggest some observations which have occurred to himself, and to refer to others better informed, for further information. Genl Philemon Dickinson, of the Jersey Militia, and Col Samuel Griffin of Virginia, were active in the scenes alluded to, and can probably point out others who may add to the information they can give.

Whether remarks of a similar nature have occurred to others, or not, on the same or other parts of the history, the writer of this is uninformed; he takes the liberty of suggesting such only as have occurred to his own mind as demanding notice, on a reading performed not at perfect leisure, nor free from interruptions. And altho his disposition toward the historian is perfectly friendly, he has a still stronger reliance for the extenuation of the freedom he uses, on his

\* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

† From the original in the collection of the Editor.

\* It is not now known by whom these suggestions were offered, as no signature is appended to the letter.

regards for the fame of Genl Washington & for the correctness of the history in which it is involved.

The battle of Long Island and retreat of the American Army from thence appear by the marginal notes, to have been in July 1776: whereas it is believed to have been in August 1776.

This retreat of the American Troops, was considered at the time, by all men of military Science, to whom the existing circumstances were known, and so spoken of by the British officers, as a masterly stroke of Generalship which reflected the highest honour on the Commander who planned and executed it so successfully within a few rods of an enemy of vastly superior strength in every point of view. It seems, therefore, to merit more notice in history than a mere narrative as of a common transaction. It was, not uncommonly, remarked at and about the time, that it would have done honour to the greatest military character in Europe.

*Page 541, &c*—Description of the roads leading into Trenton, are mistaken

The Penington, or Pennytown Road leads into Trenton at the northern, or upper end of the Town. The River Road enters the town on the western side, near the lower or Southern part of it

*Page 542*—It is said Genl Cadwallader was to cross over at Bristol, and carry the Post at Burlington. There were no British Troops posted at Burlington. When these troops were spreading themselves from Trenton to Mount Holly, in search of quarters, a party of them shewed themselves at Burlington with a view to quarter there. The inhabitants being chiefly of the people called quakers, were much opposed to it, tho a great proportion of them were friendly to the British cause. But a number of Gun boats from Philadelphia appeared before the Town, which is so nearly on a level with the water as to be viewed in every part from thence. Seeing the German Troops entering the Town, the Boats fired a few cannon into the Town, which convinced the Troops it was best to keep away from such a place. And a kind of convention was made for the neutrality of that Town, and no Troops on either side were quartered in it.

The British Troops composed chiefly of Germans, took post at Mount Holly about seven miles inland from Burlington, and at some villages between that & Bordentown. The object of Genl Cadwallader's crossing from Bristol, was therefore to surprise the Troops at Mount Holly, and it was thought necessary, for a reason which has been hinted, not only to avoid passing thro' Burlington, but to conceal from the Inhabitants every appearance of their movements. The attempt to cross the River was therefore at a

place called Dunk's ferry, about four miles farther down the River.

The same mistake, of saying Burlington instead of Mount Holly occurs again in one or two places.

*Page 544*—The Troops which escaped by flight to Bordentown, were Cavalry, or they probably would have been overtaken.

*Page 551*—The circuitous route the Am<sup>a</sup> Army took to Princeton, did not lead thro' Allentown nor within several miles of it, but was by a road called the Quaker Road

About sunrise the two British Regiments having proceeded about two miles along the great road, they saw from the high ground the approach of the American's coming from the Southward in a course that would come into the great road in their rear. They therefore faced about, recrossed Stoney Brook which they had recently passed, and then crossed the fields to the Southward under cover of a copse of wood toward the Americans whose van was conducted by Genl Mercer—&c:

*Page 552*—Col Mawhood, it was allowed, fought bravely; but he did not force his way thro' part of the Am<sup>a</sup> Troops—That would have been directly out of his way. He retreated to the great road which was in his rear, and pursued his route to Maidenhead. The other Regiments (probably the 55th) being closely pursued fled in disorder crossing the great road and across fields to a back road leading toward Brunswick between Hillsborough and Kingston.

*Page 553*—The Reg<sup>t</sup> remaining at Princeton, made some show of resistance by taking Shelter in the College; but were mostly taken prisoners.\*

In corroboration of the opinion stated in the beginning of Page 545, the following fact is mentioned on the information of Genl Reed, received the next day after the transaction viz:

Genl Reed who crossed the River at Dunk's Ferry with the Van of the Infantry, expecting the rest to follow, and having a perfect knowledge of the country, pushed forward to Burlington immediately; and with the aid of his brother, who resided in that Town employed & Sent off a trusty person to view the situation of the Troops at Mount Holly, and report to him in the course of the night. The Man returned as speedily as could be expected and reported that he had looked into many houses where the soldiers were quartered, and observed them to be generally in a sound sleep which he supposed to be in part occasioned by the effects of the libations of the preceding day, being Christmas, That they ap-

\* These remarks against which the Pages of the book are marked are not to be understood as intended to supply the place of a connected story, but stated merely for the purpose of furnishing Facts, which the writer supposes may be useful in making necessary corrections.

peared to be very little on their guard, he having seen but six men awake in the Town, tho' they had six field pieces under their care.

The alarm spread by the fugitives from Trenton struck their companions, placed at Bordentown and so on to Mount Holly, with so much terror, that they retreated in great haste and trepidation towards Brunswick & Amboy, inasmuch that it was thought by intelligent persons who saw them on the march, that a body of militia inferior in number to themselves, might have taken from them all their Baggage, Stores, and plunder which they were carrying off.\*

On the 27th of Decem<sup>r</sup> Genl Cadwallader effected a landing on the Jersey shore with his body of militia, before he knew that Genl Washington had recrossed to Pennsylvania about two miles above Bristol, but being without certain information of the condition and movements of the enemy, it was deemed necessary to proceed with caution, he therefore marched to Burlington, which owing to a navigable creek in the way, required a circuit of some miles. Had his information been sufficient to warrant an immediate pursuit of the enemy on his landing; it is probable he would have fallen in with some of their parties, as his march to Bordentown would have been almost as easily performed as that to Burlington which happened to place him further in their rear. He sent immediate notice to Genl Washington of his being in Jersey and of his intention in coming there which seems to have strengthened if not produced, the General's motive for returning to Trenton. The following anecdote which the writer had from the mouth of an American Gentleman who was a refugee with the British army at the Time may be deemed worthy of recital in a note referring to the end of the second section in P—549

"Sir William Erskine urged an immediate attack on the American Army; but L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis was disposed to defer it till the next morning, as his troops were fatigued by their day's march from Princeton, and the Americans were so hemmed in by the Delaware filled with ice on one side and Crosswicks creek, navigable for Sloops in their rear, that they could not escape, and he could make sure work in the morning. To which Sir William replied 'If Washington is the general I take him to be, this Army will not be found there in the morning.'"

Page 553—The same person also told the writer, that the first knowledge the British Officers had of the movement of the Americans

\* These facts are stated with less regard to the pages to which they refer, than the preceding remarks on a supposition that the historian, if he shall think proper to notice them, may deem them more suitable for notes, than for alterations of the text.

arose from hearing the firing near Princeton in the morning, which they first supposed to be thunder. And the writer add's from other authentic sources of information that some of the field officers of militia who retired some distance in the rear in hopes of an undisturbed nap (having had their rest much broken for some days) were at a loss to find the Army in the morning, and some of them by taking a wrong course, did not find it till after the action at Princeton.

When the American Army moved forward from Princeton it remained undecided what route they should pursue. They were eighteen miles from Brunswick, and the Troops were not in a condition from the service of the preceding night and morning, and want of rest and refreshments for two days before to continue their march with the necessary celerity to Brunswick, especially as the Van of the British were so close in their approach as to appear at one end of Princeton as the Americans were departing from the other. The Council was held on Horse-back, in the course of the March. Some Gentlemen urged the filing off to the Southward; but on crossing the Millstone River at Kingston the guides were directed to take the road leading to the northward through Hillsborough, or Somerset Court House; but before they reached that village, many of the infantry worn out with fatigue, fasting and want of rest, laid down & fell asleep by the way. But the object of the enemy being to secure Brunswick they continued on in the great road and some of them arrived there during the night.\*

The foregoing remarks & observations have been made by scraps at short intervals from business, and being intended as a private tho' respectful communication are given in the rough, the writer not being able, without great inconvenience, to find leisure to make a fair copy but he trusts they will be understood by the only person whose use they are intended.

## IX.—THE SYMBOL OF THE CROSS.

[We have pleasure in presenting to our readers the following letter and its inclosures, which have been sent to us by our venerable and venerated friend, Hon. Thomas Ewbank; and we assure ourself that they will esteem the privilege of reading them, as much as we do that of publishing them.—  
ED. HIST. MAG.]

140 EAST 31ST STREET, April 22, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have received the Cincinnati "Israelite" of the 28th of December, containing some remarks of unusual interest on the *Antiquity of the Cross or letter X as an oriental symbol*, by the learned Editor, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, (author of several popular books on Hebrew topics.) He states that the Cross was

\* The reasons for relinquishing the march to Brunswick are perhaps sufficiently described in the Book, but the description here given may perhaps afford some elucidatory remarks—

commonly understood in the times of Ezekiel, whom he quotes, as a symbol of life, thus shedding light on a very curious topic, and fully accounting for the symbol being found figured on the breasts of Assyrian monarchs and suspended from the necks of their soldiers, and those of contemporary nations. Such a luminous comment on the figures in the paper on Rock-Writing, representing foreigners at war with the Egyptians, I never expected to see. An amuletic preservative of life was of course the most natural, and appears to have been the favorite one with warriors.

\* \* \* \* \*

Truly yours,  
HENRY B. DAWSON, Morrisania. THOS. EWBANK.

WHAT KNIGHT OF MALTA OR ANTIQUARIAN CAN  
SOLVE THE WONDERFUL DISCOVERY?

The *National Freemason* says: "I have before me a copy of the head of a Cacique's bronze staff of the Inca era, brought from Peru. It is a perfect Maltese cross."

Thomas Ewbank, Vice-President of the Ethnological Society, remarks:

"It is remarkable that the Maltese cross, worn by modern kings and conferred on military chieftains, is identical with those figured on the breasts of conquering monarchs of Assyria. May not this martial application of it have reached us through Pagan, not Christian, Rome? The influence of the Cross of the Legion of Honor, on the French army, during the Crimean campaign, so far surpassed that of all English decorations, that the Victoria Cross was founded in imitation of it.

"To no written character have more varied significations been given. None has been more widely employed by the learned and unlearned. It occurs in the hieroglyphs of most barbarians, as in alphabets; then it is a numeral, an algebraical symbol, a conventional element of computation in several professions, an emblem of religious faith, a heathen charm or talisman, and a fashionable appendage of Christian dress."

He further adds:

"The cross, or letter X, varied to the perpendicular stem and horizontal bar, occurs in American inscriptions. The Spaniards were surprised to find it an object of veneration in the central States and Peru; but the inference that Christianity was early introduced there, in the first century, some thought it questionable. By the same rule it was anticipated or prefigured in Asia, where mystic and religious meanings were associated with the symbol, centuries before the birth of Christ. It appears to have been as popular a form of amuletic jewelry 3500 years ago as at this day among us. Tiglath Pileser wore it suspended from a narrow fillet crossed over the chest. In Phœnician sculptures it occurs in a group of prisoners of war, some having it pendent from a necklace or the collar of their dress. It is

"figured on the robes of the Rot-n-no people; and traces of it are observable in the fancy ornaments of the Rebo, showing it in common use in the fifteenth century before the Christian era. It was also an Egyptian amulet; of five figures representing different seated postures, (*Wilkinson*, ii., 203), No. 4 wears one whose centre is a circle and the horizontal bar two smaller ones.

"A cross of jasper, suspended by a chain of gold, was seized in the palace of the Incas. It was as broad as long, and about three fingers broad. When Garcilasso left Cusco for Spain in 1560, it was hanging from a nail by a piece of black ribbon, in the vestry of the cathedral. A symbol appears on the bronze staff of the Caciques of the Assyrian pattern. On the ruins of Coati, it is cut in stone walls; and a species of Pan pipe has been found ornamented with it."

It is strange that all the antiquarians overlook the fact, that the Prophet Ezekiel mentions the cross as a symbol of life which must have been commonly understood in his days. *Thov*, the last letter in the ancient Hebrew alphabet, as in use in the time of Ezekiel, is a plain cross or X. Chapter ix., verse 4, God bids the prophet to pass through Jerusalem, "and inscribes a mark (*Thov* in the original) upon the foreheads of the men who sigh." The enemy should pass through the city after him and smite all persons except those who bear that mark, as said in verse six; "but come not near any man upon whom the mark (*Thov*) is." Hence the cross or *Thov* as the symbol of life, must have been well known then.

Ezekiel also mentions the crucified god among the idols which the wicked in Israel worshipped. In viii., 14, he says, "And behold, there sat the women weeping for *The Thammuz*." Fuerst in his Concordance thinks this is an Aramaic or Syrian word, for the Phœnician Adonis, whose death was mourned for at the summer solstice during eight days; then his resurrection, was celebrated most exultingly. The Hebrews called, in a later period, the month of the summer solstice *Thammuz*. It has its companions in Greek *Thomo*, "to pierce" or cut; *Thomos* is the adjective thereof; and *Thomias* "the astrated" is the noun. *Thammuz* is the month pierced by the solstice. *The Thammuz* is the pierced god, literally "the pierced one," over whom the women wept.

This *Thammuz* or Adonis as he was called after his resurrection, and Adonis signifies "Lord," appears to be the original, of which the Gospel story of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus was imitated, in connection with the *Thov* the symbol of life, as the Romans crucified rebels.—*Cincinnati Israelite*.

[THE FOLLOWING NOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS SUBJECT, HAVE BEEN COMMUNICATED BY REV. T. STAFFORD DROWNE, D.D., OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

[From C. W. King's—*The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Medieval*, 72.]

"It is astonishing how much of the Egyptian and the second-hand Indian symbolism passed over into the usages of following times. Thus the high cap and hooked staff of the god [Serapis] became the Bishop's mitre and crozier; the term *Nun* is purely Egyptian, and bore its present meaning; the erect oval, symbol of the Female Principle of Nature, became the Vesica Piscis, and a frame for divine things; the Crux Ansata, testifying the union of the Male and Female Principle in the most obvious manner, and denoting fecundity and abundance, as borne into the god's hand, is transformed, by a simple inversion, into the Orb surmounted by the Cross, and an ensign of royalty."

[From John Holland's *Cruciana*, 55.]

"The most ancient archetype, it has been thought, which the world ever exhibited, was the remarkable attitude of Moses on the hill of Rephidim; for, says Wheatley, 'the Israelites could overcome the Amalekites no longer than Moses, by stretching out his arms, continued in the form of a cross,' *Ezod.* xvii., 11-13. This lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness was, on the testimony of Christ himself, a typical representation of the crucifixion of the Son of Man; but whether the pole, upon which it was elevated, bore any resemblance to the form of a cross, we have no better authority than the imaginations of the painters, to assist us in determining. A more unequivocal precedent of divine authority for the use of the sign of the cross, has been thought to be discernible in the passage of *Ezekiel* ix., 4; here one of the persons in the prophet's vision is commanded to go through the midst of Jerusalem, and to set a mark upon the foreheads of those who should be saved amidst the general destruction in that city. Grotius inclines to the ancient opinion that, by the *mark* in the text, a cross was to be understood; and we may expect Catholic writers to incline to the same opinion: speaking of the mourning of the saints on account of the evils which are in the world, one of the above-named communion, after quoting from the prophecy of *Ezekiel*, the words *signa tau in frontibus virorum lugentium*, adds, 'see, how good it is to mourn for evils, since it makes men worthy of receiving the stigmata of the cross.'"

"Doctor Adam Clarke, in his commentary on *Ezekiel*, ix., 4, said:

"The original words *ve-hihteveita tau*, have 'been translated by the Vulgate, *et signa thau*,' and mark thou *tau* on the foreheads, etc."

"St. Jerome and many others have thought that the latter *tau* was that ordered to be placed on the foreheads of those mourners; and Jerome says, that the Hebrew letter (tau) *tau*, was formerly written like a cross, so, then, the people were to be signed with the sign of the cross."

"It is certain that on the ancient Samaritan coins, which are yet extant, the letter (tau) *tau* is in this form, X, which is what we term *St. Andrew's Cross*."

"Ruffinus, in his remarks concerning this symbol, says, that the ancient Egyptians are known to have possessed it among them as one of their elementary characters. That such a figure was in use with this singular people, is evident from their hieroglyphics, which represented the god Serapis, with a *tau* or cross on his breast. Socrates, the Church historian, informs us, that when the temple of Serapis was razed from its foundations, 'there were found symbols inscribed on stones, called hieroglyphics; of these some were in the form of a cross; and such of the Gentile converts to Christianity as pretended to understand the hieroglyphics, interpreting this sign as suited their own views, taught that it signified *life to come*.'"

[From William Durandus in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Book v., Chap. ii.]

"The pole on which the brazen serpent was raised, the crossing of Jacob's hands when blessing Joseph's children, the mark *Tau* (*Ezek.* ix., 4,) in the forehead, and the seal on the forehead in the Apocalypse, are some of the representations of the cross here alleged."

[From W. & G. Audsley's *Handbook of Christian Symbolism*.]

"The Anticipatory, or, as it is sometimes termed, the Cross of the Old Testament, consists of three limbs only. It is also called the Typical Cross, \* \* likewise the *Tau* Cross, from its exact resemblance to the Greek letter T," &c.

#### [EDITORIAL COMMENTS.]

It was, indeed, if DAVID KIMCHI speaks truly, a Rabbinical fancy that the letter *Thau* was employed by the angel Gabriel, to be written in ink on the foreheads of the righteous and in blood on those of the wicked—the former to denote that its wearer should live, and the latter to signify the fatal sentence which had been pronounced against those who bore it; and it is equally true that both Jerome and Origen, early Fathers in the Christian Church, are said to have assumed

that that letter was the "mark" referred to by the Prophet in the place referred to; and that, as it was sometimes used in their day by the Samaritans, so, also, it was used, in the days of the Prophet, in the form of a St. Andrew's Cross. Montfaucon, also, says that the Samaritans thus designated the letter on some of their coins; and the Vatican alphabet, published by Angelus E. Roccha, exhibits the last letter in that form.

It is also true, however, that we have no evidence which is worthy of *Historical* employment to prove the characters which the angel Gabriel employed to designate the elected few—if, indeed, that creature was ever employed on such an exalted mission; and it is not very certain that Jerome and Origen really said, concerning the "mark" referred to by the Prophet, what is attributed to them by their more modern editors, since Scaliger would not have failed to allude to such an important averment, while opposing their testimony, had they really made it; nor would he have so boldly controverted their arguments, if he had done so at all, had the testimony of the coins which were current in their day so emphatically sustained them.

It is patent, also, on the face of the prophecy, that the original Hebrew described, not a mere letter of the alphabet, but a peculiar sign or "mark" of separation, by means of which one class could be distinguished from all others, as those of the Veeshnu are distinguished from those of the Seeva, to-day, in the great pagoda, in Hindostan, by means of the longitudinal line of vermillion, marked on their foreheads by the Brahmin; and it is thus particularly described both in the *Targum* and in the *Septuagint*, as well as by SOLOMON JARCHI, DAVID KIMCHI, and other ancient authorities in Rabbinical literature.

We do not pretend to deny, however, nor do we admit, that the symbol of the Cross of Christ was thus referred to by the Prophet, in his mention of a "mark;" but, as will be seen, we have not yet found any evidence of it which we consider trustworthy when tested by the laws of *Historical* evidence; nor have we yet seen any reason for considering the X, which, admitting as true all that has been said of it, was thus spoken of, as an equivalent in *History* for the ordinary symbol of the peculiar Cross, the +, which is so clearly associated with Our Saviour and Calvary. We do not pretend to deny, also, nor do we admit, that the mighty men of old carried, generally, as an amulet or charm, a figure of the Cross of Christ: we simply await the production of testimony to prove that such a figure was a recognized form, generally used for such a purpose, rather than arbitrarily, for fashion's sake, for ornament, as it is now worn, too often, as such, dangling from the ears of vain and silly, if not ungodly and unrepentant, women, or, more

after the ancient style, as scarf-pins, to secure the silks with which both men and women are decorated, too often, at the expense of good taste and Christian propriety. If we do not mistake, the Maltese cross, the very form referred to by our honored friend, Mr. Ewbank, is the badge of office worn by the Aldermen and Councilmen, now in authority in the city of New York; but we should be loath to believe that the wearers of it, in this instance, regard it in the light indicated by Mr. Ewbank; and we should be equally unwilling to be made the innocent instrument for misleading the Ewbank of the future, who may accidentally stumble over the portrait of one of the municipal Fathers of this generation of New Yorkers, and be led to believe from the evidence furnished by this badge, that its wearer considered the bauble either as an amulet or a "mark" of his religious character, or in any other light than a toy which contains so much good gold.

We have not the slightest objection, it will be seen, to believe that Ezekiel referred to *Thau* when he mentioned the "mark," in the passage referred to; and that *Thau* was then generally received in the form of a St. Andrew's cross: we only want, what we have not yet found, *Historical* evidence of it. We have not the slightest objection, also, to be convinced that the mark or sign X was an exact synonym of the sign or mark +, in the days of the Prophet, or that it is such a synonym to-day: we only want, what we do not possess, undoubted evidence of its identity, then and now. We have no objection to learn that the Jews—formal, cold, and doubting—recognized in the days of the Prophet what they now reject, the Cross of Christ as a symbol of salvation; we simply await the production of evidence to prove it, as we humbly await the day which shall dawn on the other elect people of God universally recognizing the great truth which that symbol portrays, by practically seeking safety where only perfect safety can be found. H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

## X.—EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

### I.

[From *The Methodist* of March 30, 1867.]

Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, N. Y., publishes a periodical of some value, but of little note, called the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Availing himself of the late "centennial" interest of Methodism—for the purpose, probably, of attracting attention to his publication—he opened his December number with an article of seven or



eight large pages, over his own initials, impeaching Methodism as disloyal to the American Revolution. He accuses Methodist historians of a lack of veracity in their accounts of the Church at that period, referring particularly to Stevens's *History of Methodism*, vol. ii, pp. 129, 130. This reference is singularly unfortunate for the accuser, (as we shall hereafter show,) for Stevens fully admits Wesley's political errors, but gives decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of opinion in favor of the Colonists, which Mr. Dawson must have read, according to his reference, but which he entirely ignores—showing a want of candor which must be fatal to his authority on the question. He attempts, however, to place Rev. Mr. Wakely among his indorsers or authorities, as "acknowledging that Mr. Wesley and the early "Methodists, both in Europe and America, were "Episcopalians and Tories." Mr. Wakely will hardly acknowledge the credit, we suppose; all that he says, as cited by Mr. Dawson, is that the little New York society at first "were considered "as part and parcel of the Church of England," and "communed at St. Paul's church;" and that "Wesley was known to be a great loyalist," etc.; and that "this was the case also with Mr. Fletcher." We are not aware that Mr. Wakely anywhere affirms the American Methodists generally to have been Tories; and if he had so declared, we should not acknowledge his authority.

As a general fact, Englishmen (natives of England) in the Colonies were loyal to the Crown; and it could hardly be expected to be otherwise. Most clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church were such, having been educated in England, if not born there. Hence, nearly all such clergymen declined to take side with the Colonial party. Many of them left their parishes, and returned to England. For example: in Virginia, when the war began, sixty-one counties had ninety-five parishes, with one hundred and sixty-four churches and ninety-one clergymen; when the war ended, nearly a fourth of her parishes were extinct, and thirty-four of the remaining seventy-two were without pastors; twenty-eight only of her ninety-one clergymen remained, and but thirty-six parishes were supplied. The Protestant Episcopal clergymen generally, North as well as South, adhered to the Royal Government, for they were generally Englishmen.

In like manner, most of the few Methodist preachers sent over by Wesley, being Englishmen, and forbidden by their ecclesiastical regime to intermeddle with politics, retired from the country to England about the time of the Revolution; but Asbury remained, and was always loyal to the United States. He suffered some inconvenience at the outbreak of the war, as did some of the native preachers—not, however, for disloyalty, but because they could not conscien-

tiously take some of the Colonial test oaths. Each Colony, it must be borne in mind, prescribed its own oath; and in some of the Middle and Southern Colonies, where the Methodist preachers suffered, these oaths required the subscribers to *take up arms* and enter the camp, if called upon by the Colonial authorities. Not only Asbury, but native and patriotic preachers, like Jesse Lee, could not take such oaths. They believed that their call to preach the Gospel forbade it. Their disloyalty amounted only to a refusal to take these oaths. As we shall hereafter show, they were the first ecclesiastical men of the country to acknowledge officially the new Government, and to affirm the obligation of loyalty to it; and the whole history of their Church has been a record of devoted loyalty.

Good old Captain Webb is especially branded by Mr. Dawson; but, obviously, without the slightest reliable evidence. Indeed, the religious circumspection of that devoted man in his peculiar circumstances is admirable. It must be remembered that he was a retired British officer, with half-pay, but, being exempt from the obligation of active service, he consecrated himself, with the most unimpeachable caution and disinterestedness, to the promotion of religion. He lingered some time after the revolutionary storm had broken out, laboring only for the founding of Methodism, and retired at last quietly to his home in England, where he pursued till his death the same exclusively evangelical course.

In the spring of 1777 the good Captain took leave of the Baltimore Methodists in a discourse in which he said they would see his face no more, as he was about to depart for New York on his way to England. He met there a certain John Carey, manager of an iron forge in New Jersey, whom he engaged to get his paper money changed preparatory for his embarkation. A man in Baltimore, knowing (what was no secret) that the Captain was a half-pay British officer, and that he was bound to New York, (then in possession of the British,) suspected him of being a British spy, and accused Carey as his accomplice. Carey was actually imprisoned in Philadelphia under this accusation, but, in a memorial to General Schuyler, stated the whole history of the case, and was discharged. The memorial is among "the Schuyler manuscripts in the possession of "the family." Captain Webb quietly reached New York, and as quietly returned to his English home. Out of this flimsy tissue Mr. Dawson weaves an impeachment of this noble old hero's character. That Captain Webb was true to his well-known position as a retired British officer we have no doubt; we should rather regret to learn that he had not been. But he was practically neutral, and every way decorous to the American public opinion; he kept faithfully

to his one work of evangelization as long as he could peacefully do so, and then honorably retired.

Asbury was at last left alone in the field, protected by the Governor of Delaware, all the other English preachers having retired in the Middle and Southern Colonies—in all the Methodist field, in fine, except the city of New York, which, for about seven years, had no place in the Methodist appointments, and no access to the Annual Conferences, being in close possession of the British army. All the other preachers were native men; they were among the noblest men this country ever produced; they gave themselves exclusively to their one work of preaching the Gospel. We have no evidence what were their personal opinions about the war, for they were utterly absorbed in their own spiritual warfare against the powers of darkness. We only know that some of them refused to bind themselves by colonial oaths to take up arms. Some of them had peculiar notions about war, and did not believe in fighting at all. Jesse Lee, a native Virginian, we know entertained such notions, and when drafted, consented to go into camp as a preacher and wagon-driver, but not as a fighter. He did so, preaching and praying from camp to camp, wielding the power of the Gospel over officers and men for some time, until he was honorably discharged. Bishop McKendree was a faithful soldier down to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, which he witnessed. Thomas Hare was in some of the hardest fights of the war, bore honorable wounds, and was the intimate friend of Washington. Chievront, a heroic founder of the Pittsburg and Western Virginia Conference, was a veteran of the Revolutionary army. Lastly, Matthews, his fellow-pioneer of the Gospel among the Alleghanies, was also his comrade in the camps of the Revolution, where they read the Bible together by their bivouac fires. Benjamin Bidlack, one of the founders of the old Genesee Conference, and a pioneer of Methodism among the Wyoming and Tioga Mountains, was a Revolutionary hero; Jacob Carter, a founder of the Church in the South, went preaching and suffering to his grave under wounds received in the Revolutionary battles; McCormick, the founder of the denomination in Ohio and all the great "Northwestern Territory," fought through the Revolutionary struggle, and helped to take Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The early Church was full of Revolutionary soldiers, and not a few were in the ministry, entering it soon after the war, without the slightest apprehension that it was a Tory Church, as represented by Mr. Dawson.

But we have hardly entered upon our subject yet, notwithstanding the interest and importance of these details. Many of Mr. Dawson's imputations, especially regarding the New York Society,

Wesley, and the organization of American Methodism, remain to be noticed; and we shall return to the question, for there are few things of which American Methodists can be more justly proud than of their patriotic record. Few matters deserve to be more fully, and, once for all, decisively placed right in history, and we propose to so place it before we dismiss the subject.

## II.

[From *The Methodist* of April 13, 1867.]

We gave an article, a few weeks since, on Henry B. Dawson's editorial in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in which he impeaches the loyalty of the early Methodists. It was seen that Mr. Dawson is no credible authority for the facts of the question. We have yet more completely to show his inaccuracy as the editor of a "Historical Magazine." It is seldom, indeed, that a more astonishing misconception and distortion of facts can be found than is presented in his pages.

As regards the little New York society so long isolated by the British army (in possession of the city) from the General Connection, we doubt not that many of its members were, at the beginning of the war, in sympathy with the Home Government; for they were mostly Englishmen, and a very large majority of the population of the city was, at that time, on the same side of the controversy. But most of these English Methodists, like the English citizens generally, left the city, and the little society came out of the war quite generally loyal; and, while the war lasted, they were, as a Church, uncompromised by politics. The old leading families were long known, even to many of us, and were known as sound patriotic citizens, and their children rejoice among us to-day in their honorable record. Mr. Dawson represents them as quite otherwise. He intimates that the British army allowed them to keep their chapel because of their Toryism. This is utterly false. Doubtless the well-known early committal of Wesley on the Colonial question had some influence in their favor; but the British officers spared several other chapels. The Wall street Presbyterian church and the Lutheran churches were equally "respected," because the Scotch and German troops of the British army needed them for Sunday worship. Now it was precisely in this same way that old John street was "respected." It was given to the Hessian troops and their chaplain, who used it on Sundays, and the Methodists could use it only on Sunday nights. Stevens's History states the case correctly, and describes an interesting and patriotic scene which occurred in the old chapel, which is well worth citing:

"During the war, after the battle of Long Island, the little church in New York was totally isolated from the rest of the Methodist communion. Before the war it reported more than two hundred members; at its close but sixty. If some of its communicants were royalists at the arrival of the foreign troops, yet, by frequent removals to Nova Scotia and elsewhere, they left a decided majority who were loyal to the Colonial cause. These, however, were wary; under military domination, they availed themselves quietly of any indulgence which the foreigners, out of respect to Wesley's opinions, were disposed to grant them. The higher officers showed them much regard; but the subordinates and the common troops often treated them with disrespect, probably knowing better their real sentiments on the war. They would stand in the aisles during worship with their caps on, and sometimes ventured on more significant offenses. On one occasion, at the concluding hymn, they sung the national song, 'God save the King,' as a test of the opinions of the people. The latter were familiar with a lyric of Charles Wesley adapted to this tune. Their indignation, or patriotism, for once overcame their wonted caution, and they followed the royal song with their own triumphant hymn:

"Come, thou Almighty King,  
 "Help us thy Name to sing,  
 "Help us to praise:  
 "Father all-glorious,  
 "O'er all victorious,  
 "Come, and reign over us,  
 "Ancient of Days.  
 "Jesus, our Lord, arise!  
 "Scatter our enemies,  
 "And make them fall!  
 "Let thine almighty aid  
 "Our sure defense be made;  
 "Our souls on thee be stay'd;  
 "Lord, hear our call!" etc.

This is a sufficient vindication of the early New York society; but we must allude to one or two more blunders respecting them.

"Finally," says Mr. Dawson, "when the Tories, at the close of the war, sought safety in exile, 'preferring to reign in hell, rather than serve in heaven,' Rev. John Mann, and probably Rev. Samuel Sproggs, of the John street Preaching House, and a large number of the members of that society, removed to Nova Scotia, where, subsequently, Rev. Freeborn Garrettson—son-in-law of Chancellor Livingstone, and a New York Methodist refugee—became the 'presiding elder.' Strange medley, this, of blunders! Now the Rev. Samuel Sproggs here alluded to had been one of the English preachers sent over by Wesley. At the breaking out of the war he retired from the work, to New York, on his way to England, but stayed there preaching for the Methodists, and afterward be-

came a Protestant Episcopal pastor in Elizabethtown, N. J., where he died, and where he is commemorated by a monumental tablet on the wall of his church. He had nothing to do with any expedition of Methodists to Nova Scotia. There was no such expedition. As stated above, the removals of English members of John street Society had been taking place during the war, so that the society, two hundred strong at the beginning of the war, was but sixty strong at its close, and these were good loyal people.

The "Rev. Mr. Mann" was an English layman who had become a local preacher in the city—not a traveling or regular preacher—and preached for the society in its isolation during the war. His name was never in the list of appointments or minutes. He was not ordained even as a local preacher. As an Englishman, he had, we suppose, sympathies with his countrymen; but that he was an active Tory we never heard. He went to Nova Scotia, where he was a useful Methodist, and died respected.

Upon this single fact we suppose the whole of this complicated story is founded by Mr. Dawson; for when Freeborn Garrettson went to Nova Scotia, he found but few Methodists, and they were mostly from the Old Country, or converted in the Province, except some negroes who had fled from the United States for their liberty during the war, and doubtless some few white emigrants from the States.

The whole of this story relative to Garrettson is a flagitious fiction. He was no "Methodist refugee;" on the contrary, he was preaching here, at home, all through the Revolutionary war, with the highest regards of the Church from South Carolina to New York. The very fact mentioned, that he married into one of the most distinguished historical families of the nation, shows how he was recognized. He never thought of going to Nova Scotia until more than three years after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown; till, in fine, Coke came over and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, and on that memorable occasion solicited him to go to the Province as a missionary.

We are not prepared to say what were the personal opinions of Garrettson respecting the war, for we know of no recorded intimation of them. He was unwilling, like most of his ministerial brethren, to take those colonial oaths which (in the middle colonies) required the preachers to leave their appropriate work and take up arms, if called upon by the local authorities, for he, and they, believed they had a higher, a Divine commission to preach the Gospel. But he was a recognized and influential man, especially in Maryland and Delaware. The mob there persecuted him, as it did all active religious laborers, but only because of his religious activity. The

statesmen and public functionaries of those regions were quite generally his friends, and no man in the Church had greater influence, in the Middle States, than he. Moreover, he was a man of remarkable amiability and Christian prudence. He was not given to political or any other passions. He won all hearts by his suavity and inoffensiveness—even the hearts of the rabble persecutors; and during his long life after the war, as before it, he moved in the best and most patriotic circles of the Middle and Southern States, universally accredited and revered as a citizen and as a Christian.

We have still more blunders of Mr. Dawson's to rectify, especially in regard to Wesley, and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The later record of Methodist loyalty is clear enough; as pure and as brilliant as that of any American denomination; but its early integrity has often been, at least indirectly, impeached. It is important that it should be justly ascertained and asserted. While we readily admit that there was a mixture of political opinion—royalism as well as liberalism—in its ranks, we affirm that this was not more the case than with other religious denominations; and that, if we except the transient English preachers sent over by Wesley, the Church was, as it has always since been, truly patriotic and national, even beyond most other denominations. Our further proofs, in connection with what we have already submitted, will, we think, settle this question.

### III.

[From *The Methodist* of April 27, 1867.]

We have heretofore shown the inaccuracy of many of the charges of the *Historical Magazine* against the loyalty of the early Methodists to the American Revolution. A few more of Mr. Dawson's (the editor's) errors remain to be corrected. We offer no apology for the leisure and minuteness with which we pursue this investigation; for we are sure it cannot fail to be interesting as developing some curious matters of early Methodist history, and important as presenting a connected and thorough record of facts which have often been misrepresented to our disparagement, and of which we have long needed a fair, complete, and decisive review.

Mr. Dawson accuses Wesley of opposing the colonial movements for Independence, and his American people of co-operating with him in that opposition. Now, this is one of those cases of partial truth, but greater error, which always needs the fairest presentation, the soberest candor, on the part of the critic; for the partisan writer can take his stand on the partial truth,

and not deviate a hair's breadth from the real fact, and yet the result of his statement be a downright falsehood; for "no lie," says Coleridge, "is so completely a lie as that which is based upon a partial truth." Mr. Wesley was, as we all admit, at first hostile to the American cause; but he changed his opinion, as Mr. Dawson well knows, for he cites a document which gives him the proof, yet he asserts Wesley's hostility without an intimation of his subsequent change of opinion and vindication of the colonial cause.

Wesley at first opposed the colonial movement in *A Calm Address to our American Colonies*. Doubtless some of his English preachers, transiently in the colonies as missionaries at the time, sympathized with his opinions; as Englishmen they could hardly have done otherwise; but Mr. Dawson's charge that the American Methodists generally did so is totally without foundation. On the contrary, we know that a lot of *The Calm Address*, sent over to them for circulation, was suppressed by them, and that it had no influence whatever on the political opinions of the Church.

An Englishman, preaching in New York, did defend him in the *Royal Gazette*, of New York, against a charge of "blowing up the flame" of a London mob in 1780, and of thereby showing disloyalty to his king; and Mr. Dawson cites this defence to show that Wesley and the New York Methodists were opposed to the American movement! Now, every student of English history knows that this London mob—the famous Lord Gordon Riot—was an anti-Catholic outbreak, and had nothing whatever to do directly with the colonial question. Mr. Dawson gives no intimation of this fact whatever; and because Wesley and his friends vindicated his loyalty to his country's laws by declaring that he and his people did not "blow up this flame" in London, Wesley and his people, even his American people, are accused of hostility to the American cause! This is certainly a new sort of syllogism.

The New York English preachers did at this same time publish in the *Royal Gazette* of the city a letter of Wesley's, not bearing at all on the question of the London mob, but evidently written at an early period, showing Wesley's fidelity to his Government, and referring unfavorably to the American question. The design of its publication at this time was evidently to prove that Wesley, being loyal to his country, could not have incited the London mob. But the letter is without date; it only proves Wesley's opinion at a former and indefinite time. We doubt not that it expresses what was Wesley's opinion, throughout the war, of his duty of submission to the administration of his Government, and what was originally his opinion of the

American revolt. But he changed his opinion on the latter question, as we shall proceed to demonstrate.

Before proving this last point, however, we must be allowed to say a word or two about his original *Calm Address*. Mr. Dawson represents it as a plagiarism from Dr. Johnson's famous pamphlet, *Taxation no Tyranny*—it was "purloined" from the latter, says Mr. Dawson. It is well known that Wesley and Johnson were intimate friends; Johnson admired the Great Founder, and only complained that he could not detain him long enough in company to converse with him more leisurely, for he esteemed Wesley one of the finest conversationists in England. Wesley's sister, Martha (Mrs. Hall), was a favorite of the great author, and he tried to induce her to live in his family at Bolt Court, with Mesdames Williams and Du Moulin. Boswell has frequent references to her. No two men, probably, of that day in England had more mutual regard than Johnson and Wesley. Wesley was in the habit of issuing, continually, abridgements of literary works for the common people. He thus sent forth a brief sketch of his friend Johnson's pamphlet; in a second edition he states that it is an abstract of Johnson's work. There was no thought of plagiarism in the matter, and Johnson was delighted with Wesley's conduct respecting it. Stevens's *History of Methodism* gives the facts truthfully. It says that "Johnson, however, not only approved Wesley's use of it, but felt honored by it. He wrote Wesley, in return, one of his finest compliments. 'I have thanks likewise to return you for the addition of your important suffrage to my argument on the American question. To have gained such a mind as yours may justly confirm me in my own opinion. What effect my paper has upon the public, I know not; but I have no reason to be discouraged. The lecturer was surely in the right who, though he saw his audience slinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato stayed.' " Such was the history of this "plagiarism."

But we have affirmed that Wesley modified his opinions on the American question, and had the noble courage to remonstrate with two of the king's cabinet ministers against the war. Again we quote from the *History of Methodism*, which says: "It is due to the memory of Wesley to say that he, meantime, wrote a letter to the Premier, Lord North, and to the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth, remonstrating against the war, and pleading for the Americans. He declares in it that, in spite of all his long-rooted prejudices as a Churchman and a loyalist, he cannot avoid thinking, if he think at all, that 'these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and

"that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow. But waiving this—waiving all considerations of right and wrong, I ask," he adds, with prophetic foresight, 'Is it common sense to use force toward the Americans? My lord, whatever has been affirmed, these men will not be frightened; and it seems they will not be conquered so easily as was at first imagined. They will probably dispute every inch of ground, and, if they die, die sword in hand. Indeed, some of our valiant officers say, "Two thousand men will clear America of these rebels." No, nor twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, nor perhaps treble that number. They are as strong men as you; they are as valiant as you, if not abundantly more valiant, for they are one and all enthusiasts—enthusiasts for liberty. They are calm, deliberate enthusiasts; and we know how this principle breathes into softer souls stern love of war, and thirst of vengeance, and contempt of death. We know men, animated with this spirit, will leap into a fire, or rush into a cannon's mouth.' The letter is long, and full of sagacious views and statesmanlike counsels."

This important letter has, within a few years, been given to the public, from the manuscripts of Lord Dartmouth's family. We shall hereafter publish it in *The Methodist*, for it qualifies entirely Wesley's relations to early American history. The American historian, Mr. Bancroft, deemed it of so much importance that, when it appeared, he cancelled several stereotype plates of his seventh volume, that he might insert quotations from it, correcting some of his earlier intimations of Wesley's opinions. American Methodists honor Bancroft's candor; they will regret that they cannot equally respect Mr. Dawson, who, as he refers to this part of Stevens's *History* for some of his charges against Wesley, must have known this conclusive correction of them, but declines to say a word about it! Wesley, then, did at last, and quite early in the war, come to believe that the Americans were "an oppressed people," and "asked for nothing more than their legal rights."

This is sufficient on the main point. But Mr. Dawson persists in his distortion of facts. Read this astonishing paragraph:

"Finally, in the fall of 1784, when the revolted Colonies had succeeded in the establishment of their Independence, Mr. Wesley coldly absolved the members of his Societies in America from their obligations to the Established Church of England, and authorized them to organize an 'Independent Church,' without a single supplication of Divine favor in their behalf—he had not even a naked wish for their success, nor a kind word of brotherly regard at

"the parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas in America, and so distasteful the position of affairs in that country, to him and to his friends."

Now, Mr. Dawson refers to Stevens's *History*, and gives the above date accurately; he evidently knew the facts. Everybody that knows them, from Stevens's account, and Wesley's address to the American Methodists at the time, as given in that account, knows that this statement is erroneous. Wesley did not "coldly absolve" them from their obligations to the Established Church; he declared that they had no such obligations. He provided, in detail, a system of independent organization for them, "feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness," and was ready "gladly to embrace any other way" for the purpose, if any man could point it out to him. He sent over, as their first bishop, one of his chief friends and "assistants," Dr. Coke—his "own right-hand man," as he called him. He asserts in his letter, that "as our American brethren are now totally disentangled, both from the State and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. *And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.*"

Such, then, was John Wesley, and such were the early American Methodists, in respect to this whole question. Considering the fermentation and confusion of opinions at the time of the Revolution, we hesitate not to say that a fairer and more honorable record could not be demanded. As American Methodists, we are entirely content with it. It is well known, too, that at the organization of the M. E. Church, it was the first of American ecclesiastical bodies to formally recognize the new American Government, and did so in one of its organic "Articles of Religion;" that its bishops, after the inauguration of Washington, represented the Conference in a Personal Address to Washington, recognizing "our glorious Revolution," and were the first ecclesiastics of the country that did so; that when the "Articles of Confederation" were superseded by the adoption of "The Constitution," the M. E. Church changed its "Article of Religion," and declared the Government no longer a Confederation, but a "*sovereign nation*;" enjoining loyalty to it as such, and thereby arming its people, by prophetic anticipation, against the doctrine which led to the late rebellion; and that its people, thus trained to a true national faith, were prepared for the late war, and did more, as acknowledged by President Lincoln to save the nation in that struggle than any other, religious body in the Republic.

## XI.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.

By GEORGE H. MOORE.

1.—RICHARD WHARTON TO ———, 24 SEPT. 1673.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLD Sept 24, 1673.

HON<sup>ED</sup> S<sup>rs</sup>.

Those undeserved kindnesses & fav<sup>rs</sup> you have manifested to some of my nearest & most necessitous Relations & those ingagem<sup>ts</sup> you have laid upon my selfe by offering a Correspondence & Communication have sometimes made me ashamed of my so long silence, but the constant hopes I have had of a suddain returne to make a psonall acknowledgement of my obligation, as they have again satisfied me so I hope they will you alsoe: But now finding myselfe wrapped up & confined by buisness & restrained from y<sup>t</sup> opportunity, I am willing at once to lay hold upon this occasion to express my respects & confess my defect in duty to yo<sup>r</sup>selfe and manifest my allegiance & loyalty to his Majesty. I remember yo<sup>r</sup> request & injunction to acq<sup>t</sup> you with such novell affayres & occurrents as might fall under my knowledge & observation: And I know yo<sup>r</sup> intelligence is such y<sup>t</sup> I need not copy out the Charter & Constitutions of these Colonyes to you, nor informe you of the extent of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Territories upon this Continent, nor y<sup>t</sup> his subjects have planted themselves & proclaimed his sovereignty in all the habitable p<sup>ts</sup> between Cape-Sable & Cape Romane, nor w<sup>t</sup> a fair foundation was here lately laid for the Royall offspring of Great Brittain to build a most glorious empire upon, nor need I to you enumerate the many usefull & rich commodities y<sup>t</sup> nature affords & y<sup>t</sup> Art & Industry may produce in these plantations: Onely this I confidently tell you & am psuaded that though these pts of the world are disesteemed by the Princes of Europe, yet if the most potent among them were seated with their subjects upon this continent it would be more difficult to psuade them to returne to their ancient Dominions, then now it is to remove them thence.

You are not ignorant, I know, y<sup>t</sup> his Royall Highness with a vast expence gained (& hath since maintained, from the Dutch a province by them called the Manados, since in his Highness possession New Yorke, which of late is most shamefully given up to the Dutch. The occasion whereof I shall briefly relate to you. Upon the 11 of July last, Cornelius Everson with eight ships of Warr & a fire ship attacked o<sup>r</sup> Virginia fleet at the appointed rendezvous for their returne home neer Poynt Comfort & at y<sup>e</sup> same place had the same success as in the yeare 67 (burning & taking 19 sayle) onely y<sup>e</sup> convoyes escaped &

Capt. Gardner by his resolute & good behaviour gained not onely from his friends but enemies an hon<sup>ble</sup> report. The enemy having there thus effected their designe resolved to goe unto Delaware Bay to wood and water, but finding no sufficient Pilotts in their fleet for y<sup>e</sup> place & having severall psons of this place prisoners y<sup>e</sup> were well acquainted at N. Yorke, they resolved for Staten Island to recruite & by w<sup>h</sup> o<sup>r</sup> people pceived were rather afraid of receiving some disturbance from New Yorke then giving any to it: But whilst they rid there severall of their countrey men from New Yorke in Canoues & boats went privately aboard and gave intelligence by the weakness & disorder of the place that the Govern<sup>r</sup> was gone to Connecticut, the garrison souldiers most drawne out, the guns in the fort most dismounted or the carriages rotten or unready none fitt to command in place, the people generally dissatisfied with the oppression of such as ruled the towne and trade and y<sup>e</sup> they were ready to revolt: upon which invitations & incouragem<sup>t</sup> they were imboldened to bring up their ships ag<sup>t</sup> the Towne & finding no resistance landed about 500 men who in a strait & long street leading to the fort (which was very strong & defensible) they marched up to the fort (& in their march were onely saluted with one gunn) & upon their approach the English flagg was struck & the gates sett open, so y<sup>e</sup> without the least dispute or complem<sup>t</sup> the English marched out & the Dutch into the Fort & finding themselves so peccably possessed & the English so tamely taken, they marched out of the fort again, disarmed those few souldiers that the officers had so betrayed & finding their entrance & entertainen<sup>t</sup> so facil & friendly they made present seizure of the estates of the English & dispatched a small frigott up to Fort Albanye with a summons & declaration y<sup>e</sup> N. Yorke had surrendered & offer of the same termes & articles granted to N. Yorke, which without any inquiry or further capitulation were accepted & so the Estates & persons of the English there by their owne inadvertency betrayed into the power of the enemy. Their next stratagem was to invite Col. Lovelace who from Connecticut was gone over to Long Island, to come in, who it is supposed for protection from the deserved punishm<sup>t</sup> answered their invitation, leaving the poor people upon y<sup>e</sup> Island, without commission or commander to stand up for their defence, which y<sup>e</sup> Dutch (having Col. Lovelace prisoner) well understanding required all the Townes upon y<sup>e</sup> Island to send in their constable's staffs & Col<sup>l</sup> & come to receive new ones from the Prince of Orange, & all the Townes except Southampton readily subjected after the example of their Govern<sup>r</sup>. Some psons from Southampton made application to the Gener<sup>l</sup> Court here for assistance. The messen-

ger John Cooper, a resolute man, proposing it as easy with an 100 armed men to proclaime his Maj<sup>ty</sup> in all the Townes upon Long Island having commission thereto, the English there, though they have carryed in their staffes & Col<sup>l</sup> being not under oath to the Dutch & desirous to returne to their allegiance would, but any appear with commission to require them so to doe. It was further proposed with considerable incouragem<sup>t</sup> as that w<sup>ch</sup> highly concerned his hon<sup>r</sup> & was the duty & security of the Countrey to raise forces also to reduce New Yorke, which with y<sup>e</sup> Volunteers y<sup>e</sup> would have come in might easily have been effected; But o<sup>r</sup> Deputyes in the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court wholly refused to ingage the Countrey in the undertaking: So the enemy are likely quietly to injoy w<sup>h</sup> they have acquired till His Majesty give them disrest & indeed my principle buisness as in duty & allegiance I am bound is to informe as a fit pson to acq<sup>t</sup> his Maj<sup>ty</sup> how much his hon<sup>r</sup> & the maintenance & continuance of his just title upon this continent and adjacent islands call upon him by some speedy & effectual expedition to unkennell his enemyes. New Yorke is in the navell of his Majestyes Territorie & his subjects on both sides are so familiarized to the Dutch by trade & converse, y<sup>e</sup> all will not believe they are their enemyes. And having such a convenient place of shelter & resort for their shipping his Majesty's subjects will be universally infested if not overrun & conquered in their Plantations & destroyed in their navigation as the said news from Virginia & this day from Newfoundland informs us, viz: That some of those ships y<sup>e</sup> went from New Yorke have been in Newfoundland & taken all the English vessells in y<sup>e</sup> countrey giving us pituul<sup>l</sup> information of five or six belonging to this Jurisdiction. If speedy care be taken bef<sup>e</sup> the Enemy send furth<sup>r</sup> strength or supplies, two or three frigotts with two or three hundred men for land service with such force as may be raised here will be sufficient. But in such case the frigotts must be here in February or March at furthest or else the Enemy will gain the goal before them. And o<sup>r</sup> souldiers must have warm cloathing & bedding aboard, or else the frost will unfit them for service. The private Capt<sup>ns</sup> ought to be men of courage & experience & were I worthy to advise, the Generall Officer should be elected in this Countrey who by his knowledge thereof & the interests & inclinations of the people here, & the enemyes methods & dependances might more gratefully levy & successfully conduct the forces. His Majesty hath many worthy subjects here & psons fitt for command, amongst whom I shall onely name Maj<sup>r</sup> Daniell Dennison, sometimes Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> here. He is a gentleman, a scholar, & a souldier & all that is requisite to make a man a loyall & serviceable subject. But

I am too preptory in such intimations, onely I consider it is not immediately to my Prince but to my friend, who if anything be pertinent hath prudence to pick it out and candour to pardon w<sup>t</sup> is insignificant. For a more certain knowledge of the constitutions of o<sup>r</sup> gouvernment & complexions of the people I reffer you to Mr Edw<sup>d</sup> Rainsborough an intellig<sup>t</sup> Gentleman who went home three months since. I have requested him to wait on you & communicate w<sup>t</sup> I have advised him. If S<sup>r</sup> you should be instrumentall to send any frigotts to these p<sup>ts</sup> hasten them as much as possible (for two may be more serviceable in March than six in May), and if Mr Robert Woolley or any other friends or correspondents of mine desire conveyance for any goods to me, lett me request yo<sup>r</sup> interest to accommodate them. S<sup>r</sup> pray read this as my grounded persuasion of the declension of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s interest in these p<sup>ts</sup> without some speedy prevention, & expose not this to the view or knowledge of any y<sup>t</sup> may make relation of it here. Excuse me if neither time, paper, nor your patience without a trespass, will admitt an entrance into pticular communication which hereafter I may adventure upon. In the interim remayne S<sup>r</sup>

Yo<sup>r</sup> obliged Kinsman & faithfull Serv<sup>t</sup>

RICHARD WHARTON.

Mr Rainsborough dwells at Knights bridge & is to be heard of at Mr Whiting's shop upon the old Exchange.

S<sup>r</sup> My Wife presents yo<sup>r</sup>selfe and Lady with her service desiring her to accept a barrell of Cranberries & a pott of refined sugar for Winter Tarts, ship'd aboard the Pinck Providence, W<sup>m</sup> Piper, Master.

2.—SOME PROPOSITION CONCERNING Y<sup>e</sup> ILL CONSEQUENCE OF NEW YORKE BEING IN Y<sup>e</sup> HANDS OF Y<sup>e</sup> DUTCH, W<sup>th</sup> SOMETHING IN ORDER TO THE RETAKING AND SETTLLING IT UNDER HIS MA<sup>ties</sup> OBEDIENCE AGAIN.

MOST HUMBLY OFFERED TO YO<sup>r</sup> LORDSHIP'S CONSIDERATION, BY W<sup>m</sup> DYRE, GENT.

The Province of New Yorkshire wholly in y<sup>e</sup> possession of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch, is not only a particular loss to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s a generall ruine to his English subjects there, and highly injurious to y<sup>e</sup> adjacent Colonies; but above all prejudiciall to y<sup>e</sup> whole American Trade: by w<sup>ch</sup> his Ma<sup>ties</sup> customs are abated, many m<sup>ch</sup>ants undon, and much shipping lost.

By reason y<sup>e</sup> Enemy thereby has y<sup>e</sup> convenience to repair their ships and recrute w<sup>th</sup> provisions in y<sup>e</sup> port. Taking all opportunity to be at y<sup>e</sup> Capes of Virginia, surprising what ships are bound in thither, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> like advantage upon

all y<sup>e</sup> Coasts of New England, Newfoundland, y<sup>e</sup> Caribee Island and Carolina w<sup>ch</sup> gives a severe check to y<sup>e</sup> navigation of those parts.

And for as much as y<sup>e</sup> said port of New Yorke is y<sup>e</sup> very center and key of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Dominions in America, it is as commodious whilest in obedience, or y<sup>e</sup> contrary when in an enemy's hand, as y<sup>e</sup> of Tangiers to y<sup>e</sup> streights or y<sup>e</sup> Downs to ye Channell of England: And y<sup>e</sup> loss of it as hurtfull to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Western affairs, as those mought be to his Uropan Concerns.

Wherefore if y<sup>e</sup> thing were right stated, and truly represented to y<sup>e</sup> King's most excell<sup>t</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> y<sup>t</sup> so his Ma<sup>ty</sup> may be graciously pleased to digest y<sup>e</sup> matt<sup>r</sup> into a resolution of sending some force to reduce y<sup>e</sup> province, and rout out y<sup>e</sup> insulting enemy, who now disturbs y<sup>e</sup> quiet of all y<sup>e</sup> American Plantacons, and greatly impoverishes y<sup>e</sup> poor inhabitants thereof. To prevent w<sup>ch</sup> and all other ensuing mischiefs there, is easie, if his Ma<sup>ty</sup> please to dispatch away 4 ships from 30 to 40 guns apiece w<sup>ch</sup> will be sufficient force, both for safe convoy of y<sup>e</sup> Virginia fleet out and home, and also to make his Ma<sup>ty</sup> master of y<sup>e</sup> said province to a far greater advantage than formerly, by expelling y<sup>e</sup> Dutch inhabitants who have given just grounds for y<sup>e</sup> same, by throwing off their late subjection and obedience to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. In this Expedition there will be no need of sending land forces from hence, seeing they may be had in New England, if there be occasion, and a way found to pay them of there, w<sup>th</sup>out puting his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> charg of transporting an army out and home.

If when ye fleet arrive it be found necessary to form a body by land, I dare presume to ingage my life for y<sup>e</sup> raising men enough through my acquaintance and interest in them parts, provided his Ma<sup>ty</sup> be graciously pleased to grant orders for y<sup>e</sup> same, and give commissions to such as are men of estates there, good souldiers and loyally affected to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, by whos ready compliance and faithfull assistance y<sup>e</sup> design may soon be accomplished, and y<sup>e</sup> sould<sup>rs</sup> when paid and disbanded, forthwith repair to their respective habitacons again.

But until his Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure is to order and command an assistance from y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of New England, it is most certain they will not move; alledging y<sup>t</sup> New York is a distinct Colony under another Government and confered upon his Royall Highness, Wherefore they have no cause to ptend any just grounds for entering into a warr w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dutch upon their own account, w<sup>ch</sup> they are ill able to maintain by sea, though by land sufficiently capable if they please to proceed to action, though my psent fears do aptly suggest (considering y<sup>e</sup> estate of those Colonys and y<sup>e</sup> constitution of their inhabitants) that in this exigent, w<sup>th</sup>out succor, they may be



compelled to embrace such terms as may be of a very ill and dangerous consequence, both to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and all his good subjects there, if they have not speedy relief by shipping from hence.

In all this I chiefly respect his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s interest, and y<sup>e</sup> publique good and also as a dutifull subject have a tender regard to y<sup>e</sup> wellfair of those suffering Plantations, by whos produce his Ma<sup>ty</sup> receives £150,000 customes yearly, upon w<sup>ch</sup> account I am y<sup>e</sup> bolder to spread y<sup>e</sup> case before yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship, psuming to urge it, in hope y<sup>t</sup> by yo<sup>r</sup> noble sense thereof, and generous motions in y<sup>e</sup> same, his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s revenue shall be preserved, and y<sup>e</sup> subjects rights secur'd.

When y<sup>e</sup> said place is reduced, the next thing in order to secure y<sup>e</sup> same intire, will be to expell all y<sup>e</sup> people of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch nation, fortify the entrances and settle a garrison so as it shall be almost impossible for any enemy to invade or do spoyle for y<sup>e</sup> future. Especially if y<sup>e</sup> military affairs be put under y<sup>e</sup> command of such experienced officers, as shall faithfully preserve his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s interest there, and not destroy it and the Plantations. And then for y<sup>e</sup> better peopling, planting and strengthening of y<sup>e</sup> province it will be requisite y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> farms, houses and grounds of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch inhabitants be sold, for his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s advantage at reasonable rates to encourage English settlers in them parts, who may be more induced thereunto by his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s indulgent Governm<sup>t</sup> of that place.

Thus would it become a flourishing Colony and y<sup>t</sup> immediately if his Ma<sup>ty</sup> please to appoint a Govern<sup>r</sup> that is acquainted w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> manners and Constitutions of y<sup>t</sup> Countrey, whom y<sup>e</sup> executing those laws, Acts and Ord<sup>s</sup> both Civil and Ecclesiasticall w<sup>ch</sup> shall be established there, may carry a gentle even Decorum w<sup>th</sup>out rigour, severity or extream compulsion in things of Indifference.

By this means that perpetuall charge w<sup>ch</sup> his Ma<sup>ty</sup> has ever been at, to maintain y<sup>t</sup> place, as also y<sup>e</sup> danger of its being any more lost and y<sup>e</sup> inconvenience of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch Nation inhabiting there may be prevented, and y<sup>e</sup> port so managed as to become y<sup>e</sup> magazin of America, and upon occasion give relief to y<sup>e</sup> neighbour Colonies. But at all times affording a quiet and plentiful subsistence to its own inhabitants, Producing a clear annuall profit to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>.

First. By a moderate impost upon all merchandize, port duties, great rents, fines and amercements &c.

Secondly. By building ships and otherways improving y<sup>e</sup> timber to make plank, boards, frames, pipe staves and y<sup>e</sup> like for sundry uses there, as well as y<sup>e</sup> advantages to be made by exportation of y<sup>e</sup> same.

Thirdly. By improvement of y<sup>e</sup> trade w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Natives, increase of manufacture, to-

gether with y<sup>e</sup> benefite of corn, cattle and all manner of husbandry.

Fourthly. By taking whales on y<sup>e</sup> south side of Long Island, which is and will be (if encouraged) of very great worth to the plantacon and in a short time bring his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in a considerable revenue.

There are also good benefites to be made of y<sup>e</sup> Iron ore in them parts w<sup>ch</sup> is very plenty, and many other perquisites and immunities conduci- ble both to private and publique advantages.

Lastly, if yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship, to y<sup>e</sup> effecting of y<sup>e</sup> good ends afforesaid, shall be pleased to promote and forward y<sup>e</sup> sending a small force to put a stop to y<sup>e</sup> dayly losses sustained in y<sup>e</sup> shipping and trade of y<sup>e</sup> above mentioned places w<sup>ch</sup> would be profitable to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and give many thousand poor distressed souls cause to have yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships name in perpetuall honour And heartily to pray for yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships p<sup>re</sup>s<sup>en</sup>t health and future happiness, as most unfeignedly does

Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships  
humble and obliged Servant.

### 3.—"ACCOMPT OF IROQUOIS INDIANS."

The Iroquois (so called by the French) to the Northward of Manhattens (now New York) and west of Orenge (now New Albany) are Indian Natives, the most warlike in North America, seated in a tract of land west from the said Albany (and head of Hodson's or New York River) to the south of the Lakes vulgarly called the Lakes of Canada; But the said Indians are likewise distinguished by severall names and places or Castles of abode as (by the English) the Maquas or Mahaks live about 25 leagues from Albany in 3 Castles distant about 4 or 5 leagues, stockaded round. The Oneidas live about 30 leagues, more west and have but one castle. The Onondagues live about 10 leagues further, and have but one castle, seated nere the Lake Ontario. The Coyouges are about 15 or 20 leagues further, but more southerly, and further from the Lake, have but one castle. The Sineques live about 25 or 30 leagues more west, Northerly nere the Lake, have 3 Castles or greate settlements, but not fortified distant about 4 or 5 leagues. All the said Indians have Missionary father Jesuits from Canada (and which are also in more distant parts) and all the said Indians have distinct Sachems but were never at variance, their language is the same, so as to understand each other, though with some variation (as in severall provinces of a Kingdome in Europe) Other neighbouring Indians have severall different speeches, not understood by each other. The Sineques have hunting habitations on the other or Northerne side of the Lake Ontario which

Lake is reputed to bee nere 100 French leagues long S. W. and N. E. and above 25 broad and is very deepe water, and on the said Lake the French (about 10 yeares past and upwards) have had a sloop or vessell of about 20 Tuns with sayles and a lyter that tends on a small fort, or trading place, built by Mons<sup>r</sup> La Sale at the north end of the Lake, from whence about 60 leagues to Mount Royall in which space above 30 Cataraks or falls not navigable and 60 leagues to Quebeck navigable, there is usually in Catoroquy kept about 15 or 20 men the said Lake is distant from Albany about 50 or 55 leagues.

The above said Indians have allwayes had a good correspondence and friendship with Albany and beene understood or taken to bee as other neighbouring Indians on this side the Lake's dependence and part of the Government, which themselves doe also owne and have beene no otherwise treated for many yeares; But the said Indians particularly Maquas or Mahaks had continued disputes and warrs with the French of Canada, till about the yeare 1668, when the French made 2 inroades into the said Maquas or Mahaks country; the first with about 500 men but mistaking their way and the Indians prepared they retreated with some losse; their second expedition and inroade was with 1000 men or upwards and then they surprised the said Indians who all fled, and the French entred and burnt their Castles and then they made peace which hath been observed ever since, and a free trade (tho' sometyes endeavoured by the French to be diverted from other parts) to Canada, where they sell to the Indians all sorts of goods and liquers, and particularly armes, powder, shott &c. as in other places.

In the yeare 1675 the said Indians having made application to the Governour at Albany and the New England Indian Warr being then very violent, the Governour resolved as necessary to goe himsele, as far as the Maquas or Mahaks habitations to visitt and view them as part of the Government and went to their farthest Castle, and was received and treated by them there accordingly, and after sent to the others as far as Sinnequess, and they observed and obeyed his directions and orders and proved very faithfull &c. And the Mahaks were the first that beat Phillipp the Indian Sachim of New England who had wintred that way in hopes to gaine them or others, Driving him back to New England sea side, and would have pursued if suffered. The said Iroquois and their lands are seated on the back of the Kings plantations and head of the Rivers as far West as Virginia, and east neare to Albany, and some settlements and improvements are made by Christians upon part of their said land purchased or gott from the Maquas or Mahaks within Stanextady and Albany's Bounds in

New York Government, and the said Indians habitations and castles are in or about the latitude of 43 degrees (Mr Pens Northerne Bounds of Pensilvania.)

The said Iroquois and all other Indians in those parts are greate hunters of all sorts of wild creatures, beasts and fowles, which they kill most with fire arms (except Beavers) and trade with all Christians for what they want, and are by them supplied perticularly with armes and ammunicon (as in Canada, so) in all his Ma<sup>ties</sup> plantations of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Mariland, Virginia &c And if debarred or prohibited by any one Colony or Government, the said place would not onely loose the trade to the benefit of the other neighbouring parts, but hazzard greater mischiefs from the said Indians discontent, by their pilfring, private injuries, or open warr, which would bee very prejudiciall, not onely to the interest of his Roy<sup>ty</sup> Highness (the Proprietor,) but even to all other his Ma<sup>ties</sup> neighbouring subjects, in as much as in the late New England warr with the Indians 'tis probable all those Countreyes would have beene in greate dainger of being destroyed, had not the Government of New York retained an influence over these Indians, not onely as they are reputed part of the Government, but with their constant free trade with those of New Yorke.

## XII.—NOTES.

MAINE COLONIAL RECORDS.—If to the generous and just attention to History, manifested by the Legislature in the late appropriation, is added a discerning and prudent application of the ample fund, the Historical world will gradually see the rich, invaluable, and almost undisturbed stores of manuscript in the archives of York County, at Alfred, *in print*: a literal, complete, trustworthy copy. Every record, will, deed, deposition, *every paper there*, prior to 1700, should be printed in full, with punctilious fidelity; and every volume should have a perfect index of subjects, names and places. No money should be wasted in luxury of paper or binding. We want the records, the papers, *printed just as they are*, and will dispense with all costly, frivolous and fancy extras which would be only a waste of the State money, and poor encouragement to further grants. Public opinion justly requires a rigid application of this money to actual historical matter, and not a hair's departure from it in idle and expensive enquiries about the dream-lands of Norumbega. The *Registries* at ALFRED contain the matter to be printed.

EBOR.

## XIII.—QUERIES.

Who wrote the "Expotulatory Letter" to Washington as a Slaveholder, the preface to which is dated "LIVERPOOL, February 20th, 1797"?  
ROSCOE.

Who wrote "Biographical Memoirs | of the | illustrious | Gen. George Washington, | Late President of the United States of | America, | and | Commander-in-Chief of their Armies, | during the Revolutionary War. | Dedicated to the Youth of America. | Barnard, Vt., | Published by Joseph Dix, | 1813. | I. H. Carpenter, printer"?  
BRATTLEBORO.

BURK, THE HISTORIAN. — Mr. Buckingham, in his *Reminiscences*, ii., 300, says of Burk, the author of *A History of Virginia*: "Burk, afterward, was the editor of a political paper in New York, called *The Time Piece*, and was arrested on the charge of publishing a libel, contrary to the provisions of the Sedition Law of 1798. The issue of the affair I never knew."

Is anything known of *The Time Piece*, or of Burk's career in New York?  
S. L.

PETERSBURG, Va., April 27, 1867.

## XIV.—REPLIES.

*To the Historical Magazine:*

A querist in the March number of the MAGAZINE (p. 180) gives a copy of a \$3.00 bill of the Detroit Bank, dated the first of November, 1807, signed "W. Flanagan, Cash'r" and "Jas. Henry, Pres't," and asks its history.

The Territorial Government of Michigan was organized the second of July, 1805, Gen. Hull, Governor. Several Boston merchants were then engaged in the fur trade. On the third of March, 1806, Russell Sturgis and several other well-known Boston Merchants petitioned the Territorial Legislature for a Charter for the Bank of Detroit. In anticipation of the granting of the Charter, on the twenty-seventh of May, several of the same gentlemen signed a bond as sureties of Wm. Flanagan as Cashier of a bank to be created. The petition was not presented until the sixth of September; and on the fourteenth of September a charter was granted with a capital of \$400,000. Wm. Flanagan became Cashier, and Chief-justice Woodward, President. A building seems to have been erected for it in advance, for on the second of October, a lot was granted to the Bank where the bank-building *had been* erected. This was a one-story brick building, on what is now the Northwest corner of Randolph Street and Jefferson

Avenue, one of the most prominent corners in Detroit.

The creation of the Bank brought a great storm upon the Territorial officers. The Act was bitterly attacked in Congress by Josiah Quincy, Sr.; and on the third of March, 1807, Congress passed an Act disapproving, and thus virtually annulling, the Charter. There was a violent discussion in the Eastern newspapers, and the impeachment of Judge Woodward was openly talked of. In defiance of the Act of Congress, the bank continued business until a penal Act was passed by the Territorial Legislature, on the tenth of September, 1808, against unauthorized banking. When Gen. Hull was re-nominated for Governor in February, 1808, he was charged with having paid off the troops in the bills of this Bank after its Charter had been disapproved by Congress; and this, for a while, delayed his confirmation.

When Chief-justice Woodward ceased to be President, and Mr. Henry was chosen, I do not know, but probably after the Act of Congress of the third of March, 1807.

The name of the cashier was, I think, Wm. Flanagan, not Fanagun, as your correspondent has it.  
C. J. W.

DETROIT, March 27, 1867.

THE MONUMENT TO CHIEF-JUSTICE POPHAM. (H. M., New Series, I., 234).—The notice of "the eloquent and ingenious Address, at the Two hundred and fifty-seventh anniversary of Popham's Colony at the mouth of the Kennebec," may need a little attention. If the critic had consulted one of our best dictionaries, he would have found a meaning for the word "consecrate," good enough to have screened the sentence selected, from his censure; and if he had gone to a classical one, he would have found that the original of our English word sometimes has the sense of perpetuation, by giving the immortality of honor. So Cicero uses it: "*Nominis memoriam consecrare*." All the difference between the two citations is, that the one is in the passive, the other in the active form. So, too, Horace writes: "*Æacum \* \* \* divitiibus consecrat insula*." as in the same spirit he says:

"—*incisa notis marmora publicis,  
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis  
Post mortem ducibus.*"

The difference as to Popham is, that his honorable name is "incised" in granite instead of marble.

It is noteworthy how certain writers in Boston become captious, when their thoughts are turned toward the Popham Colony. They are prone to apply them to little things, such as the style of

the Latin letter, probably written by Seymour, signed by the President; the character of the laborers; certain mythic tales about some dogs, gunpowder, and a cannon; and the language of the late Orations. But they seem to ignore the great principles connected with this initial enterprise, under the Charter of the tenth of April, 1606, of which this effort was the first exponent, as were the Patents to Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, later exponents, deriving all their legal force from this Royal Act of James.

Why are these writers so uneasy? Are they afraid that the "Rock" is in danger of tottering?

CUMBERLAND.

## XV.—PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### 1.—MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Through some unknown and therefore unexplainable occurrence, the Special Meeting of this Society has not been noticed in this Magazine. If not too late to recall the incidents of that occasion, it may be proper to state that it was held at Augusta, in the early part of last February, and was a gathering of unusual spirit, and a benefit to the historical pursuits of the State.

A soldier's Orderly-book, at the siege of Fort William Henry, and also a Cryptographic Journal in Latin, kept by "Handkerchief" Moody, of York, 1723-4, were presented and examined. A paper was read explaining and localizing the Indian names in a part of Purchas's *Pilgrimage*. The writer was requested to prepare an edition of that part of the work of Purchas relating to Manooaken. A communication was read on Thomas Purchase, the first settler on the Androscoggin, in 1628. Action was taken in regard to a history of newspapers in the State. A memorial was authorized, relative to the purchase of the Library of Peter Force, Esq., of Washington, by Congress. The Hon. E. Hamlin exhibited a large collection of Indian curiosities, recently taken from near the banks of the Penobscot. Dr. True intimated that a careful examination of the materials of stone weapons might lead to the quarries whence they were taken. The President, the Hon. E. E. Bourne, exhibited a letter of Sir William Pepperell, taken from behind a panel over a fire-place in an old house in York.

Resolutions were passed to solicit the co-operation of the Historical Societies of the different States, in asking the aid of the General Government in the publication of a proper work illustrating the Geography of American History.

The President read a paper on the office of

Historical Societies, in preserving materials for local and general history.

Resolutions were passed for proceeding with the publication of the Seventh Volume of Collections; and to ask the aid of the Legislature, then in session, in the publication of the documentary history of the State, which was soon after generously granted.

Frederic Kidder, Esq., of Boston, made a statement concerning the condition of the Eastern portion of the State during the Revolutionary conflict, and the part taken therein by Col. John Allan, to secure the fidelity of the Indians on the St. John and Passamaquoddy to the cause of the Colonies. The interesting Journal and letters of this active officer are in the hands of Mr. Kidder for publication, with a map and historical notes.

Measures were taken to preserve materials for the Military history of the State during the late war, and were advocated by Gov. Chamberlain.

On the publication of the documentary history of the State, it may be pertinent to remark, that the Society, through its Committees, is already taking steps to procure the needed documents from the English Archives. These portions will be followed by Charters, and other ancient papers, which are expected to throw much light on the early history of this first-settled region of our Northeastern shores.

### 2.—MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held on Thursday, the eleventh of April, at their rooms in Tremont street, Boston, the President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in the Chair. Reports were made by the Standing Committee, the Librarian, the Treasurer, and the Cabinet Keeper, which elicited some interesting discussion. The following named gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year:

*President*—Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

*Vice-Presidents*—Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, Hon. John C. Gray, LL.D.

*Recording Secretary*—Charles Deane.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Rev. Chandler Robbins.

*Treasurer*—Hon. Richard Frothingham.

*Librarian*—Thomas C. Amory.

*Cabinet Keeper*—Samuel A. Greene, M.D.

*Standing Committee*—Rev. George E. Ellis, Henry W. Torrey, Samuel Eliot, William C. Endicott, Wm. G. Brooks.

### 3.—AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

The Semi-Annual Meeting of this Society took place at the hall of the American Academy in

Boston, on the twenty-fourth instant, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, the President, in the chair. The record of the Annual Meeting in September last was read by the Recording Secretary, together with a record of a Special Meeting called to take notice of the death of Dr. Wm. Jenks, late Vice-President of the Society.

Rev. Dr. Hill then offered the Report of the Council. He spoke of the acceptable manner in which Mr. Barton had discharged the duties of the office in the absence of Samuel F. Haven, Esq., Librarian of the Society. He said the Council were happy to receive from Mr. Haven the assurance that his voyage and travel have been highly beneficial, and that in the early summer his return may be expected with enlarged ability. He will not only bring back fresh vigor, but will come enriched and able to enrich others by the acquaintance which he has made with rare manuscripts, deposited in the archives of libraries, and with the interesting discoveries of relics of an ancient people among the deposits of the Swiss lakes. He has spent the larger portion of his time, since he left, on the shores of Lake Geneva, and by his previous acquaintance with the remains of Indian tribes of our country, their implements of war, husbandry and domestic uses, will be able to institute intelligent comparisons between them and those of the "Age of Stone" in that vicinity, which are now exciting so much attention among the antiquarians of Europe. He spoke of a letter received from Mr. Bergenroth, a ripe antiquarian scholar of London, to the late Jared Sparks, Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, refuting a prevailing opinion that the name Brazil was not used until after the discovery of the country to which it was applied. Mr. Bergenroth offers in support of this theory that Brazil was familiar to navigators long before the country is said to have been discovered, of which he alludes to several instances. The letter was written in consequence of different opinions entertained in the Report of the Council, made by Rev. Edward E. Hale, to the Society in 1865. The inquiry is a curious one, and the documents referred to, if found to contain as stated, will prove of great interest and value.

He said Mr. Deane, an indefatigable co-laborer, has secured for the Library, during his visit to Paris, Sebastian Cabot's map, reprinted by Jomard. Not the same which hung at Whitehall, of which Mr. Bancroft speaks, but one of equal intrinsic value in perusing the history of the early discovery of this continent.

Dr. Hill speaks of additions to the Library, consisting of 455 bound volumes, and 5226 pamphlets. There are now 1908 bound volumes of newspapers upon the shelves, of which 237 have

been bound since the last meeting, and a very large collection of newspapers are now awaiting arrangement and completion for binding. Among other gifts deserving special notice, is the Life and Letters of John Winthrop, from 1630 to 1649, by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, a work that will take its place among the standard histories of the Colonial times, to be read with interest and regarded as authority in all time.

The report dwells with enthusiasm on the noble position which Gov. Winthrop took when he was tried for tyranny and oppression, and the most honorable result of that trial. His definition of civil liberty is noticed with great commendation by De Toqueville in his remarkable essay on Democracy in America.

Two influential members of this Society have been removed by death, Rev. William Jenks, D.D., LL.D., the senior Vice-President, and Hon. Pliny Merrick, LL.D. Dr. Hill spoke in touching terms of Judge Merrick, for thirteen years a counsellor of the Society, whose interest was manifested long after he was obliged to retire from professional duties by severe illness. He was present at the last Annual Meeting of the Society. The character of his mind and his judicial services were described, and a touching account of the closing days of his life was given.

The Report of the Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., shows that the aggregate of all funds held by the Society is \$51,549.84; cash on hand, \$561.52. There has been no change in the investments.

After the acceptance of this report, on motion of Hon. Richard Frothingham, Rev. Edward E. Hale explained his statement noticed in Mr. Bergenroth's letter. He said the name Brazil came from the Portuguese word Braza, the name of a wood, and that Islands bearing this wood were called Brazil Islands as others are called Spice Islands before the name Brazil was given to the country. Mr. Deane and Mr. Hale united in an interesting illustration of the subject Brazil.

Charles Deane, Esq., presented to the Society a fine copy of Jomard's edition of Cabot's *Mappe Monde*, which is a very desirable addition to the collections of the Society. Mr. Deane stated that the death of Jomard defeated his intention to publish a descriptive addition which Cabot annexed to the map, but it is now expected that this will soon be published. The map shows that Cape Breton was the Prima Vista, the first land discovered, and that it was not Hudson's Bay, as Mr. Biddle contended. Mr. Deane made other important observations descriptive of the map.

The Society voted thanks to Mr. Deane for this valuable gift, and also voted that both he and Mr. Hale be requested to report the substance of

their remarks for publication with the proceedings.

John G. Metcalf, M.D., of Mendon, Rev. Geo. S. Paine, of Worcester, and George Peabody, of America, were unanimously elected members of the Society, and the meeting was adjourned.—*Spy*, April 25.

#### 4.—THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

April 4, 1867.—REGULAR MEETING. J. Carson Brevoort, President, in the chair.

A Paper was read by Dr. Isaac I. Hayes, on *Greenland Glaciers and Icebergs*.

April 18, 1867.—SPECIAL MEETING. Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D.D., in the chair.

Paper by Rev. William L. Gage, on *Prussia and the German War*.

During the month of April fifty-one new members were elected.

#### 5.—THE FIRELANDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The third Quarterly Meeting of the Firelands Historical Society, for the current year, was held in the Methodist Church, at Townsend Center, Ohio, on Wednesday, the thirteenth of March, 1867.

A bountiful repast had been prepared by the ladies of Townsend, and immediately after the meal the meeting was called to order by Vice-President E. Bemiss, who requested the Rev. P. B. Stroup to offer the opening prayer.

The minutes of the previous meeting were then read and duly approved.

The Constitution was also read, and the names of thirty-two new members were added to the list.

On motion of Judge Parish, the Society accepted an invitation for interchange of visits with the Maumee Association.

The presentation of relics being next in order, the following were handed in, viz:

By Mrs. Mary Tillinghast, of Townsend, the "Old Boone Family Bible," 146 years old, formerly owned by her great-grandfather, in 1721; also, by the same, a stand 76 years old, and formerly owned by her mother in 1791. By Abiel Farley, a keepsake, being a large worked woolen pocket-book, which had been handed down through four generations past; age unknown. By H. T. Sherwood, of Townsend, a curiously wrought stone, semicircular in shape, and about five inches long, round, pointed at the ends, and a hole through the middle; the above was plowed up in March, 1866, one mile north of the center of Townsend. By F. D. Read, of Norwalk, the stuffed skin of a wild cat which was

killed in Ottawa County, some time in February last; the animal measured about three feet in length, and about twenty inches or two feet in circumference around the body; the above was exhibited as a specimen of those formerly infesting this section of the country. Mr. Read related several instances of the depredations of this animal and the wolf, who were formerly the terror of the inhabitants of the Firelands. By F. A. Breckinridge, of Townsend, formerly Lieut. Co. "C," 123d O. V. I., a writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum* issued by Gabriel Jones, Clerk of Court of Hampshire County, Virginia, in the year 1760, and in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King George II., against one Peter Steinberger, at the suit of one John Frazier; this writ was found by Lieut. Breckinridge in the Court House at Romney, West Virginia, some time in March, 1863.

The Committee of Arrangements having been unable to procure the attendance of some person to deliver an address upon the occasion, remarks were then made by the following Pioneers present, on early pioneer life, viz: F. D. Read, Judge Parish, George Tillinghast, James Arnold, E. O. Merry, Martin Denman, Amasa Finch, O. H. Van Tassel, and Vice-President Bemiss. These short exercises were very interesting to all present.

The Biographer not being present, the Secretary announced the death of another Pioneer since the last meeting, viz: Benjamin Benson, who was residing in Norwalk at the time of his death, but who had been for many years previously a resident of Townsend; he first came into the Firelands in 1819, and settled in Clarksfield. His death occurred on the twenty-second of January, 1867, at the age of 78 years.

The Society voted to leave the question of the next publication of the *Pioneer* with the Committee on Publication.

The following named gentlemen were then appointed a Committee of Arrangements to prepare for the Annual Meeting at Norwalk, in June next, to wit: O. Jenney, F. A. Wildman, L. Redding, John Miller, Isaac Underhill, D. A. Baker, and George R. Walker.

On motion of the Secretary, a vote of thanks was given to the Committee of Arrangements, the ladies of Townsend, and the citizens generally, for the very bountiful and hospitable entertainment given to the Society on this occasion.

The meeting was well attended, notwithstanding the very bad condition of the roads, which were almost impassable, as they often are at this season of the year—the Methodist Church being filled to overflowing, and holding three to four hundred persons.

Very appropriate and touching remarks were made by Vice-President Bemiss, at the close of the exercises above referred to.

On motion, adjourned, to meet in Norwalk on the second Wednesday in June next.

The audience then joined in singing the Doxology in the tune of Old Hundred, when a benediction was pronounced by the Rev. P. B. Stroup; and so ended a very pleasant re-union of the Pioneers.

## XVI.—BOOKS.

1.—*Addresses of the city of New York to George Washington, with his replies.* New York: 1867. Octavo, v., 14.

This is another of the privately-printed volumes which are making the present time a notable one in the history of book-making throughout the world.

It professes to be a collection of the *Addresses of the city of New York*; and it consists of, FIRST, an Address by "the PROVINCIAL CONGRESS of 'the Colony of New York,'" on the occasion of General Washington's assumption of the command of the army at Cambridge; SECOND, an Address of "the CITIZENS of NEW YORK, who 'have returned from Exile, in Behalf of themselves and their suffering Brethren,'" three days before the evacuation of the city by the British; THIRD, an Address of "the MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMONALTY of the city of New York, in 'Common Council convened,'" on the occasion of the investiture of the General with the freedom of the city; and, FOURTH, a similar Address to the last, which was presented to President Washington, "on his safe arrival in this Metropolis" after the organization of the Federal Government under the "Constitution for the United States."

It will be seen that of the addresses referred to, only one-half were actually made by "the city of New York" or in her behalf; and we would suggest an amendment of the title to the work, when a new edition shall be printed.

In the elaborate Introduction, the Editor tells us that "George Washington visited the City of 'New York on several memorable occasions—'five in all,' etc. The first of these was in February, 1756, when he went to Boston 'to consult Major-general Shirley, the British Commander-in-chief, on a point of military precedence'—certainly a 'memorable occasion' among those which were less memorable. The second of these visits was in June, 1775, when on his way to Cambridge to assume the command of the Revolutionary army, on which occasion 'the city of New York,' for good and sufficient reasons, did not see fit to present any 'Address' to him, the Editor of this volume to the contrary notwithstanding. The third visit was in April, 1776, when he removed the Head-quarters of the Army to this city, when, also, there was

no "Address" offered to him by any one. The fourth visit was on the twenty-fifth of November, 1783, when the enemy finally abandoned the State, when, also, "the city of New York" made no "Address," nor was one made for her. The fifth visit was on the occasion of the General's assumption of the honors and responsibilities of President of the United States, when he was duly Addressed, as stated.

The Editor tells us, also, that Beverly Robinson of New York was Washington's "early 'school-fellow,'" of which we confess we were previously ignorant; and he tells us, also, that a "war for independence" was being waged in June, 1775, of which we were, before, as wholly ignorant as was the Provincial Congress itself, who then Addressed the insurrectionary Chief.

In the first Address—that of the Provincial Congress of New York—the Editor has been pleased to divide the first paragraph of the original from which he copied; and the effect has been to make sheer nonsense of what, but for this impertinence, would have been very significant and very sensible.

The signature of "SAM'L BROOME" is omitted from the second Address, although it appears in the original manuscript, in the copy from that original which was published in the January number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and in Rivington's *New-York Gazette*, from which the Editor seems to have tried to take a copy.

The printer, a modest man and good workman, probably Mr. Munsell, has made a very neat book without leaving his imprint on it; and Mr. Menzies has permitted his private plate of Washington to be used for its illustration.

We do not know, certainly, for whom the work was printed; although we suppose a portion of the members of the Bradford Club are concerned in it; and we understand that the edition numbered only seventy-five copies, all of which are strictly for private circulation.

2.—*Memorial of Charles H. Marshall.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 96.

This privately-printed memorial of Captain Charles H. Marshall opens with a sketch of his life and character, written by the friendly hand of his son-in-law, William Allen Butler; and it closes with reports of the proceedings of the various Societies, Banks, etc., in which his influence had secured for him official position or unusual private importance.

From the former, we learn that Captain Marshall was a native of Washington County, New York, where he died the eighth of

1792.  
His early life considered no

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was evidently such a sailor as was seen on thousands of other decks than that which he trod; and there is no doubt he shared with the men of his class all the traits—good, bad, and indifferent—which have always distinguished them from all others.

It is proper to notice, in this place, that Captain Marshall's ancestry is carefully traced through Washington County and the *Jersey* prison-ship to the island of Nantucket; and we have learned from this volume, as we have learned from some other works of a similar class, how much is often thought by some of what by others is not considered of any consequence whatever. If our recollection of Captain Marshall is correct, he was the founder of his family, which, had he not lived, would not have been heard of outside of Washington County; and we fancy that he cared as little for his ancestry as he did for the ancestry of any other person.

It is proper, also, to suggest that when Nathan Coffin—Marshall's grandfather—"before the Revolution," went to London, chartered a vessel; "freighted her with a cargo of assorted merchandise for a home port"; procured a permit from the English Admiralty authorizing him to enter any port on the American coast; sailed with that permit on board for Nantucket; was seized on the high seas by an English man-of-war; carried by way of Martinique to New York, "where he was thrown into the prison-ship *Jersey*, of infamous memory," and shared the privations and cruelties which disgraced the British occupation of our harbor; and while there was abandoned by his cousin, who was enlisted from the *Jersey* into the Royal navy and subsequently became an Admiral and a Baronet; he was a party to transactions which were very remarkable—it is at once so novel and so refreshing, that we only regret that Mr. Butler has not told us more about the matter.

We were, before, aware that *smugglers* were sometimes seized by English cruisers "before the Revolution;" but we have never before heard of such an outrage as this upon an *honest trader*; and as it does not appear that Captain Coffin appealed from the decision of the prize-court, before which, "before the Revolution," at Martinique, his case must have been brought for adjudication, the subject speaks volumes in support of his claim to the virtue of meekness and unquestionable loyalty, and marks more plainly than before the infamy of those who, also "before the Revolution," threw him into the *Jersey* and deprived him of the counsel and co-operation, while on the *Jersey*, of his cousin Isaac, who sold himself from the prison-ship to the enemies of his country.

What a glorious service Mr. Butler has done to the cause of History in thus unearthing an-

other cause which justified the Revolution of 1775-83; and we respectfully bow him into the ranks of those profound historians who write for *The Ledger*, with a hope that he will pursue his enquiries and ascertain, definitely, just *when* the Revolution began; precisely *what* authority the Admiralty permits possessed "before the Revolution;" *when* the *Jersey* was first employed as a prison-ship; and *when* Sir Isaac Coffin entered the Royal navy, and under what circumstances; etc.

Mr. Butler informs us, however, that this honest trader of Nantucket, after his release from the *Jersey*, "lived to see the full triumph of the cause of Independence," and died in 1813. We supposed, judging from what we have heard elsewhere, that it was not until the close of "the second war of Independence," in 1815, that that "triumph" approached completion—indeed, some learned members of the Loyal League Club, of which Mr. Butler has probably heard something, have sometimes insisted that this "triumph" is not yet "full," and will not be until Andrew Johnson shall have been impeached and deposed from the Presidency and General Butler placed in the vacant seat.

There are other "yarns" in this volume which Mr. Butler should have left undisturbed in his father-in-law's forecabin—where the latter had more wisely left them, undisturbed—but he has told us, admirably, of Captain Marshall's professional career, of his honest bluntness in political affairs, and of his rigid regard for *authority*, wherever placed. He has left to John Jay's capable pen the duty of describing Captain Marshall's Christian character—displayed chiefly in his celebrated telegram—and what is assumed to have been his active co-operation in "the vigilance of a free people, exercising free speech," even under the guns of Fort Lafayette, "and his rejoicing on the blessings of a free press," even in the neighborhood of *The World* office and that of *The Journal of Commerce*.

We recollect Captain Marshall very well; and it was our lot, during some of the darkest days of the war, to see him frequently and to know just what he *did* do and just what he *did not* do in that very important matter.

Mr. Jay is doubtless acquainted with much that Captain Marshall said and did while the insurgents were threatening the Union; but he does *not* know that Captain Marshall ever justified one violation of the organic law of the Republic to counteract another, nor did he ever hear the blunt old sailor pay any less respect to one Section of the Constitution than to *all* others. He does not know, also, that Captain Marshall was such an Abolitionist as he (Mr. Jay) is; although he may know that Captain Marshall was just such an anti-Slavery man as he (Jay) was



when he signed, at the head of the Roll, the States Rights Democratic platform of THE FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE, of which both he and his honored father, as well as John P. Hale, and Minthorne Tompkins, and William A. Hall, and Henry B. Dawson, and Edward A. Stansbury, and D. D. T. Marshall were members, and Henry Wilson an employee.

The book is neatly printed, and is illustrated with a portrait of the deceased.

3.—*The Cow Chace*: a poem in three cantos. By Major John Andre, Adjutant-General to the British Army in New York, in 1760. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell, 1866. Small quarto, pp. 98.

We have, in this volume, the first of Doctor Hough's projected "RIVINGTON SERIES" with which he expected to do wonders, *privately*, either in opposition to, or in the wake of, the series *publicly* proposed for private publication by THE RIVINGTON CLUB of New York.

There are five pages of "Preface," in which *eleven whole lines and small portions of two others* are taken up with a description of the interesting events which the Poet celebrated in the text of *The Cow Chace*; six others with a *guess* that the subject was proposed to Andre by John Thompson, the Agent of the Wood-cutters; two others with another *guess* that it was written at No. 1 Broadway, New York; three others with a "re-port" concerning the day on which the Printer received the "copy" of the last Canto; five others in telling that "the army under General Washington" was, at the period referred to, "too weak for any aggressive movement"—as if the very march of General Wayne's command, from Totoway to Bull's Ferry, in order to attack this Block-house, was not a very "aggressive movement"—and a full *page* and one half of another in telling how much the army suffered during the summer of 1780—as if that had anything to do with General Wayne's dash at the Block-house; or his attempt to deprive the Royal forces of their supply of fresh meat, a portion of which was then on Bergen Neck; or his still more important attempt to decoy the enemy into the ambushed defiles near Fort Lee while attempting to cut off his retreat from the Block-house—concerning the last two of which subjects the Doctor is conveniently silent in this "Preface" to *The Cow Chace*.

The Doctor tells us, also, on page 4, that "this Poem has been often Printed"; and on page 6, he repeats that important statement in these very scholarly words: "Several separate Editions of *The Cow Chace* HAS been published"—he does not tell us, however, when and where these "several separate Editions" "has" appeared; nor is it evident from his "Preface" by whom they "has been published."

An "Introduction" follows the "Preface" to which we have referred, in which we find, FIRST, what purports to be the "Advertisement" and the "Preface" of the London Edition of 1781; SECOND, what seems to be General Washington's letter to the President of Congress, dated the twenty-sixth of July, 1780—reporting the expedition to Bull's Ferry and its results—said to have been taken from *The Pennsylvania Packet* of the first of August, 1780, but really from some other work, as will be evident to any one who will compare the copy with the professed original; THIRD, two newspaper accounts of the same affair—said to have been taken from Rivington's *The Royal Gazette* of the twenty-second and twenty-sixth of July, 1780, but really from some other paper, since Rivington had no verses at the head of his first article, and he printed both of them very differently from the versions here presented; FOURTH, an article from *The New Jersey Journal*, Vol. 11., Number LXXV, [Chatham, N. J.] Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of July, 1780, with Rivington's comments, *all of which* are said to have been "quoted in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, No. 400, of the twenty-ninth of July, 1780," without any apparent knowledge, on the part of Doctor Hough, of the source from which any portion of the article was taken, or of the originality, in *The Royal Gazette* itself, of some important portions of it; FIFTH, a "Card" purporting to have been taken from Rivington's *Royal Gazette* of the twenty-ninth of July, 1780, but very poorly imitated in this copy; SIXTH, an extract from Sir Henry Clinton's dispatch to Lord George Germain, describing the attack on the Block-house, purporting to have been taken from *The London Gazette*; and SEVENTH, a letter from Head-quarters, enclosing to Captain Ward an extract of a letter received from the Home Government, conveying the King's approbation of the conduct of himself and his party, in their gallant defense of their post.

As these papers are thrown together without order or a word of explanation—without even a line of connecting narrative—this "Introduction" would have been of little use if the papers themselves had been correctly copied, and their origin correctly noticed; as it is, with its pages crowded with erroneous words and bad spelling, and quoted as from newspapers to which, it is evident, the Doctor was not indebted for them—to say nothing of important papers on the same subject which appeared in the same newspapers but have not been copied—this "Introduction" is useful only for the purpose of indicating the worthlessness of the book, as materials for History, and the insufficiency of Doctor Hough as a reliable Editor for such a work as this aspires to be, if, indeed, he is for any other.

The text of *The Cow Chace* follows this hodge-podge of an "Introduction;" and it is just such a text as such an Editor would naturally make; and just such an one as by such an "Introduction" might, most properly, be introduced to the world.

Without seriously affecting the sense of the original, in any case that we have seen, this version of *The Cow Chace* is, nevertheless, entirely unworthy of the credit which, on its face, it appears to claim; and, instead of being valuable, in itself, as well as in its setting, as authentic materials for History, it is, in fact, nothing but a toy for the gratification of those verdant children of a larger growth who, when smaller, were delighted with the tinsel on the ginger-bread which their grandmothers bought for them, and who fancied they possessed therein so much gold.

The elegant old-style type, the beautiful new-style head-pieces, the profuse use of capital letters and obsolete spelling, etc., employed in this work, were very well calculated to effect the Doctor's object, by misleading the unwary and those who are not informed or have not access to the originals; but the fact is patent to every one who is informed, and it will be to every other person who will take the trouble to compare the original and this imitation, that the latter is a bald imposition, hastily and secretly gotten up for the purpose of unholy profit, at the expense of those collectors who might become the innocent victims.

It possesses none of the qualities which should distinguish such volumes as this appears to be—volumes which have been elaborately edited and elegantly printed, of small editions, and at very large prices. It is useless for any good purpose, because it contains only a very small portion of the material relating to the subject treated of; and that portion is not accurately printed—the result, it is evident, of an avaricious haste to make money on the part of the concealed Editor, on whom the censure would not be apt to fall, rather than the consequence of carelessness in the accomplished Printer, *not concealed*, who at once became the commercial head of the enterprise and the scapegoat before the public for the sins of the former.

The verso of the title-page tells us that the edition numbered one hundred copies; but we have reason for supposing that thirty copies besides the one hundred referred to have been "salted down," as the phrase goes, to be issued from time to time by the enterprising Editor himself, when the demand shall have consumed the Printer's stock, and the advanced prices of the work, consequent thereon, shall have appreciated sufficiently to meet the Editor's expectations.

4.—*The Siege of Savannah, by the combined American and French forces, under the command of Gen. Lincoln and the Count d'Estaing, in the Autumn of 1779.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1866. Small quarto, pp. 187.

This very handsome volume, which is uniform with *The Cow Chace*, last described, and evidently one of the same projected "Rivington Series" of the late distinguished head of the Census Department of this State, although his name is not given, has been sent to us by its unfortunate Publisher, who, in connection with this "Series," at least, has been made a victim of misplaced confidence.

After a brief "Preface" of two pages, an "Introduction" has been introduced, in which the learned but invisible Editor has briefly narrated the events which led to the operations against Savannah as well as those connected with the Siege itself; and it is due to him, and we are glad to recognize the fact, to say that he has greatly improved in the manner of his "Introductions," since he wrote, or threw together, that which preceded *The Cow Chace*, although his matter is no more authentic in this instance than in that.

There are some points of the Editor's "Introduction," however, which we cannot pass unnoticed. For instance, he says "the American Force at that Place" (when the enemy approached Savannah, in December, 1778,) "then consisted of between six and seven hundred Continentals, and a few hundred Militia, under the command of Major-General Robert Howe;" but he could have learned from Colonel Campbell's dispatch to Lord George Germain, *had he copied it correctly on pages 7-15*, that there were then "at that Place" no American troops whatever, and only two galleys in front of it. The dispatch of Commodore Hyde Parker, dated the fourteenth of January, 1779, would have added other testimony on the subject, had the Editor been as anxious to write correctly as he evidently was to do something that is less honorable to a Historian of his pretensions.

General Howe, at the time referred to, instead of being "at that Place"—Savannah—as pretended by the Doctor, (p. 7,) was at Sunbury, nearly thirty miles distant; and the "Militia" referred to by him had long before become disaffected and returned home.

This editorial effort is followed by another which is not more successful—an attempt to give a copy of "the official Report of the British officer who led this expedition," instead of which the Doctor has presented one of the baldest pieces of imposition on a good-natured reading public that ever passed under our eye, as any one can ascertain who will compare his copy with the genuine article, which was re-published in our *Battles*, i., 477-479.

Again: the Doctor says, "The Assault was made in *three Columns*" etc., but he could have learned, had he turned either to Stedman (ii., 130) or Henry Lee (*Memoirs*, 58), that the "Assault" was "made" only with *two*—that on the north side of the town, led by General Dillon, and that in front of the Spring Hill redoubt, led by General Lincoln and Admiral D'Estaing—while the column on the southern front of the city, led by General Huger, was only a feint. (See, also, General Lincoln's *Evening Orders*, October 8.)

The Doctor also leads his readers to suppose from his words, as he probably supposed himself, that the ill success of the Siege was a result only of a stubborn defence; and he says nothing, therefore, of the desertion of Sergeant-major Curry with the plan of the attack, of the delay in moving against the city in the morning, of the blunder of General Dillon who led his column into a swamp, and of the consequent concentration of the garrison in front of the column led by the Admiral and General Lincoln—all of which causes were very instrumental in producing the disaster.

The text of the volume is composed of various Journals and other papers relative to the second Siege, purporting to have been taken from Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, *The Pennsylvania Packet*, and other newspapers of the day; and, if correctly copied—of which we have no guarantee and many doubts—it is a very important contribution to the stock of material which those distant from the large cities have hitherto possessed. We are free to say, however, that we have learned to place no confidence in any statement which we may find in any volume the Editor of which, although widely known, sees fit to conceal his name from his readers; because we are confident that no one would do so if he had any reason to suppose either that his professional character, generally, would not injure the enterprise in which he was engaged, or that, in that particular instance, he had fully and honestly done his duty. In the volume before us—as in the case of the entire series—Doctor Hough has studiously concealed his association with the enterprise; and while, under *all* the circumstances in the case, we must say that we admire his commercial tact in doing so, we must say, also, that this fact must be added to the unworkman-like style of his work, and both must be taken by our readers as a portion only of our reasons for discrediting Doctor Hough's statements and transcripts in this series, and for considering the volumes as without any value, for Historical purposes.

The edition of this volume, like that of *The Cow Chace*, is said to have been "one hundred copies."

5.—*The Siege of Charleston, by the British fleet and army under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, which terminated with the surrender of that place on the 12th of May, 1780.* Albany: J. Munsell, 1867. Small quarto, pp. 224.

Another of the projected "Rivington Series," exactly uniform with the two volumes which preceded it, is here presented to the reading public.

In this, the learned Editor has inserted no "Preface," preferring rather, it seems, to expend all his learning and all his industry on the "Introduction" which precedes his text; and we accordingly turn to that with the greater interest.

It is said, in the first line of this "Introduction," that "Early in June, 1775, two British Men-of-War, the *Bristol* and the *Experiment*, appeared off the Harbor of Charleston, then the Capital of South Carolina, with the Intention of reducing that City and Colony to their late Allegiance."

We were not before aware that "Early in June, 1775," either Charleston or South Carolina had been absolved from its "Allegiance" to its lawful Sovereign, George III.; nor were we before aware that any body had pretended anything to the contrary. Indeed, if there is any virtue in the *Association unanimously agreed to in the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, on Saturday, June 3, 1775*—"early in June, 1775"—we are not alone in our ignorance on that subject, since that body then said the obligation of that Association should "continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon Constitutional principles, AN EVENT WHICH WE MOST ARDENTLY DESIRE"—all of which indicates that two men-of-war were not then required—"early in June, 1775"—to "reduce Charleston and South Carolina to their late Allegiance."

We were, also, not before aware that the *Bristol* and *Experiment* were then near Charleston, for any purpose; and we do not credit the assertion notwithstanding Doctor Hough's "Introduction" to such a statement. About twelve months later than the period referred to (*June 4, 1776*) the *Bristol*, without the *Experiment*, but in company with the *Solebay*, *Syren*, *Active*, *Acteon*, *Sphynx*, *Friendship*, *Ranger*, and *Thunder*, did arrive "off the Harbor of Charleston," if History speaks truly; (STEDMAN, i., 185; General LEE's despatch to Congress, dated July 2, 1776; Sir PETER PARKER's despatch to the Admiralty, July 9, 1776,) and it was not until more than three weeks after that date that the *Experiment* joined them; (RAMSAY'S *Rev. in South Carolina*, i., 144; General LEE's despatch; Sir PETER PARKER's despatch); but we suppose that all these authorities are nothing when confronted with the recent head of the Census Department, who is

emphatically a man of figures, and we and they must stand corrected.

We were not before aware, also, that the force opposed to the British fleet, at the entrance of Charleston harbor, at any time, amounted to "two Regiments of South Carolina," as is stated by Doctor Hough, on page 3; although we know—because Gordon (ii., 283) and Ramsay (*Revolution in South Carolina*, i., 144) tell us so—that when Sir Peter Parker was defeated on those waters, in June, 1776, the entire garrison opposing him was Three hundred and forty-four men, belonging to the Second South Carolina Regiment, besides a Company of Artillerists.

The Doctor succeeds, however, notwithstanding our ignorance, in presenting a lengthy narrative of the exploits, "early in June, 1775," of the *Bristol* and *Experiment*; of their cannonade of Fort Moultrie; of their repulse; of the loss on board the two ships, respectively, of One hundred and eleven and Seventy-nine men; of the "great enthusiasm throughout the Country," which was produced by the success of the Garrison; and of "no further Attempt being made against Charleston until after the unsuccessful Attempt of the French and Americans against Savannah, in the Autumn of 1779."

All this would be very well and very important, were it true; but, inasmuch as it is not true, it is, simply, *Bosh*.

The *Bristol* and *Experiment* really attacked Fort Moultrie not "early in June, 1775," but on the twenty-eighth of June, 1776; not unassisted, but with the aid of the *Solebay*, *Syren*, *Active* and *Acteon*, each of twenty-eight guns, the *Sphinx* of twenty, the *Friendship* of eighteen, the *Ranger* of eight, the *Thunder*, Ketch, of six guns and two mortars, and several smaller armed vessels and a large number of transports, on which were the XVth, XXVIIIth, XXXIIIrd, XXXVIIth, LIVth, LVIIth, and seven companies of the XLVIth Regiments of the Royal Army; not with the simple loss of a hundred and eleven men on one ship and Seventy-nine on the other, but with the entire destruction of the *Acteon*; the wreck of the *Thunder*—rendering her useless; the loss of the Captain of the *Bristol*, and several of her officers, One hundred and eleven of her men, her main and mizzen-masts, and much of her rigging, etc.; of Captain Scott of the *Experiment* and Seventy-nine of her men, besides much damage to her hull, rigging, etc.; of seven men on the *Active*; of eight on the *Solebay*, etc.

But Doctor Hough's blunders do not end here.

In his narrative of the Siege of 1780, he says, (page 9) the British fleet passed the Bar on the eighth of April, "without serious injury;" although it is in evidence (*Adm'l ARBUTHNOT'S despatch*, May 14; *Gen'l WOODFORD to General WASHINGTON*, Apr'l 8; *Gen'l MOULTRIE'S Diary*,

Apr'l 7th; etc.) that the *Richmond* lost her foretopmast, the *Acetus* was burned, and all the others were more or less damaged.

The remarks which we made concerning the text of *The Siege of Savannah*, last noticed, are entirely applicable to the text of this volume and need not be repeated. A really useful work to those who are distant from original material might have been made in each case; and both the Editor and the honest Printer might have been paid for their labor and received the well-earned thanks of the Public, had the former done his duty and dared to face the world like an honest man. Conscious of his wrong-doing in the premises, however, he preferred to cover himself and let his illegitimate bantlings be tossed, unfathered, and, except by the unpaid midwife, uncared for, on the coldness of an unsympathizing and inhospitable world. If the world shall now neglect them and mark him, he will have, therefore, no one to blame for it but himself.

The edition, like that of the *Cow Chace* and that of *The Siege of Savannah*, is said to have been "one hundred copies."

6.—*The History of the Dividing Line and other Tracts*. From the Papers of William Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia, Esquire. In two volumes. Richmond, Va.: 1866. Small quarto, I., xix., 233; II., iv., 276.

We have already referred to the great value of this work and the care with which it has been edited by our excellent friend, Doctor T. H. Wynne, of Richmond, Va., and we have only to add now that all who possess *The Williamsburg Orderly-book*, so called, will find in these volumes the continuation of that series of "Historical Documents from the Old Dominion," of which the latter forms the first volume.

It is printed in the admirable style of Joel Munsell of Albany—a style which is appreciated by every lover of handsome books and which has made him famous, while it has also failed to make him as rich as he should be.

7.—*Memorables of the Montgomeries*. New York: Printed for the King of Clubs, 1866. Quarto, pp. (iv) III., three blank pages, fac-simile title-page and verso, 7.

We have here, if we are not mistaken, the first volume of the publications of "The King of Clubs"; and we are free to say that it has done itself credit.

The "Introduction," by the American editor, tells us that this ancient Ballad "carries the Genealogy of the family whose memorables it sets forth, to a period quite remote;" although he does not appear to be satisfied, in every respect, with the character of the Record, as it stands in these pages.

It is, however, whether true or false, a curious

old Ballad, reciting, what claims to be, the history and progress of the MONTGOMERY family—that race of mighty Scots of Ayr—from the days of Rome, over the Mont Gomericus, through Hastings, to Ponoon; and it has been reprinted from a rare copy belonging, during his life, to the late John Allan.

It appears in the beautiful style of the Bradstreet Press—old style type; laid, tinted paper; etc.—and the edition numbered sixty octavo copies and forty quartos.

8.—*A Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Captain Michael Cresap.* By John J. Jacob. Cincinnati, Ohio: Reprinted from the Cumberland Edition of 1826, with Notes and Appendix, for William Dodge, 1866. Quarto, pp. 158.

This is a large, coarsely-printed quarto; the work of some "Steam Job Printer," whose taste is evidently exercised on show-bills for some traveling menagerie or on catalogues for some country auctioneer, more frequently and more profitably than on "fine books"—even the books which are thrown on the market, once in a great while, by the sagacious publisher of Penhallow.

It is simply JACOB'S *Life of Cresap*, with Jacob's "Advertisement," Dedication, "Preface," and "Introduction" dexterously inserted in front of the Title-page instead of behind it, in order that the casual observer may be led to suppose that all these are new matter; and if we are not sadly mistaken, not only the "Appendix" referred to in the title-page, but the "Supplement," the "Conclusion," and the final Notes, which follow the "Appendix," are Mr. Jacob's, also, rather than Mr. Dodge's. A letter of General George Rogers Clark, vindicating Cresap from the charge of killing Logan's family, and here and there a Note, may be Mr. Dodge's; but we can find nothing else which may possibly be his work.

Of Jacob's *Sketch* we can say very little that is not already known to the greater number of our readers. It is an elaborate and, we think, a successful defence of Captain Cresap from the censures heaped upon him by Mr. Jefferson and Doctor Doddridge, by one who was an inmate of his family and knew him well, who married his widow, and who possessed all his papers, books, etc. It is well written and bears the impress of Truth on its face; and it needed none of Mr. Dodge's very questionable management in order to make it attractive to every student and collector who did not already possess a copy.

9.—*A Journal of Wayne's Campaign.* Being an Authentic Daily Record of the most Important Occurrences during the Campaign of Major General Anthony Wayne against the Northwestern Indians; commencing on the 28th day of July, and ending on the 2d day of November, 1794; including an account of the great battle of August 20th. By Lieutenant Boyer. Cincinnati, Ohio: William Dodge, 1866. Quarto, pp. 23.

When we first saw this volume we fancied that it was an old acquaintance of ours, which

had done us good service while we were engaged in writing our *Battles of the United States*, although Mr. Dodge has issued it, as if it had never appeared before, without any allusion to the source from which he has abstracted it. It was not long, however, before we fixed our old friend, *The Journal of Lieutenant Boyer*; and we are not unwilling to expose the laxity of Mr. Dodge's morals which has allowed him to use without credit the labors of another, and to re-publish without acknowledgment what the Editor of *The American Pioneer*, John S. Williams, Esq., has already given to the world.

Concerning the *Journal* itself, which Mr. Dodge has fully described in his title-page and probably re-produced correctly, we cannot speak too highly, as it is an original authority concerning one of the most important events in the history of the mighty West.

We are aware that it has not yet become fashionable to "collect" material for a History of our Military Affairs, subsequent to the War of the Revolution; but that material is not less important because it has been neglected, and we should fall short of our duty if we failed to remind our readers of its growing importance, even as matter of merchandise.

Considered as a specimen of typography, this volume is not more creditable, as a "fine book," than is the *Life of Captain Cresap*, published by the same person, to which we have last referred.

10.—*Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society.* Volume I. Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by the Society, 1867. Octavo, and royal octavo, pp. viii., xlvii., 440.

A dainty volume, printed by Munsell and bound by Mathews, presents itself as the first-born of the young and vigorous *Long Island Historical Society*; and the contents of the volume are as interesting and important, both to the general reader and as materials for history, as the setting is well-chosen and skillfully elaborated.

It seems that our honored friend and fellow-laborer, Hon. Henry C. Murphy, while on the Mission at the Hague, picked up a Journal of the visit to the English Colonies in America, in 1679-80, of a delegation of Labadists from Friesland, for the purpose of finding a home for that community on the Western shore of the Atlantic; and, after some delay in the matter, he has translated it, and placed it for publication, where he could most properly have placed it, in the hands of the Historical Society, whose home is in the city of his residence, and of which he is a leading officer.

This *Journal* "is a plain story, told in simple language, of a voyage across the Atlantic nearly two hundred years ago, and of journeys to 'many of the American settlements'—New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and

Massachusetts—"at that time. It was written "under the influence of peculiar religious views "and national attachments," of course, but in that fact we find a reason for supposing that, as between peoples and creeds and practices which were equally foreign to their opinions, and habits, and nationality, we have a more perfectly impartial judgment than is usual in such cases.

The delegation left Wieward, in Friesland, on the eighth of June, 1679; took passage with Margaret Philipse, the wife of Frederic Philipse of the Philipse Manor in this County; reached New York on the twenty-third of September; traveled extensively; and sailed from Boston, on the twenty-third of July, 1680, on their return to their own country.

The voyage is described with great minuteness; and Margaret Philipse is very fully portrayed, very much to her disadvantage. The city of New York, also, is more perfectly described than is usual; and several drawings, representing the city from the Southeast, East, and North, illustrate the text. Many of the Burghers of that early period are referred to, including Gerrit Cornelis Van Duyn, Jacob Swart, Jean Vigne—the first male born of the Europeans in New Netherland—Mons. La Grange, Domine Nieuwenhuisen, Abraham De la Noy, and his brother Peter, Francis Rombouts, Evert and Gerrit Duyckinck, Adrian Cornelison, Peter Denyse, Frederic Philipse, etc., and others, not permanent residents of the city, including Domine Schaats, Simon Aertsen DeHart of Gowanus, Jacques Cortelyou, Mr. Valentine of West Chester County, Ephraim Heermans of Newcastle, Governor Andros, Rev. Mr. Wooley, the widow Rensselaer, Domine Van Zuren of Long Island, Catalina Trico of the Wale Bocht, etc. also receive attention. We have, also, descriptions of the Fort, the old Church, Long Island, Brooklyn, the Bowery, Harlem, Staten Island, the mode of trading with the Indians, the villages of Bergen, Schenectady, Albany, Esopus, etc., the East-river, Hell Gate, the North River—which, he says, "discharges itself into the sea at *Sandy Hook*, or "*Rensselaer Hook*;" as maintained by us, in our discussion of the question of the Eastern Boundary of New Jersey, a year or two ago—the trouble with Governor Carteret, etc.; and a general review of the country. The general description of the city of New York, which, it is supposed, formed part of the original Journal, has not been preserved.

Of the New Englanders the delegation seems to have had a very poor opinion; although no one, not even the inevitable Poole, will pretend that it was not composed of educated and intelligent men, or that its narrative, herein presented, has not an air of truthfulness and candor.

The descriptions of some of the manners and

customs of New England, at that period, are peculiarly rich—the long domestic prayers, "loud enough to be heard three houses off" and not said in a closet with the door shut, (MATTHEW vi., 6;) the public prayers in the pulpit, "full two hours in length" (p. 380); the entire absence of devotion in the religious exercises (*Ibid.*); the worldliness of the people, of whose ardent religion we have heard so much (p. 382); the state of the College at Cambridge (pp. 384, 385), and the suspicions entertained towards strangers (pp. 386-389) are peculiarly so—and they have left us a most interesting sketch of the "Apostle Eliot"; a description of the mutilated flag which was in use at Boston; of the Pharisaical character of the prevailing religion—"all their religion," they said, "consists in observing Sunday, by not working or going into taverns on that day"—of the "noise and debauchery" which prevailed in their taverns, etc.; telling us, at the same time, that, notwithstanding their pretences of religion, "you discover little difference between this and other places;" that "drinking and fighting occur there not less than elsewhere; and as to truth and true godliness, you must not expect more of them than of others;" that they were "like all other Englishmen, who, if they are not more detestable than the Hollanders, are at least no better;" that, in their churches, "there was no more devotion than in other churches, and even less than in New York; no respect, no reverence;" "in a word, nothing but the name of Independents; and that was all;" that John Eliot "deplored the decline of the church in New England, and especially in Boston, so that he did not know what would be the final result;" "they are all Independents in matters of religion; many of them perhaps more for the purpose of enjoying the benefit of its privileges than for any regard to truth and godliness;" etc.

Taken as a whole, this volume is highly creditable to the Society which has issued it. The subject is an appropriate one; it has been edited by one of the very few who are able to do so properly, and he has performed his labor with great success; the illustrations are appropriate; the mechanical execution of the work is all that can be desired; and every historical student and every one who is at all interested in whatever pertains to "Old New York" will receive this new contribution to their stock of materials with entire satisfaction.

11.—*History of Easthampton: its settlement and growth; its material, educational, and religious interests, together with a Genealogical Record of its Original Families.* By Payson W. Lyman. Northampton: Trumbull & Gere, 1866. Small octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 194.

In this neatly-printed little volume, the author

has given to the world a sketch of the history of his native town,—one of the four Hamptons, in Massachusetts.

As the author—who is a student in Amherst College, if we do not mistake—claims nothing more for his work than the merit of a “sketch,” the reader must not expect to find in this volume all the details of a “history”; and we only regret that one who is evidently so capable, should not have extended his labors a little further and given us a History. It would not have cost him much more labor than he has bestowed on this work, had he given us a detailed and authoritative account of the Civil and Ecclesiastical history of the Town, with references to the authorities at the foot of the pages; and if he had perfected his “Genealogical Record,” instead of giving only the outlines—leaving out, even then, all the details of several existing families, including his own—the result would have been far more useful and more satisfactory, even to himself.

We make these remarks in no spirit of fault-finding, but with a hope that the author may be induced to go on and make more perfect what he has so admirably begun. He has shown an ability for such a labor, combined with so modest an appreciation of his own merits, that we are unwilling to allow him to retire into the recesses of some country law-office and be lost to the little circle of careful and conscientious historical writers.

The first Chapter of the work is devoted to the early history of the Town, bringing it down to its Incorporation; and the following Chapters are devoted, respectively, to its Churches, its Schools, its History, ending with the War of 1812, its Manufactures, its Agriculture and Trade, its Physicians, its Library Associations, Public-houses, etc., and its services in the recent War; and the Genealogical Sketches close the volume.

As our readers will readily understand, we commend the work to the attention of all who are engaged in collecting local histories.

12.—*Mosby and his Men*: a record of the adventures of that renowned partisan ranger, John S. Mosby, [Colonel C. S. A.] Including the exploits of Smith, Chapman, Richards, Montjoy, Turner, Russell, Glasscock, and the men under them. By J. Marshall Crawford, of Company B. New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 375.

The publisher of this volume tells us “there is a kind of physiognomy in the titles of books “no less than in the faces of men, by which a “skillful observer will know as well what to “expect from the one as the other”; which would indicate, if true, that the miserable paper which the publisher has given to the printer, in this instance, and the generally mean appearance of the work, may be considered as indicative of shabbiness in the author and something dis-

creditable in the manner in which he has discharged his duty as a historian.

We are not prepared to admit the presence of so much virtue in either a publisher's niggardliness or an amateur's extravagance while dressing a volume for the eye of the public; since many good works have been buried in shabby dresses; and more, like Doctor Hough's recent ventures, without possessing a shadow of merit, have been issued in the extravagance of the Munsell Press, and with all the motherly care which the Bradford Club and the Board of Supervisors in New York are so admirably calculated to extend.

We have gone over the greater part of this volume, and we are not prepared to say that “Mosby and his Men” have been treated as shabbily by Mr. Crawford as the latter has been by his printer; and we rather incline to the opinion that this book is better, as a record of the doings of the great partisan leader, than is indicated by its appearance.

There are many pages of the volume, it is true, which have no more to do with “Mosby and his Men” than with Grant and his men, and should never have formed a part of such a narrative as this; but the writer evidently desired to “have his say” on the causes of the war and its general conduct, and his readers have been bored accordingly. That portion which treats especially of the operation of the Forty-third Battalion of Virginia Cavalry, however, appears to be generally entitled to respect, as the testimony of an actor in the scenes which he describes; although our knowledge of the details of that portion of our History, which we have not yet looked into very closely, is too limited to warrant any very decided judgment concerning its general merits as *History*. It is, at any rate, cleverly written, and carries with it an appearance of authenticity, when treating of “Mosby and his Men”; although it is evident that the author, when writing of what he had no personal knowledge, has fallen into some errors, as many others who have preceded him have done, when writing on subjects with which they were unacquainted.

13.—*The Shenandoah*; or the last Confederate cruiser. By Cornelius E. Hunt, (one of her officers). New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., Publishers, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 273.

The cruise of the *Shenandoah* is matter of history; and without considering the legality or illegality of her commission, a statement by “one of “her officers,” in which a candid exposition of her doings is presented to the world, is worthy of our notice. It is original evidence; and when, as in this case, it is the evidence of one who dared to think for himself and to speak boldly of what he thought, it is the more entitled to our attention and respect.

We have read this volume with entire satisfaction. It does not pretend to discuss subjects which do not properly belong to it; nor are its pages encumbered with profitless dissertations or more profitless speculations. The cruise of the *Shenandoah* is described, fully; and, having discharged that duty, the author promptly dismisses his reader.

We cannot say a favorable word for the typography of the volume. The paper is too poor to afford the printer a fair chance; and the physiognomy of the volume is too unpromising to warrant a single word of commendation.

14.—*Ordinances of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York. Revised A. D. 1859.* With the Amendments thereto and additional Ordinances passed since the Revision. By D. T. Valentine. Adopted by the Common Council and published by their authority. New York: E. Jones & Co., Printers, 1866. Octavo, pp. xvi., 685.

The city of New York, with a population, in 1860, very much greater than that of the entire States of Maine, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, or Wisconsin; larger than Maine and Rhode Island, or Vermont, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, or New Jersey, Delaware, and Oregon, or Florida, Delaware, Kansas, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and the noisy city of Boston combined; and with wealth and influence on all subjects except those concerning the Government, relatively greater than its population, has its own Code of By-laws, enacted by its own local Legislature, and executed by its own local Executive.

It is a Body-corporate, existing as such from the days of the Fathers; older even than the State or the Union; and deriving its authority, originally, from those who alone were competent to give it. Its Charters, granted one after another, by its Sovereigns—Dutch, English and American; Commercial, Royal and Republican—are just as valid, and quite as ancient, and not a whit less respectable, than was that celebrated Charter which was considered so sacredly inviolable in Connecticut, and so carefully concealed in the oak at Hartford; and that Charter which Massachusetts was wont to plead as the palladium of her Rights and as too sacred to be interfered with by either the Parliament or the King, was nothing more, if as much, than are the instruments under which the city of New York exists, to-day, as a Municipality; and it possessed no more virtue and no more legal force. Indeed, those Colonial Charters of which the world has learned so much, and for the violation of which George III. and his Parliament have been held up to the contempt of all succeeding ages, were less important and possessed less authority, as legal instruments, than are those which, possessed to-day by the city of New York, are far more wantonly violated every day by its Repub-

lican Sovereign, the State of New York, through her Legislature; and if the city possessed a tithe of the noisiness of Revolutionary Massachusetts, or, if her members had as little to do, in the way of legitimate business, as had the *illicit* traders of Boston, a century since, we should to-day be in the midst of a hub-bub concerning "Chartered rights," and Legislative "usurpations," and "the Rights of Man," which would throw all the appeals of John Hancock, and Samuel Adams, and James Otis, and all the legal arguments of John Adams and Josiah Quincy, into the shade, and hurl the reckless partisans of the Nineteenth century into the depths of historical degradation, beside their predecessors in usurpation who were hurled from their seats in the last century, amidst the execrations of their own constituents, and covered with the contempt of those whom they had endeavored to despoil. It is not so, however. Moses Taylor is not a smuggler, and needs no such sympathy; and, although a tax has been imposed by questionable authority exercised under Legislative sanction, William B. Astor has more important business to attend to than a contest on that subject, and Cornelius Vanderbilt does not allow any such trifle to "interfere with his game." *The city of New York is, in fact, too busy to attend to trifles; and her citizens can better afford to lose a little at the faucet, by neglect, than to spend their precious time in small matters, at the expense of the stream which flows in at the bung-hole.*

As we have said, the City has its By-Laws; and this volume contains that Code, as it was in August last.

It is the work of our venerable friend, the Clerk of the Common Council, and is well done, save in one point, concerning which his own experienced eye must, before this, have detected a short-coming. We refer, of course, to the Analysis of the Charter of the City, and laws affecting the same.

This "Charter of 1857," so called, re-affirms all former grants, powers, and privileges vested in the city, from the days of Peter Stuyvesant until the date of its own enactment—including those which were made a part of the Articles of surrender of the city in 1664 and 1673; those which entered into international Treaty between the English and the Dutch; those which the Revolution in England did not impair; those which the Military law of the Howes, and Sir Henry Clinton, and Guy Carleton, held sacred, and left uninjured; those which the Treaty of 1783 and the Convention of the State of New York in 1777 respected and reaffirmed—and a recital of all these is as much in place in such an analysis, as is anything which does appear in it. Indeed, we are not quite sure that it is not owing in some measure to such omissions as this, frequently



ignored *within* the cover. There is an honesty of purpose in this evidently honest declaration which is truly refreshing in these days of fantastical imitation of foreign fripperies.

The work was printed by Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston; and is highly creditable to their well-earned reputation.

20.—*The Constitutional Convention; its history, powers, and modes of proceeding.* By John Alexander Jameson. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. xx., 561.

Few works have recently issued from the American Press which are more important than this; and we hope that those who are engaged in "re-constructing" States and the Union will take advantage of the information which it contains.

It is not so much a history of Conventions, already held, as an exposition of the law of Conventions, both those which have been convened and those in the future, from their inception to the close of their labors. It opens, therefore, with an examination of the classification to which Conventions may be subjected—*Spontaneous, Legislative, Revolutionary, and Constitutional*—and the peculiar features in each which distinguish it from all others.

This is followed by *forty-nine* pages devoted to a definition of the word "Sovereignty" and to inquiries concerning its seat and attributes! Our readers may very well suppose that when such a simple subject is spun out to such an undue extent—a very large proportion in fine type—either the historian is in a muddle or his readers will be, when they shall attempt to follow him. That the former is the case is evident when he tells us, (p. 17) "the meaning of the term Sovereignty, 'is *simply* superiority,'" and then occupies fifty times as much space to explain that it is *not so*; and it is even more apparent when, at the close of the second page devoted to the subject, he abruptly drops it and goes to another question without having reconciled his own contradictions.

Why the definition of the term which Chief-justice Jay employed, on the Bench of the Supreme Court, was not satisfactory, is not very evident, unless it was because it would not fit the author's well-defined theory; and we are inclined to think that the elaborate discussion concerning the seat of that sovereignty may also be accounted for by what seems to be the fact, that the *Sovereignty of the People* is a less acceptable dogma than the *Sovereignty of the Government* would have been.

Thirty-two pages are then occupied in a description of the term "Constitution!" but we have looked in vain for definitions, even the smallest, of the very important terms "Union," "Con-

"federation," "United States;" and "Nation" is dismissed with forty-three *lines*, and "State" with three.

The reader is next introduced to the great subject of the volume—*Constitutional Conventions*—in the course of which the author distinguishes the "legitimate" from the "revolutionary" (illegitimate?); tells that such Conventions must originate in "an authentic act of the *Sovereign body*;" and elaborately discusses, the "mode" of the call, and the constituencies by whom they shall be elected. One hundred and sixty-two pages are thus occupied.

The fifth Chapter is occupied with a discussion of the Constitution of Conventions—of whom composed, how they shall be organized, and by what mode discharge their duties. Thirty pages are thus occupied.

One hundred and forty-nine pages are filled with the discussion of the powers of Conventions—a subject which is never regarded, in practice, as having any other limit than the will of the majority of the members.

Forty-two pages relate to the submission of proposed Constitutions, for ratification, to the People—a measure that was not followed in the case of the Federal Constitution, nor in those of several of the State Constitutions; and which may or may not be followed, in any case, as shall best suit the parties in authority.

Fifty pages relate to the amendatory power; and an Appendix and an ample Index close the volume.

As we have said, this work will be very useful in every community which cares anything for *Precedents or Laws*: where such things are disregarded—and we know no place where so much violation of Right and Law prevails as in Constitutional Conventions—it will be worse than useless.

The author has labored faithfully, and he has brought to his task a mind which is peculiarly fitted for it: but he has either been warped too much by his partizan prejudices, or he has not enjoyed the facilities for sufficient research among the fathers of jurisprudence. The consequence is, he brushes away—if he ever sees—the great principles of Government which have rendered the works of Aristotle and Hooker, Milton and Sidney, Grotius and Puffendorf, Vattel and Martens, Bacon and Fortescue, so noteworthy and so desirable to every student; while the writings of James Madison and James Wilson, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and John Dickinson—to say nothing of the Decisions of the Courts, Federal and State,—appear to have never troubled him with their lessons. The consequence is seen in his theories, which are worth very much less than his precedents; and his readers will find on

difficulty in finding out that, in some portions of the work, the subjects with which he grappled were much too large for his capacity or his attainments.

It is a large, and handsome volume, from the Riverside Press; and we trust that both author and publisher will be well rewarded for their enterprise.

21.—*Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*. A critical history of operations in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, from the commencement to the close of the War, 1861-5. By William Swinton. New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866. Octavo, pp. 640.

We have examined this volume with considerable care; and we have laid it down with general satisfaction.

It is written by one who is not a novice, either in investigation of truths or in the selection of words to describe them. There are, therefore, such a directness of purpose and such a precision in the use of terms to effect it, in this volume, that it may serve, in those respects, at least, as a model for all who shall assume the duties of a military Historian. Indeed, while there seems to be very little omitted which may serve to complete every part of the pictures which the author designed to lay before his readers, there is, also, little which is unnecessary or irrelevant.

Of the integrity of the narrative, as far as such a narrative can be made truthful at so early a period after the close of the war, we have no doubt. It is scarcely to be supposed that the opening of private papers, and the unlocking of closely guarded secrets, which may be done during the present generation or not until the next, will not tend to a modification of some of its author's theories, or a slight disturbance of some of his statements; but the unusual advantages which he has possessed, the untiring industry with which he has pursued his inquiries, and his peculiar qualifications for such a task, aided by a life in the camp, have enabled Mr. Swinton to do well what he has undertaken; and those who are most competent to judge on the subject, say that he has not disappointed them.

The maps and portraits with which the work is illustrated may, it is said, be wholly relied on as authentic; and, if for no other reason than this, the work should receive a liberal support.

22.—*On Wakefulness*. With an Introductory Chapter on the Physiology of Sleep. By William A. Hammond, M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 93.

We are indebted to our friend, the author—who is well-known to the country as the late Surgeon-general of the army of the United States—for this very interesting little volume; and, although it is a scientific work, we have run over its pages with much satisfaction.

The Physiology of Sleep, which forms the Introductory chapter, extends to thirty pages. The

causes of sleep are elaborately discussed in this chapter; and we thought, as we noticed the Doctor's allusion to the consumption which is constantly going on in the brain of every person, and to the consequent necessity for repose, in order that the vacuum thus formed may be re-occupied by the new matter which is constantly being supplied, that if he had suggested some mode of *improving the quality* of the new material, he might, in some cases which we have heard of, have earned the gratitude of a patient, but insulted, People, whose servants, to-day, are just as bad as they were three years ago—to say nothing of the People itself, in whom and in whose action or negligence there is great room for improvement, in some of their features.

23.—*Elements of Logic*, comprising the Doctrine of the Laws and Products of Thought, and the Doctrine of Method, together with a Logical Praxis. Designed for Classes and for Private Study. By Henry N. Day. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. x., 237.

In this very neat volume we have a convenient treatise on the Science of the Laws of Thought, as Thought, "designed for learners," as the author tells us; but we fear that the number, now-a-days, of those who *think* is so small that it will hardly pay for the preparation of such a work on such a subject.

We commend this volume, however, to such of our thinking friends as lack method in their thoughts; and we hope they will not only enjoy it but be profited by a perusal of its pages.

24.—*Woodward's Record of Horticulture* for 1866. Edited by Andrew S. Fuller. New York: G. E. & F. W. Woodward, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 127.

In this very beautiful little volume, our excellent friends the Editors of *The Horticulturist* have sent out to the Horticultural world a record of the results of the science in 1866, embracing the new books; a review of the progress of the science, as seen in its disciples, its literature, etc.; an essay on the female as an horticulturist; a similar essay on men in horticulture; another on grape culture; one on the small fruits, illustrated; one on ornamental plants, also illustrated; one on ornamental gardening; and one on new hardy shrubs and trees.

Such a record issued yearly will furnish to the methodical horticulturist a professional balance-sheet, and enable him to judge how far the science has advanced, what increase of knowledge has been secured, what new plants have been introduced, etc.; and we commend it to our "country cousins" and country readers.

25.—*The Soldier's Story of his Captivity at Andersonville, Belle Isle, and other rebel prisons*. By Warren Lee Gos. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867. Octavo, pp. 273.

The author of this volume, unlike those of many of the catchpenny volumes of its class, is vouched for as an honest, reliable man and faith-

ful soldier, and a witness of what he relates. His narrative, therefore, is to be considered original authority; and it must necessarily find a place on the shelves of the working historian as well as on the tables of the general reader.

We have read it with satisfaction; and we have submitted it to one whose position as an officer in the enemy's service enabled him to judge of its truthfulness: from whom we received, also, no unfavorable report, although he considered that the necessities of the enemy sometimes compelled him to do what he would have been glad to have avoided, while the passions and the dishonesty of those subordinates, in whose immediate custody the prisoners were necessarily placed, not unfrequently produced the greatest misery and the grossest wrongs.

The volume before us is beautifully printed and amply illustrated; and as the crippled soldier seems to rely on its sale for the greater part of his support, we earnestly hope he will be liberally patronized.

26.—*The Annals of Iowa*: a quarterly publication by the State Historical Society, at Iowa City. Edited by Sanford W. Haff, M.D., Corresponding Secretary. Davenport, Iowa: Luse & Griggs.

The January number of this work contains a continuation of several historical articles previously commenced; and is illustrated with a portrait of General F. J. Herron.

We cannot say that the work reflects much credit on the mechanical abilities or good taste of its printers; and it strikes us that the fifth volume should have been opened with page 1 instead of page 769. Indeed, we see no just reason for the continuation of the pagination through *five* volumes, without making to either of the volumes, so-called, either a title-page or an index. For one, we want to bind our volumes, and we cannot do so, it seems, until the collection shall have assumed a ponderous thickness of a thousand pages, when we may surely expect a title-page and tabel of contents, possibly an index.

## 2.—NOTES.

MADAME RIEDESEL.—We have been favored with a glance at one of the proofs of a portrait of this notable lady, which is intended for the illustration of our friend Stone's new version of her *Memoirs and Letters*; and we promise to those who have been delighted with a perusal of her writings a renewal of their pleasure when they shall see a representation on paper of her lovely face.

We do not wonder that good old General Schuyler sympathized with her in her troubles, and that the British and Hessian officers regarded

her as one of their guardian angels; and we can readily understand, also, why, with such a wife as he seems to have had, the grim Baron was so much more of a man than were many of the men of his time, American as well as British or German.

THE MEDICAL JOURNAL.—We take great pleasure in calling the attention of our professional readers, and there are many of them, to the advertisement of this widely known publication, which appears among our extra pages, at the end of this number.

As a specimen of periodical printing, there is nothing which will compare with it for beauty; and as a receptacle of information on the great subjects to which it is devoted, it is not less conspicuous. Conducted by our honored friend, Doctor William A. Hammond, recently the fearless and unbought Surgeon-General of the armies of the United States, it is as fearless in its judgments as it is clear and intelligent in its communication of knowledge; and while the earnest and honest seeker for truth will be delighted with it, woe be to him against whose hollow pretences it levels its artillery.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS.—We have received the first number of the second volume of this work, which is edited by Doctor Geo. W. Perine, Professor Chas. E. Anthon, and E. Y. Ten Eyck, Esq., and published by The American Numismatic and Archæological Society of New York.

It is beautifully printed, on tinted, laid paper, by the Bradstreet Press; and we are gratified with the appearance of success which it wears. It is edited with ability and good judgment; and we commend it to those of our readers who do not already subscribe for it, if there are any such, as eminently worthy of their support.

—In 1750 there were but seven newspapers and periodicals published in the United States; in 1810 there were 359, including 25 published daily; in 1823 there were 598; in 1860, 4,051, circulating annually 927,951,548 copies. In Massachusetts, in 1823, the number was 35; in 1860, 222.

—THE RHODE ISLAND SOLDIERS' MONUMENT. The committee appointed by the Rhode Island Legislature to secure designs for a soldiers' monument, have agreed upon the model submitted by Randolph Rogers, and recommend an appropriation of \$50,000 for its erection. It is to be located in Providence.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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JUNE, 1867.

[No. 6.]

## I.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

BY GEORGE H. MOORE.

### 4.—NOTES ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MINISTRY AND POOR IN NEW YORK—THE COLONIAL MINISTRY ACTS—THE VESTRY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—THE MINISTER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—TRINITY CHURCH AND ITS FIRST RESIDENT RECTOR.

The maintenance of the Ministry and Poor under the earliest English Laws in New York, was provided for by the appointment of eight\* of the most able men, men of good fame and life, of each parish as Overseers,† two of whom were chosen the first or second day of April yearly by the Constable and Overseers to be Church Wardens. These overseers were chosen by the Householders of the Parish or the Freeholders in each Town, and were liable to a fine for refusal to serve. Their duties embraced the making and proportioning the levies and assessments for building and repairing churches, provision for the poor,‡ maintenance for the minister, as well as the more orderly managing of all Parochial Affairs in other cases expressed. The Constable was associated with them in making all assessments—which were to be proportionable to the estates of the inhabitants in the town or parish where they were to be made, and every defaulter was to be compelled to pay his rate by attachment or distress of goods to be levied by the Constable. No person was exempted from payment of the Church rates, every inhabitant being obliged to contribute to all charges both in

Church and State, "whereof he doth or may receive benefit." This feature in the law appears to have met with some opposition. It was repealed at the first meeting of the Court of Assizes in 1665, but was restored two years afterward, by the same authority, "to be as punctually observed, as any other law, any former order "to the contrary notwithstanding."

From the beginning, great regard was manifested for the due protection and observance of the Lord's Day. Sunday Laws form a part of the earliest English legislation in the province. Sundays were not to be profaned by travellers, laborers, or vicious persons. Sabbath-breaking was expressly enumerated among the abominable sins and misdemeanors to be presented by the Church wardens, Constable and Overseers at the Sessions. The Constable was required to arrest without warrant such as were guilty of Sabbath-breaking—and no writs or warrants were allowed to be executed on the Sabbath day, although officers might arrest in case of Riots, Felony or Escape out of Prison.

The first code also required that in each parish within the Government a church should be built in the most convenient part thereof, capable to receive and accommodate two hundred persons. This was found impracticable, for in the Amendments made at the meeting of the General Assizes in September and October of the same year, (1665) it was provided that such churches should be built within three years afterwards and to that end, a Town rate or tax was authorized to begin that year.

A good degree of liberality prevailed in the government. The articles of Capitulation declared that "the Dutch here shall enjoy the "Liberty of their Consciences in divine Worship "and Church Discipline." None but Protestant ministers were allowed to officiate within the government, but difference in judgment was allowed to all who professed Christianity. Indian Powawing and Devil Worship were expressly prohibited.

Governor Nicolls, in his Conditions for New Planters in the Territories of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, (May, 1665) allowed lib-

\* The number of overseers was afterwards reduced to four.

† In the Virginia law of that period these "overseers" were "vestrymen"—and they were required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy and to subscribe to conform to the Church of England. Henning: II., 15. In New York the overseers were required to take the oath of allegiance besides the oath of their office.

‡ The Maintenance of the Poor in New Netherland was provided for by contributions taken up in the Churches, and the fines imposed for offences committed were also appropriated to their support. The amount was increased by voluntary offerings from the inhabitants—and was known as the Deacons' or Poor-Fund. Col. Doc. I., 300, 424.

erty of conscience, "provided such liberty is not converted to Licentiousness, or the Disturbance of others, in the exercise of the Protestant Religion." By another condition the maintenance of the Ministry was provided for:

"Every Township is obliged to pay their Minister according to such Agreement as they shall make with him, and no man to refuse his Portion, the Minister being elected by the Major part of the Householders Inhabitants of the Town."

On the 11th October, 1664, Dominies Joannes Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius appeared before the Burgomasters and stated that they had received their discharge from the Company "in date the last of the month of September, notwithstanding which as they were inclined to serve the Commonalty, they had addressed themselves to the Heer Governour Richard Nicolls and spoke to his Honour about the wages, who gave them for answer that it runs for the time of six months to which time the Company is receiving the Recognitions (Duties) after which time he shall see how the matter shall be arranged—that in order to ascertain how they shall have to regulate themselves, they with that view applied to the Burgomasters to speak to their Worshipships thereon; to which the Burgomasters replied, that the Acc<sup>t</sup> of the City's Income and Expenditure shall be made up as soon as possible, which shall then be shewn to the H<sup>r</sup>. Governour Rich. Nicolls and they shall then speak further with his Honour regarding the wages as well of the Ministers as of the other servants of the city." *B & S. Vol. V. 599.*

On 11th Oct. 1664, Mr. Evert Pieterzen, Schoolmaster of this City, represents, as his allowance from the Company is struck off, that Burgomasters and Schepens shall be pleased to keep him at the same allowance to wit: fl. 36 per month, fl. 125 for board, Hollands currency, free house for school and residence, and free passage to Patris; offering his Service and to continue the same. The order was that the Petitioner shall have to be patient for the space of Eight days, when his petition shall be disposed of. *M. & A. V. 606.* And on the 18th of October the matter was postponed "a day or two." *Ibid. V. 613.*

September 19, 1665. Mr. Evart Pieterzen petitioned for a suitable salary, as he was heretofore paid by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, and has been continued in his employment.

"Whereas orders shall be shortly made relative to the Salary of the Ministers of this City, under which the Precentorship also comes, proper order shall then be made herein likewise." *Mayor and Aldermen, VI. 73.*

November 13, 1665. The Chh. very low, there not being money enough to fence off the grave

yard—an advance was made from the Burghers' Exchequer the Chh. Wardens promising to refund the same from the first incoming money. *Ibid. 105.*

May 8th, 1666. Capt. Steynmetz entering demands payment of a year's rent of his house, hired to the city as a City School, due on the first of this month; amounting to the sum of fl. 260.

Petitioner is requested to wait yet a while, as there is at present no money in the chest. *M. & A. VI. 178.*

Governor Nicolls issued an order in 1665, authorizing and requiring the Deputy Mayor and Aldermen of the City of New York to raise the sum of 1200 Guilders in Beaver, towards the support and maintenance of the Minister of this City, to be paid in three payments by equal proportions every four months, beginning from September 1st, 1665.

On the 27 December, 1665, being informed that they had made little progress, although the first four months had nearly elapsed, he issued another order strictly requiring them to proceed, and "to give mee a List of those men, who being able are unwilling to contribute theire proportions to that good end."—*Orders, Warrants, &c. II. 24.*

At a Mayors Court, 7th February, 1666-7 The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mayor propounding to the Court that it was the hon<sup>ble</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup>'s pleasure that this Town should maintaine for one yeare longer one of the Ministers of this place, and whereas several persons were departed from this Place and others disinable to pay towards the same, whom the Last Yeare had subscribed

It is ordered that some of the Inhabitants should be sent for to appeare in Court for to trye, or they would voluntarily Raise the sums which they promised the late yeares to pay towards the Maintainance of the Minist<sup>r</sup>.

*Names of the Persons who for One Yeare longer have Voluntarily promised to pay towards the Maintainance of one of the Ministers, videllect.*

	Beavers
Abell Hardebroeck	fl. 8.
Balthazar d'Haer continues as before	
Coenraet Ten Eyck	12.
Christoffel Hoaghlant	12.
Evert Duyckingh	5.
Fredrick Philipsen	24.
Fredrick Gysbersen	12.
Francois Rombouts	10.
Johannes de Peyster	16.
Cornelis Steenwick	28.
Isaack Bedloo	12.
Jacques Cousseau continues at 2 Bevers & professes 2 B <sup>r</sup> more for them that disinable to pay what they have promised.	

Mettie Wessels	8.
Nicolaes Meyer puts down	24.
Nicolaes Backer	8.
Poulus Leenders continues	
Pieter Alrigs	10.
Johan d'Wit continues	
Jacob Leyslaer	12.
Tho. Hall	10.
Thomas Levis	8.
Symon Romeyn continues	
Jacob Hendriox Varrevanger	8.
Reynier Vander Croele till May next	
ensuing one Bever	
Warner Wessels	12.
Willem Abransen	8.

*M. & A. VI. 260, 261.*

October 29th, 1667, at a Mayors Court, in the afternoon the following persons were sent for to Court and asked why they had not paid their quota to the Ministers money

Answer as follows

Timothy Gabrie promises to satisfy the Preachers, Tomas Laurensen promises to pay Hendrick Willemsen Baker Idem Jan Vrees: If he be forced, he must pay otherwise cannot.

Fredrick Arensen: Will not pay more than one year,

Lammert Mol says he cannot pay any more.

*M. & A. VI. p. 325.*

In the instructions by Gov. Lovelace to the Commissioners to Albany, appointed 11th April, 1670, the following is important. They were (concerning the Dutch church)

"7. To acquaint y<sup>e</sup> magistrates that I look upon that Church and Minister as the Parochial Church of Albany (for so it was found Established by my p<sup>r</sup>decessor & myselfe & leave the supportation of it to y<sup>e</sup> discretion of y<sup>e</sup> magistrates to maintain a minister either by way of Taxe or otherwise & that no Inhabitant of what opinion soever be exempt but beare his proportion, & that they give me an Account of their transactions in this particular." *Court of Assize: II. 490.*

Lovelace's "promise for y<sup>e</sup> allowing a Compendent Maintenance to any Minister that shall come over to reside here" is in *C. of A. II. 560*. Also, dated 28 June, 1670, in *M. & A. VI. 562*.

28 March, 1671. The Mayor's Court promise to make satisfaction to Domine Egidius Luyck for his services in aid of Domine Drisius. *M. & A. VI. 653.*

5 March 1672, The Court this day allowed to Dom<sup>r</sup> Luyck by way of gratuity for Preaching before Dom<sup>r</sup> Nieuwenhuysen's Arrival the somme of four hundred gilders seav<sup>l</sup> value and ordered the Secretary to make payment thereof. *M. & A. VI. 770.*

On the 11th July, 1671, Uppon his honn<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> gouvern<sup>r</sup> Letter of Recommendation that y<sup>e</sup> Court together with some of y<sup>e</sup> officers of y<sup>e</sup> Church should take into consideration how y<sup>e</sup> Salary for y<sup>e</sup> Expected Minister from Europe may be Raised y<sup>e</sup> Court thereupon have thought fitt to appoint a private Court to be held on Fryday Next being y<sup>e</sup> 14th of this Instant in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone at a cloecq and do further desire y<sup>e</sup> Late Aldermen together with y<sup>e</sup> Recent, and y<sup>e</sup> late Church Officers will give theyr attendance at y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> time to consult w<sup>th</sup> them concerning y<sup>e</sup> premises. *M. & A. VI. 679.*

Accordingly at a private meeting 14th July, 1671,

In obedience to his Honn<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup> Letter and in pursuance of this Courts' Order thereupon this day appearing in Court y<sup>e</sup> Former Magistraets together with y<sup>e</sup> present and former Church Officers of this City, unto whom the Worshipp<sup>l</sup> Court Manifested y<sup>e</sup> reason of this present meeting tending onely for to advise together, how the sallarie, wch is promised towards y<sup>e</sup> Maintennance of y<sup>e</sup> Expected Minister might be raised, whereuppon y<sup>e</sup> following proposalls where made and presented to this Court.

Imprimis. That, whereas y<sup>e</sup> Great Excyse in the first beginning was Rayssed, onely towards the Maintainece of the Ministers, that therefore the Ministers ought to be to be paid out of the s<sup>d</sup> Excyse, although some advancem<sup>t</sup> should be made thereupon.

2dly. That y<sup>e</sup> Burger Excyse might be Raised soe much as will maintaine y<sup>e</sup> Minister and satisfie other necessarie Charges.

3dly. That the Costumes uppon y<sup>e</sup> Importation of Rom and Wines might be raised from 4 to 5 per cento or more.

4ly That an imposition might be raised uppon Rom going up for Albany & Esopus.

5thly That all Townes Charges might be Levied by a Genn<sup>l</sup> Taxe, as itt is practicable by y<sup>e</sup> Neighboring Townes, provided y<sup>e</sup> Excyse be taken off.

Uppon which proposals, answer was made, that y<sup>e</sup> Sallary of the Ministers by y<sup>e</sup> English, usually is Levied by a Taxe & that about two yeares since y<sup>e</sup> Minist<sup>r</sup> was paid by the townesmen.

Whereuppon it was Replyeth that in case y<sup>e</sup> Necessity should Requiere a taxe itt should be much better that a Levy be made upon any other accompt as for the Maintenance of a Minister & secondly that y<sup>e</sup> Ministers about two yeares since where paid by the Townesmen was onely occasioned by the tyme of Warre, when the Government was not able to Maintaine them, and therefore it was then likewise proposed to continue but for one or two yeares, by a volun-

and were followed by the "Supervisors" of 1703. Gov. Dongan, in his Report on the State of the Province, in 1687, says "every Town and County "are obliged to maintain their own poor, which "makes them bee soe careful that noe Vagabonds, "Beggars nor Idle Persons are suffered to live "there." He adds "But as for the Kings nat-  
"ural-born subjects that live on Long Island &  
"other parts of the Government I find it a hard  
"task to make them pay their Ministers." *Col. Hist. III. 415.*

It was a constant instruction to the Colonial Governors to endeavour to secure due provision for the maintenance of the ministry, and always with special intention and regard to the service of the Church of England. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was recognized, excepting in the collation to Benefices, granting licenses for marriages and probate of wills, which were reserved to the Governor or Commander in chief for the time being.

Among the earliest suggestions from Governor Sloughter and his Council to the Assembly in 1691, came that of a suitable provision for a Ministry in every Town and its maintenance, and An Act for that purpose was prepared and offered to the Consideration of the Assembly by the Governor.

The Assembly appear to have been sensible of the propriety of the provision proposed, and in their list of several bills sent to the Attorney General to be drawn up (18 Apl. 1691) the first in order is

"A Bill for settling the Ministry, and allotting "a Maintenance for them, in each respective City "and Town, within this Province, that consists "of forty families and upwards."

Mr. George Farewell was sent by his Excellency to supply the Attorney General's place in drawing up the proposed bills—took the minutes and Heads of the divers bills on the 20 April, 1691. On the same day, a Recommendation from divers Freeholders, in respect to Mr. *Edward Stude*, Minister, to officiate as Pastor or Minister, in this City was read, and referred to his Excellency himself, as Ordinary, and the only proper judge, in this Matter. On the 1st. of May, Mr. Farewell's bill for the Settlement of the Ministry, &c. was read the first time, and not answering the intent of this house, is rejected, and ordered that another bill be brought in. Geo. Farewell's Bill of Costs, 20 May, 1691, charged for drawing the following bills "all wch were drawn by mee "alone"—A Bill for settling the Ministry, A Bill to appoint Schoolemasters, A Bill to regulate abuses on the Lord's Day, and a Bill for raising £2000—£3.0.0. and the following "in "wch Mr. Emott assisted—for my part" £2.0.0. A Bill of Indemnity—A Bill to ease People scrupulous in Swearing—and a Bill for estab-

lishing the Revenue—*Col. MSS. 37, 117 and 118.* The same bill gives the fees as their Matys Counsell in the Leisler prosecutions, &c.

At the next session, August 23, 1692, it was ordered that a bill may be drawn for the better observation of the Lord's Day, and that each respective Town within this province have a Minister or Reader, to read Divine Service.

Soon after Gov. Fletcher's arrival, at his first meeting with the Assembly summoned by him, 24 Oct. 1692, he recommended a provision for the support and encouragement of an able Ministry. At their second meeting, 22 March, 1693, he renewed his recommendation, referring to his previous message on the subject, and adding "I "do not understand that you have made one step "towards it: therefore recommend it to your "particular care this sessions."

On the 1st April, 1693, the Assembly ordered that the Committee formerly appointed for the settling the Ministry and Schoolmasters, do forthwith proceed upon that business.

On the 3d April, 1693, the Committee appointed for the settling of a Ministry throughout the Province, desire that they may have further Time, for the Consideration thereof, whereupon it was

*Ordered*, That they make report of their Proceeding to this House, on Thursday Morning next [6th April]

The deficiencies in the Journal of this session include the record of the further proceedings on this subject, but it is apparent that the Governor's views were not promoted by the action of the Assembly; and at the close of the session, he told them

"Gentlemen: The first thing that I did recom-  
"mend to you at our last meeting, was to provide  
"for a Ministry; and nothing done in it. There  
"are none of you but what are big with the  
"privilege of Englishmen, and Magna Charta,  
"which is your right; And the same Law doth  
"provide for the religion of the Church of Eng-  
"land, against Sabbath breaking, swearing and  
"all other profanity. But as you have made it  
"last and postponed it this Sessions, I hope you  
"will begin with it the next meeting and doe  
"somewhat towards it effectually."

In the same year, he summoned a new assembly and in his opening speech, renewed his former recommendation—as "always the first  
"thing I have recommended, yet the last in your  
"consideration. I hope you are all satisfied of  
"the great necessity and duty that lies upon you  
"to do this, as you expect His blessing upon  
"your labors."

On the same day (12 Sept. 1693) the assembly promptly responded by the following order:

*Ordered*, That Major Merrett, Mr. Theale, Major Wessels, Mr. Van Ecklen, Captain Jack-

son, Mr. Rutten, Col. Pierson, and Mr. Stillwell be a Committee to agree upon the easiest and best Methods, for the calling and settling a Ministry, in each respective precinct throughout the Province, and make report thereof tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock. This committee consisted of one from each County—Ulster and Dutchess being at that time represented together.

The report of the Committee was duly presented at 8 A. M. Sept. 13., read and ordered to be recommitted to the said Committee for further consideration till 2 o'clock P. M.—when the Committee desired till tomorrow for their report. On the next day, 14th, their report being read several Debates did arise thereon, so it was recommitted to the said Committee for further consideration. On the 15th the report was read and approved, and an Order was made that a bill be brought in for the establishing of it [the Ministry] accordingly.

On the 19th Sept. 1693, Mr. Speaker brought in the bill for settling the Ministry, &c, which was read a first and second time, and ordered to be committed to the former Committee of the whole house. And on the 21 Sept. 1693, the Bill, &c, with its Amendments &c, was read a third time, and passed and ordered to be sent up to the Governor and Council, for their consent.

On the same day, the Council ordered the bill for settling a Ministry to be read a second time. [I find no record of its first reading in the printed minutes, nor in the original MS. at Albany].

The entry immediately following shows that the Executive Council were not at all satisfied with the Assembly—and advised its dissolution, or for the present a prorogation.

On the 22d the Council ordered the bill read a third time and it was assented to by the Governor and Council, with this amendment; That in the last sheet between the lines 3d & 4th be inserted (and presented to the Governor to be approved and Collated).

The bill with amendment was then sent to the representatives to desire their consent thereunto. The Gov.'s haste was so great, that he instructed the messenger to tell the Representatives to despatch the business before them, time being precious and a charge growing upon the Country.

They replied that they had no business before them, that they waited his Excellency's pleasure and that they would immediately despatch this present bill with amendment.

This they accordingly did and on the same day in the P. M. meeting of the Council, the Clerk of the Council acquainted that body that the Representatives had refused to amend the bill. They considered the amendment, but could not agree thereunto, but prayed that it might pass without that amendment, having in the drawing of the bill, had a due regard to that pious intent

of settling a Ministry, for the benefit of the people.

The Gov. forthwith summoned the House to attend in the Council Chamber—where he informed them that he had passed the Revenue Bill and the Ministry Act; reproved them for their stubbornness in the matter of the Revenue—and proceeded to prorogue them in the words following:

"There is also a Bill for settling a Ministry in this City and some other Countyes of the Government; in that very thing you have shown a great deal of stiffness. You take up on you as if you were dictators. I sent down to you one amendment of three or four words in that Bill, which tho' very immaterial yet was positively denied. I must tell you it seems very unmannerly; there never was an amendment yet desired by the Council board but what was rejected; it is the sign of a stubborn ill temper and this have also passed. But—

"Gentlemen

"I must take leave to tell you if you seem to understand by these words (calling the Minister) that none can serve without your collation or Establishment, you are far mistaken; for I have the power of Collating or suspending any Minister in my Government by their Maties Lres Patents; and whilst I stay in the Government, I will take care that neither heresy, sedition, schism, nor rebellion be preached amongst you, nor vice and profanity encouraged. It is my endeavour to lead a virtuous and pious life amongst you and to give a good Example. I wish you all to doe the same. You ought to consider that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the Government and ought not to take all upon you nor be so peremptory; you ought to let the Council have a share; they are in the nature of the House of Lords or Upper house; but you seem to take the whole power in your own hands and sett up for every thing. You have sitt a long time to little purpose and have been a great charge to the Countrey; tenn shillings a day is a large allowance and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the Government. Why did you not think it expedient to correct your own to a moderate allowance?

"Gentl. I shall say noe more at present but that you with draw to your private affairs in the Countrey. I doe prorogue you to the 10th of January next and you are hereby prorogued to the 10th of January next ensuing."

The passage of the bill, however, was a source of some satisfaction to the church party, incomplete as it was and not by any means adequate to their hopes. Gov. Fletcher to the Committee of Trade, 9th Oct. 1693, says "I have gott them



"to settle a fund for a Ministry in the City of New York and three more Countys which could never be obtained before, being a mixt people and of different persuasions in religion." *Col. Hist.* iv. 57.

A letter of Colonel Morris to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, 20th February, 1711, gives something of the interior history of this Act. He states that James Graham, who was Speaker of the Assembly in 1693, drew the bill and "prescribed a Method of Induction and so managed it that it would not do well for the Dissenters and but lumely for the Church tho' twould do with the help of the Governor and that was all: but 'twas the most that could be got at that time for had more been attempted the Assembly had seen through the artifice the most of them being Dissenters and all had been lost."

There can be no doubt that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting Clergy. Such had been the manifest tendency of the previous legislation on the subject. All the Assembly but one were Dissenters, and the Church of England was hardly known in the Province. "There was no face of the Church of Eagland here till about the year 1693." The Act was very loosely worded, which as things stood then when it was made could not be avoided. The Dissenters could claim the benefit of it as well as Churchmen, and unless wrested from its true bearing it admitted a construction in their favor. Indeed they had good reason to claim that it was intended for them, and that they only had a right to it. In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing, and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people who were affected by the operation of the law.

The Act of 1693 itself is a conclusive argument against the alleged establishment of the Church of England in the Province of New York. It was not established by any law of the Province, nor by the Ecclesiastical Law of England extending over the Province, which was thus excluded or modified by express law made by competent authority. The language of the Report of the Venerable Society in 1705 further illustrates this point. "The Protestant Religion is settled here by Act of Assembly as Established in England, except in Suffolk County."

In a "Letter from a Gentleman in New York to his Friend in the Country" (published in 17—) referring to a petition to the Assembly, and a design to make Philipsburgh provide for an Episcopal Church, etc. the writer says—"the ridiculous Pretence that the Church of England is Established in this Province, which they know to be false, and have actually been

"(sic) admitted to be so by establishing a Episcopal Church in the City of New York independent of the Church of England, in which the Assembly was most shamefully deluded by their Artifices, as appears by the Votes of the House, and for which they still take money from all other Denominations, contrary to all Equity and good Conscience, especially considering what enormous Estate they have of their own, for which the best part of their title is their possession." *Broadside in the Force Collection.*

*An ACT for Settling a Ministry, and Raising a Maintenance for them, in the City of New-York, County of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's County.*

Pass'd the 22d of September, 1693.

**W**HEREAS Profaneness and Licentiousness hath of late overspread this Province, for Want of a settled Ministry throughout the same: To the End the same may be removed, and the Ordinances of GOD duly administred;

I. Be it Enacted by the Governor, and Council, and Representatives convened in

General Assembly, and by the Protestant Ministers to be inducted, &c. to have Care of Souls in New York, &c. Authority of the same, That in each of the respective Cities and Counties hereafter mentioned

and expressed, there shall be called, inducted, and established, a good sufficient Protestant Minister, to officiate, and have the Care of Souls, within one Year next, and after the Publication hereof, that is to say; In the City of New York, one; in the County of Richmond, One; in the County of Westchester, Two; One to have the Care of Westchester, Eastchester, Yonkers, and the Manor of Pelham; the Other to have the Care of Rye, Mamarenock, and Bedford; in Queen's County, Two; One to have the Care of Jamaica, and the adjacent Towns and Farms; the Other to have the Care of Hampstead, and the next adjacent Towns and Farms.

II. AND for their respective Encouragement, Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That there shall be annually, and once in every Year, in every of the respective Cities and Counties aforesaid, assessed, levied, collected, and paid, for the Maintenance of each of their respective Ministers, the respective Sums hereafter mentioned, that is to say; For the City and County of New-York, One Hundred Pounds; for the two Precincts of Westchester, One Hundred Pounds, to each Fifty Pounds, to be paid in Country Produce, at Money Price; for the County of Rich-

The respective Sums to be raised for their Maintenance; Cash to the Ministers of New York. But to the Country Ministers Country Produce.

mond, *Forty Pounds*, in Country Produce, at Money Price; and for the two Precincts of *Queen's County*, *One Hundred and Twenty Pounds*, to each *Sixty Pounds*, in Country Produce, at Money Price.

The method of raising the maintenance  
 III. AND for the more orderly Raising the respective Maintenances for the Ministers aforesaid, Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the respective Justices of every City and County aforesaid, or any Two of them, shall every Year issue out their Warrants to the Constables, to summons the Freeholders of every City, County, and Precinct aforesaid, together, on the second Tuesday of

January, for the chusing of Ten Vestry-Men, and two Church-Wardens; and the said Justices and Vestry-Men, or major Part of them, are hereby impowered, within Ten Days after the said Day, or any Day after, as to them shall seem convenient, to lay a reasonable

Tax on the said respective Cities, Counties, Parish, or Precincts for the Maintenance of the Minister and Poor of their respective Places; and if they shall neglect to issue their Warrants, so as the Election be not made that Day, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money of this Province: And in Case the said Freeholders duly summoned, as aforesaid, shall not appear, or appearing, do not chuse the said Ten Vestry-Men and two Church-Wardens, that

Who shall lay a tax, If Church Wardens &c. are not chosen Justices to lay the Tax or Justices shall, within Ten Days after the said second Tuesday, or on any Day after, as to them shall seem convenient, lay the said reasonable Tax, on the said respective Places, for the respective Maintenances aforesaid; And if the said Justices and Vestry-Men, shall neglect their Duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid.

Or forfeit £5 each. Forfeit £5 each. Tax Roll to be delivered to the Constables to levy Taxes.

IV. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such of the Justices and Vestry-Men, that shall not be present at the Time appointed, to make the said Taxes, and therefor be convicted, by a Certificate under the Hands of such as do appear, and have no sufficient Excuse for the same; shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid: And a Roll of the said Tax so made, shall be delivered into the Hands of the respective Constables of the said Cities, Counties, Parishes and Precincts, with a warrant signed by any two Justices of the Peace, im-

powering him or them to levy the said Tax; and upon Refusal, to distrain, and sell by publick Outcry, and pay the same into the Hand of the Church-Wardens, retaining to himself Twelve Pence per Pound, for levying thereof: And if any Person shall refuse to pay what he is so assessed, and the said Constables do strain for the same; all his Charges shall be paid him, with such further Allowance for his Pains, as the said Justices, or any of them, shall judge reasonable; And if the said Justice or Justices, shall neglect to issue the said Warrant, he or they respectively shall forfeit *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid; and if the said Constables, or any of them fail of their Duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit

Penalty for refusing to pay Taxes, *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid. And the Church Wardens so chosen, shall undertake the said Office, and receive and keep a good Account of the Monies or Goods levied by Virtue of this Act, and the same issue by Order from the said Justices and Vestry-Men of the respective Cities, Counties, Precincts, and Parishes aforesaid, for the Purposes and Intents aforesaid, and not otherwise: And the Church-Wardens shall, as often as thereunto required, yield and give a just and true Account unto the Justices and Vestry-Men, of all their Receipts and Disbursements; And in Case the said Church-Wardens, or any of them, shall neglect their Duty therein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid, for every refusal.

And on Constables for neglect of Duty, Church Wardens to keep Accounts. And Account to the Justices, &c. Under Penalty of £5 each.

V. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Church-Wardens, in their respective Precincts afore said, shall, by Warrant, as afore said, pay unto the respective Ministers, the Maintenance aforesaid, by four equal and quarterly Payments, under the Penalty and Forfeitures, of *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid, for each Neglect, Refusal, or Default; the one Half of all which Forfeitures, shall be disposed of to the Use of the Poor, in the respective Precincts where the same doth arise, and the other Half to him or them that shall prosecute the same.

VI. Always provided, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every of the respective Ministers, that shall be settled in the respective Cities, Counties, and Precincts aforesaid, shall be called to officiate in their respective Precincts, by the respective Vestry-Men, and Church-Wardens aforesaid. And, *Always Provided*, That all the former

Ministers to be called by the Vestry-Men, &c.

They to pay the Ministers quarterly.

Penalty for not appearing to lay tax £5.

Roll of the said Tax so made, shall be delivered into the Hands of the respective Constables of the said Cities, Counties, Parishes and Precincts, with a warrant signed by any two Justices of the Peace, im-

powering him or them to levy the said Tax; and upon Refusal, to distrain, and sell by publick Outcry, and pay the same into the Hand of the Church-Wardens, retaining to himself Twelve Pence per Pound, for levying thereof: And if any Person shall refuse to pay what he is so assessed, and the said Constables do strain for the same; all his Charges shall be paid him, with such further Allowance for his Pains, as the said Justices, or any of them, shall judge reasonable; And if the said Justice or Justices, shall neglect to issue the said Warrant, he or they respectively shall forfeit *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid; and if the said Constables, or any of them fail of their Duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit

Penalty for refusing to pay Taxes, *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid. And the Church Wardens so chosen, shall undertake the said Office, and receive and keep a good Account of the Monies or Goods levied by Virtue of this Act, and the same issue by Order from the said Justices and Vestry-Men of the respective Cities, Counties, Precincts, and Parishes aforesaid, for the Purposes and Intents aforesaid, and not otherwise: And the Church-Wardens shall, as often as thereunto required, yield and give a just and true Account unto the Justices and Vestry-Men, of all their Receipts and Disbursements; And in Case the said Church-Wardens, or any of them, shall neglect their Duty therein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid, for every refusal.

And Account to the Justices, &c. Under Penalty of £5 each.

V. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Church-Wardens, in their respective Precincts afore said, shall, by Warrant, as afore said, pay unto the respective Ministers, the Maintenance aforesaid, by four equal and quarterly Payments, under the Penalty and Forfeitures, of *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid, for each Neglect, Refusal, or Default; the one Half of all which Forfeitures, shall be disposed of to the Use of the Poor, in the respective Precincts where the same doth arise, and the other Half to him or them that shall prosecute the same.

VI. Always provided, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every of the respective Ministers, that shall be settled in the respective Cities, Counties, and Precincts aforesaid, shall be called to officiate in their respective Precincts, by the respective Vestry-Men, and Church-Wardens aforesaid. And, *Always Provided*, That all the former

Ministers to be called by the Vestry-Men, &c.

They to pay the Ministers quarterly.

Penalty for not appearing to lay tax £5.

Roll of the said Tax so made, shall be delivered into the Hands of the respective Constables of the said Cities, Counties, Parishes and Precincts, with a warrant signed by any two Justices of the Peace, im-

powering him or them to levy the said Tax; and upon Refusal, to distrain, and sell by publick Outcry, and pay the same into the Hand of the Church-Wardens, retaining to himself Twelve Pence per Pound, for levying thereof: And if any Person shall refuse to pay what he is so assessed, and the said Constables do strain for the same; all his Charges shall be paid him, with such further Allowance for his Pains, as the said Justices, or any of them, shall judge reasonable; And if the said Justice or Justices, shall neglect to issue the said Warrant, he or they respectively shall forfeit *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid; and if the said Constables, or any of them fail of their Duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit

Penalty for refusing to pay Taxes, *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid. And the Church Wardens so chosen, shall undertake the said Office, and receive and keep a good Account of the Monies or Goods levied by Virtue of this Act, and the same issue by Order from the said Justices and Vestry-Men of the respective Cities, Counties, Precincts, and Parishes aforesaid, for the Purposes and Intents aforesaid, and not otherwise: And the Church-Wardens shall, as often as thereunto required, yield and give a just and true Account unto the Justices and Vestry-Men, of all their Receipts and Disbursements; And in Case the said Church-Wardens, or any of them, shall neglect their Duty therein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid, for every refusal.

Agreements, made with Ministers throughout this Province, shall continue and remain in their full Force and Virtue; any Thing contained herein to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

This Act not to affect former Agreements with Ministers

In accordance with the Act of Assembly, the Freeholders of the City of New York appeared at the City Hall on Tuesday the ninth of January, 1694, and proceeded by a majority of votes to elect their first Church Wardens and Vestrymen. Nicholas Bayard and John Kerbyl, *Church Wardens*, and Robert Darkins, Robert Walters, William Jackson, Jeremiah Tothill, John Croke, John Spratt, Isaac Van Flack, Mathew Clarkson, Isaac D'Rierner and Johannes DePeyster, *Vestrymen*. All which was duly performed in the presence of James Graham and William Merritt, Justices of the Peace.

The Board however displayed no very great zeal in the discharge of their duties. Two or three ineffectual meetings of the Justices and Vestrymen took place, and on the 29th of January, the meeting was "adjourned till Monday next att nine of the Clock to appear at the ring of the Bell upon the penalty in the act, &c. provided." On that day, the 5th February, 1694, upon reading the act, they unanimously agreed that a tax of One Hundred Pounds should be "assessed, leyed, collected and paid by all and every y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants and Residents within this City and County for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Good sufficient Protestant Minister according to the directions in the s<sup>d</sup> Act." They further provided for the preparation of the necessary estimate and tax-roll to be prepared and returned to the Clerk of the Vestry by the first day of March, and that a tax should also be made for the relief of the poor who were fit objects of charity, of whom a list was to be made.

On the same day, a meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen was held and adjourned till the following Monday "att nine of the Clock att y<sup>e</sup> first ring of the Bell." Of this adjourned meeting, February 12th, 1694, the following is the record: all the members being present:

"Upon reading an Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly entitled an Act for settling a Ministry and raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, &c. itt was proposed to this board what Perswasion the person should be of by them to be called to have the Care of Souls and Officiate in the office of Minister of this Citty, by Majority of Votes itt is the opinion of y<sup>e</sup> board that a Dissenting Minister be called to officiate and have the Care of Souls for this Citty as aforesaid."

At this stage of the proceedings, the then resident Chaplain of the Forces, Mr. John

Miller, endeavoured to secure the benefit of the living established by the act, but without success.

On the 15th. February, 1693-4 His Excellency did acquaint the Council that Mr. John Miller, Chaplain to the two companys of Granadeers did produce to his Excellency a License from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London for him to discharge the office of a Chaplain in New Yorke in America and by virtue thereof demanded induction into the living lately Established by Act of Assembly for the maintenance of a Protestant Minister in the City of New Yorke, and others in some other Countyes within this Province His Excellency demanded the opinion of this board whether the said John Miller be by that license or faculty entitled to this living. The Council *namine contradicente* are of opinion that the said John Miller is not thereby entitled to that living. *Council Minutes: VII. 54.*

On the first day of March, according to adjournment, the Justices & Vestrymen met and "y<sup>e</sup> Committee appointed for y<sup>e</sup> bringing a Role and Estimate of all y<sup>e</sup> Real & personal Estates of & every y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants & Residents within this City, &c. doe desire further time for y<sup>e</sup> Effecting the same." Whereupon, it was ordered that the same "be brought in by Thursday next nine o' clock." They met on the 8th March, accordingly, and again adjourned for three weeks. But no record appears of a meeting at that time, and at the next meeting recorded (October 10th, 1694) nothing appears to have been done. On the 3d November, a meeting was held, when the Mayor acquainted them the reason of his calling them together was to inform them that there was an Act of Assembly requiring them with the Justices to Lay a Reasonable Tax for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Minister & the poor of this Citty whereupon itt was Objected by several of the vestrymen that the time of Calling of the Minister being Relapsed itt was not Convenient to Raise a Tax att this time, upon consideration whereof the Mayor did put the Question whether they would Pursuant to the said Act Raise a tax for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of the Minister and the poor. Carried by the Vestrymen *Nemine Contra Dicente* in the negative."

On the 7th. of January, 1695, the last day of their term of office—they came together again and "The Mayor again put the Question to this board whether they would Raise a Tax For y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of y<sup>e</sup> Minister & y<sup>e</sup> poor pursuant to y<sup>e</sup> Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly in that Case Provided.

"Itt is y<sup>e</sup> opinion of the whole Board (the Mayor excepted) that they Cannot Raise the Money till a Minister be Called, upon w<sup>ch</sup> the Mayor publicly Protests against y<sup>e</sup> Opinion of y<sup>e</sup> Justices & Vestrymen & says he is ready to

"comply with & execute with what is required in the 8<sup>d</sup> Act."

Charles Lodwick was at this time Mayor.

The second election under the Act took place on the 8th of January, 1695. Johannes Kip and Jacobus Cortlandt were elected *Church Wardens*, and Philip French, Theunis D-Key, Robert Sinclair, Jeremiah Tothill, Brandt Schuyler, Robert Darkins, Johannes DePeyster, Isaac DeRiener, William Jackson, and John Spratt, *Vestrymen*. There was no change favorable to the views of the English Church party—the board continuing to be as "Dutch and dissenting" as before.

One of the first effects of the new election was to excite the wrath of Governor Fletcher, whose zeal was great in the interests of the English Church Establishment; and the records of the Council betray its effects. On the 10 January, 1695, His Excellency did acquaint the Council that there is an open contempt seems to be thrown upon an Act of Assembly for the establishing a ministry, &c, by the inhabitants of this city in choosing such for church Wardens and Vestrymen as either refuse or neglect to put the Act in execution and desired their opinion what is proper for the remedy thereof.

It is the opinion of the board nemine contradicente that persons offending against the said Act ought to be prosecuted according to the form thereof at their Matties charge and that the Receiver General may advance money out of the Revenue for that purpose. *Council Minutes: VII. 113.*

The new board met on the 19th day of January, 1695, at the call of the Mayor, who informed them of their election and its due return by the justices and thereupon withdrew. The board then agreed to meet on the next Saturday, 26th January, at eight o'clock in the morning, "in order For the Calling of a Minister pursuant to the directions of Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly in that Case made and Provided." This they accordingly did, and the following is a copy of the entry on their record of the proceedings: all the members being present.

"Pursuant to an Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly, Entitled An Act For the settling a Ministry & raising a Maintenance for them, &c, the Church Wardens and Vestrymen above named have this day mett & nemine Contra Dicente Called Mr. William Vezey\* to officiate in the same place according to the directions in the said Act contained."

This official record of his call to officiate and have the care of souls under the Act of 1693 is the earliest notice of WILLIAM VESEY in connection with the church in New York, where he

was afterwards so well known and distinguished as Minister of the City of New York, Rector of Trinity Church and Commissary of the Bishop of London. The later portions of his career are measurably familiar to the students of our early history, but the interesting particulars of his first appearance and the singular circumstances attending his call to the ministry in New York and the establishment of Trinity Church, have hitherto been among the "hidden things" of our historic past.

William Vesey (or Veazie, as the name was more generally spelt in New-England) was born in Braintree, in the Colony of Massachusetts, in 1674. His family was probably of English origin and had been at that time long established in Braintree.

Mr. Vesey graduated at Harvard College in 1693. We have no particulars of his preparation and early training, or the circumstances under which he determined to devote himself to the ministry. In later years some of the Vesseys of Braintree appear as Church Wardens, Vestrymen, &c. of the Church there in correspondence with the Venerable Society in England, and a letter from William Vesey and several others, from Braintree, September 1, 1710, contains the following passage—"Mr. Vesey, Minister of the Church of New York when he was a youth can say that he with his parents and many more were communicants of the Church of England and that in their family at Braintree divine service was daily read." *Dr. Hawke's MSS.* His father was an avowed Jacobite, and one of Bellomont's letters in 1699 to the Lords of Trade was accompanied with a copy of the indictment for "uttering desperate words against his Majesty," upon which he says that Vesey was "tryd, convicted and sentenced to stand in the Pillory." The Court Records at Boston show that "William Veazey of Braintree was presented and held to bail for £500—having said that K. James was his lawful prince and that he did not know how this King came to y<sup>e</sup> Crowne and that the Crowne belonged to heirs by succession." This was in October, 1696. *Records: 1686—1700 p. 75.* Bellomont wished to have the Reverend Mr. Vesey displaced and spared no pains in enforcing upon the authorities in England the "ill principles of the father" as probably shared by the son; and in the heated party contests of that period, the latter appears to have been either too much or too little of a politician to avoid their violence.

But whatever may have been the earliest influences upon his mind from his family associations and connections, there was little or no opportunity and still less encouragement for any man to seek advancement in the way of the Church of England. The atmosphere of Massa-

\* Mr. Vesey's Christian name seems not to have been familiar at the time of his appointment. A blank was left for it in the original entry, which was afterwards filled in.

chusetts was very unfavorable, and the machinery of education was entirely controlled by men who were of all things most hostile to Episcopacy. The list of graduates of Harvard College prior to 1700 must furnish a very brief list of men who were at any time connected with the Episcopal church.

Mr. Rapelye says, in his Sketch of Mr. Vesey, communicated for *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*, that he pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of King's Chapel, Boston. No authority is given, and the statement can hardly be true, for Dr. Myles was absent in England from July 1692 to July 1696—that is, for more than a year before Mr. Vesey graduated until after he is known to have exercised the functions of the Ministry (in 1695) upon Long Island.

A more consistent account of his education is given in a remarkable letter, written about 1714, and printed in the *Documentary History III.* 264. This account states that "he had received 'his education in Harvard College under that 'rigid Independent Increase Mather and was 'sent from thence by him to confirm the minds 'of those who had removed for their convenience from New England to this Province, for 'Mr. Mather having advice that there was a 'Minister of the Established church come over 'in quality of Chaplain of the forces, and fearing that the Common Prayer and the hated 'Ceremonies of our Church might gain ground, 'he spared no pains or care to spread the warmth of his emissaries through this Province." This account of his training is confirmed by Chief Justice Atwood who, in a Memorial to the Lords of Trade, refers to him as "bred a dissenter"; (*Col. Hist.* V. 104) and Gov. Hunter who states that "he was formerly an Independent 'Minister in New England." (*Ibid.* 311).

Mr. Vesey was undoubtedly engaged in the work of the ministry in the Province of New York, as early as some time in the year 1694. He must have been a popular preacher, and in his occasional visits to the city of New York, he gave such satisfactory evidence of his ability in his public ministrations—as paved the way to his subsequent settlement there. Humphreys says of him in connection with the Church establishment in N. Y. "Mr. Vesey was then in 'the Place, but not in holy Orders; a gentleman 'highly approved of and beloved by every one."

It is certain that Mr. Vesey preached at Hempstead to the congregation there, mostly Dissenters from the Church of England, but some Dutch, about 1695. *Miller*: p. 11. The church at Hempstead was in a somewhat unsettled condition, and its historian says there are "no authentic accounts of a settled ministry in this 'town for a great number of years." *Prime*:

282. The Rev. Mr. Thomas, who was sent thither as a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts in 1704, wrote home in 1709, "tho the Place had 'been settled above 60 years before his coming, 'and the People had some sort of dissenting 'Ministers; yet for above 55 years, the Sacrament had never been administered there; the 'oldest there could not remember to have seen 'or heard of its being celebrated." *Humphreys*: 223.

But whatever conclusion might be reached from all these circumstances taken by themselves—there can be no doubt whatever that at this time, in New York, he was selected and called as a dissenting clergyman—there being a full attendance of the Wardens and Vestrymen and the vote *nemine contradicente*. Six of the ten vestrymen were of the board in the previous year (12 Feb. 1694) when they declared it to be their opinion that a Dissenting Minister should be called—and the wardens were both Dutch.

Whether this action of the Board was hastened or stimulated by the threats of prosecution from the Governor and Council, we cannot decide. But it was followed not long afterwards by further proceedings which show that the Church Wardens and Vestrymen were disposed to fortify their position and maintain their right to call a dissenting minister, in spite of such formidable opposition.

On the 12 April, 1695, A petition of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen for the City of New York was read in the Assembly, and upon consideration thereof, it was declared, that "it is 'the opinion of this House, that the Vestrymen 'and Church Wardens have power to call a dissenting Protestant Minister, and that he is to 'be paid and maintained according as the Act 'directs." On the 13th April, 1695, the Gov. called the attention of the Council to these proceedings. "His Excellency did show the Council a 'Petition which was given in to the Assembly 'by the Church Wardens and the Resolution of 'the Assembly thereupon signed by the Speaker; 'which is: That by virtue of the Act for settling a Ministry, they have power to call a dissenting minister from the Church of England, 'and compell all persons to contribute towards 'his maintenance, pursuant to said Act." *Council Minutes*: 76. The Council were of opinion "that there is no good to be expected from this 'Assembly" and advised a prorogation. *Ibid.* The Governor was not slow to follow their advice,—and upon the prorogation which followed the same day, he said to the Representatives, "Gentlemen,

"You have proceeded to give your opinion or 'interpretation of that Act of Assembly which 'provides for a Ministry in this city and two

"other Counties, upon a petition presented unto you, and you say, that the Church Wardens and Vestrymen may proceed, by that Act, to call a protestant minister dissenting from the Church of England and raise the money for his maintenance. Not to tell you that there is no Protestant Church admits of such officers as Church Wardens and Vestrymen but the Church of England. It is out of your province to take upon you to explain an Act which you did not make; the laws are to be interpreted by the Judges."

Smith says of the petition above mentioned that it was "a petition of five churchwardens and vestrymen" &c. p. 117. Upon what authority does not appear. This is not material, as there can be no doubt that a large majority of the existing board were of the same opinion. Probably "five" was a error of the press for "the," as those who are familiar with the handwriting of the historian and the facility of error in proof reading will readily understand. Dr. Berrian copied the statement from Smith.

In 1695, one of the Long Island towns attempted to obtain legislative relief. A Bill for exempting Newtown, in Queens County, from the Pains, Penalties, Forfeitures, and Disfranchisement in the Act of 1693, "one hundred and thirty" time and ordered a <sup>repeal</sup> in the common Council of April, 1695. It was published a <sup>copy</sup> and committed on the next day. The report of the Committee, from the <sup>report</sup> Minister of Newtown was brought in and read, approved and ordered to be engrossed with its Amendments. On the 9th, it was read the third time and passed, and ordered to be sent up to the Governor and Council for their assent. This however, it failed to receive—the session being somewhat sharply terminated a few days later.\*

## II.—JONATHAN EDWARDS, AND THE OCCASION AND RESULT OF HIS DISMISSION FROM NORTHAMPTON.

BY REV. E. H. GILLET, D.D.

A complete history of the controversy originating in the "Half-way Covenant" would include a large portion of the ecclesiastical history

of New England for a full century. In its connections, it would involve the relations of the State to the Church and the influences by which, directly or indirectly, "the Standing order" was superseded by perfect religious equality in the eye of the law.

One of the most interesting episodes of this history, and one which marks the culmination of the controversy, is that which grew out of the opposition to Jonathan Edwards by his people at Northampton. His predecessor in the pastorate, Solomon Stoddard, held that all who possessed an adequate knowledge of Scripture truth, and who were not scandalous in life, should, upon application, and without further inquiry, be admitted to the communion of the Church. These views he had carried out into practice, and the result was that the membership of the Northampton Church contained many who, in all probability, would not claim, in their own behalf, to have been truly converted. To this fact, Edwards might reasonably charge the loose and even wanton conduct of many of the young people of his congregation, who in the reaction which followed the great Revival, rushed into extremes of license which excited his apprehension. Fearless in announcing his convictions, and firm in maintaining his positions, his rebukes and other measures produced an exasperated state of feeling which resulted in arraying against him the majority of his congregation. They refused even to hear him defend his principles from the pulpit, and insisted upon his dismission.

In these circumstances, he wrote and published his memorable work entitled *An Humble Inquiry into the rules of the Word of God Concerning the Qualifications requisite to a Complete Standing and full Communion in the visible Christian Church*, (Aug. 11, 1749.) On his own people it produced but a feeble impression, for few were willing to read it. But as it was circulated abroad, it was very extensively regarded by competent judges as decisive of the question at issue. Something of the confidence with which it was subsequently appealed to, is attested by the language of Rev. Israel Holly (of Suffield) in his reply\* to Bartholomew of Harwinton, Ct, who had publicly advocated views substantially identical with those of Stoddard. He says, "I remember I have read of the famous Latymer, who when he was once a going to preach a sermon, read this text—*Take heed and beware of covetousness*—and then made a long pause, considering whether he had not best re-

\* There is an interesting reference to Newtown in the proposal of the Bishop of London to send Chaplains to New York, November 18, 1689. "It is humbly proposed to your Lordship that two Ministers of the Church of England be sent to New York in America with free passage thither and a competent allowance for the space of two years out of the Revenue of that place and instructions given to his Majesty's government to settle a sufficient number of acres (as a Glebe) not yet disposed of in the parishes where they are to officiate. Newtown in Long Island and a parish in *Sopus* having earnestly desired to have Ministers sent them. An ingenious schoolmaster in the City of New York is of great use and importance." P. R. O. AM. & WEST INDIES.

\* A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Bartholomew of Harwinton, containing a few remarks upon some of his Arguments and Divinity, which he has lately published to the world in a pamphlet entitled "A Dissertation on the qualifications necessary to the lawful profession and enjoyment of special ordinances &c. By Israel Holly. 12mo. pp. 32. Hartford, 1770."

"peat his text an hour or two, *Take heed, &c.*; "*Take heed, &c.*—or whether he could say anything more needful or beneficial to his audience. So I think sir, if I was to engage with you in this controversy, I would say, *Read Edwards*. And if you wrote again, I would tell you, *Read Edwards*, and if you wrote again, I would say *Read Edwards*. For I think it need less for any man to write after him, and fruit less for any man to write against him upon this subject. Nor do I think any man need blush to say that Mr. Edwards has sufficiently answered all that ever has been, and ever will be, wrote on the opposite side."

Answers were indeed attempted—one by Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Ct., and the other by Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield, each of whom was a first cousin of Edwards. The last of these was a sermon preached in the pulpit of Northampton after Edwards's dismission, and doubtless published at the instance of Edwards's bitter opponents at Northampton. But the great theologian did not deign even to take any notice of it, or honor it with a special refutation. In Bellamy's Correspondence it is mentioned naturally in terms of contempt. But the necessity of a reply was already superseded by the crushing rejoinder of Edwards's *Misrepresentations corrected and truth vindicated, in a Reply to the Rev. Solomon Williams's Book, entitled "The True State of the Question concerning the Qualifications necessary to lawful communion in the Christian Sacraments."*\*

But before the controversy had reached this stage, Edwards had been dismissed from his pastorate at Northampton. Shortly after he had published his *Humble Inquiry &c.*, a Council of advice composed of the Pastors and Delegates of the neighboring churches was called, but had no influence to restore peace. Edwards determined to set forth his views in a series of public lectures, but only a few of the people could be induced to attend, and more than half his congregation was composed of strangers from the neighboring towns.

In the winter of 1749-50 the people had become impatient and were resolved upon decisive measures. Edwards objected to their haste, observing that "it was exceedingly unbecoming to manage religious affairs of the greatest importance in a ferment and tumult." But they were in no mood for objections. It was agreed that a mutual Council should be called—but a practical difficulty arose with the question as to how it

should be composed, the Church insisting that the choice of members should be confined to the ministers and Churches of the County. Edwards thought this an unreasonable demand, for the influence of Stoddard and his writings, and the progress of the controversy had arrayed nearly all who would thus compose the body in opposition to him. For these and other reasons which he offered, he insisted upon going out of the County for those members of the Council which he was to choose. But the people of Northampton met this claim with a strenuous and obstinate resistance. At length they agreed to leave the matter to a Council composed of the Ministers and Delegates of the five neighboring Churches. The Council thus composed however, were equally divided, and after having twice met, were unable to agree, and left the matter undetermined. They could not unite upon any advice to be offered for the reconciliation of the alienation that had taken place.

On one point however they were clear. The Pastor of the Northampton Church was entitled to go out of the County for some of the members of the Council. On March 26, 1750, Edwards offered to join the Council in calling a Council provided that he might choose two of the Churches out of the Countysmen that the Council should consist of but had maintain. For more than a month, the people, in spite, accept these terms, but at length, they voted compliance.

The Council thus provided for met on June 19th. Edwards nominated—out of the County—the Churches of Sutton and Reading, the former under the pastorate of David Hall, and the last under that of William Hobby. Three of the Ministers named by Edwards from the Churches within the County were in sympathy with him. One of these was Edward Billing from the Church of Belchertown, (then known as Cold Spring). Another may have been Thomas Strong of New Marlborough, whose ordination Sermon Edwards speaks of having preached, and who was a native of Northampton, and consequently for some years at least a member of Edwards's congregation.\* Who the fifth was is somewhat uncertain. It may have been John Woodbridge of South Hadley, (1732-70) or Jonathan Judd (1741-1803) of Southampton, or possibly Edwards's devoted and admiring friend, Samuel Hopkins of Great Barrington.†

The five Pastors of the Churches called by the people of Northampton were Robert Breck of Springfield, who had, as an Arminian, the repete

\* On the margin of the title page of my copy of Williams's book—an 8vo in 4to form of 144 pages—is written "R. Breck's Book. From the people of Northampton," thus confirming the statement of Edwards's biographer that the people of Northampton "published Mr. Williams's pamphlet at their own expense, and distributed it to every family in the town." Breck was pastor at Springfield.

\* He married his wife at Stockbridge, and probably was in sympathy theologically with Sergeant then a missionary there. † Great Barrington was then within the limits of the County. Berkshire County was not set off till some years later. The distance of Great Barrington—some sixty miles—renders it improbable that Hopkins was on the Council.

of being a strong opponent of Edwards, with whom in days past he had had many a controversial passage at arms; Jonathan Ashley of Greenfield, a cousin of Edwards, who describes him as "a young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities, a fluent speaker, my Grandfather Stoddard's Grandson, being my Mother's Sister's Son, a man of lax principles in religion, falling in, in some essential things, with the Arminians, and is very bold and open in it;" Chester Williams of Hadley, who was also Scribe of the Council; and two others who must have been selected from the list of John Ballantine (1748-76) of Westfield, Timothy Woodbridge (1732-70) of Hatfield, Stephen Williams (1716-82) of Longmeadow, Samuel Hopkins (1720-55) of Springfield, James Bridgman (1736-66) of Brierfield, Joseph Ashley (1747-84) of Sunderland, or Strong and Judd already mentioned.

It is rarely that a Council has been convened in which the lines of opposition have been more clearly or firmly drawn. The Pastor and the people of Northampton were distinctly represented in the two opposing parties. Hall of Sutton was in strong sympathy with Edwards; and only seven years before, in the time of the great Revival, nearly one hundred members had been added to his Church in the course of a twelve-month. Hobby had published a defence of the course of Whitefield from the public attacks which had been made against it; and he now stood ready in case the Council went against Edwards, to protest against its action and publicly vindicate his protest. Billing was in a position as analogous as possible to that of Edwards himself, except that his case was not yet ripe for the action of a Council.

The Church was represented before the Council, or rather its interests were managed, by the ablest lawyer in Western Massachusetts, although his public career had but just commenced. This was Joseph Hawley of Northampton, a man whom John and Samuel Adams respected as their intellectual peer. At this time he was only twenty-six years of age, and yet he was the leading spirit in opposition to Edwards, and drew up most of the documents in behalf of the Church. In later years, when he had acquired the wisdom to discern his errors, and the Christian manliness to confess them, he did not hesitate to speak of the fidelity, ability, and heroic truthfulness of Edwards in terms of high eulogy, or to confess his own "peremptory, vehement and immodest manner" in "persecuting that just man."

The Council, upon their assembling, was met by the demand from the Church for the immediate dismissal of Edwards. Ashley was very strenuous in urging its necessity. Edwards, who

was well aware of the state of popular feeling, and knew that the great majority of the Church were inflexibly resolved that he should leave them, informed the Council that he would not enter into the dispute, but refer the whole matter to their judgment. He had no desire, he said, to leave his people, on any other consideration than their aversion to his continuance among them as their Minister; but if this disposition was to remain unchanged, he had no inclination or desire that they should be compelled. He would simply refer himself to the advice of the Council. The Church were then heard, and it was found that the great majority of the two hundred and thirty male members of the Church favored Edward's dismissal, while only twenty-three opposed it, the remainder declining to appear or act on either side.

After three days' discussion, the vote of the Council was taken, June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1750. All the members who represented the Churches named by Edwards were unitedly opposed to his immediate dismissal. All those representing the Churches named by the Church of Northampton favored it. But the party of Edwards in the Council was in a minority of one. The Church of Belchertown (Cold Spring) notwithstanding the strong sympathy of their Pastor, Mr. Billing, with Edwards, refused to send a delegate, and left the party which he represented numerically inferior to the other. The result was that the Council, by a majority of one, dissolved the pastoral relation. The minority opposed to this their protest which was soon after printed in Boston, and which was publicly defended by Rev. Mr. Hobby.

To the decision of the Council Edwards offered no opposition. He at once sat down to prepare his farewell Sermon; and if his other writings declare the superiority of his intellect this reveals his magnanimity of soul. He spoke in the tone of one who held his position far aloft, above the atmosphere of party strife, where he could look down upon the scene with the calm impartiality of one who occupied the post not of party but of Judge. He had sacrificed all his worldly prospects to the conviction of duty. The future, so far as this world was concerned, was all dark before him. He had hitherto received the largest salary of any country Pastor in New England; and dependent almost entirely upon that for the support of his large family, he was now left to seek his support with no prospect at least of any immediate settlement. Nearly all the neighboring Churches were opposed to his principles. His age, moreover, was against him; and yet he felt that he had no other sphere than what was to be found in the pulpit and the pen; yet there is a dignified tone, as well as a grave pathos in his letter to Erskine. "Most places in



"New England that want a Minister, would not be forward to invite one with so chargeable family, nor one so far advanced in years—being forty-six the fifth day of last October. I am fitted for no other business but study. I should make a poor hand at getting a living by any secular employment. We are in the hands of God, and I bless Him, I am not anxious concerning his disposal of us, I hope I shall not distrust Him, nor be unwilling to submit to his will."

With no call to settle elsewhere, Edwards remained on his farm at Northampton. Something of a reaction of feeling seems to have taken place among a portion of his people after his dismissal, such at least as to lead some to hope that enough might adhere to him to warrant the organization of a new Church of which he should be the Pastor. A Council was called to consider this project. It was met with a Remonstrance on the part of the Church against the expediency of the re-settlement of Edwards over a portion of the body. Not content with argument, the authors of the document, according to Mr. Hawley,\* who doubtless had a leading hand in its production, "every where interlarded (it) with unchristian bitterness, sarcastical and unmannerly insinuations." "It contains divers direct, grievous and criminal charges and allegations against Mr. Edwards, which . . . were really gross slanders." The whole of the composition was "a scandalous, abusive injurious libel against Mr. Edwards and his particular friends." Nor was this all. The Church refused to appear before the Council to support their charges, although their presentation of the Remonstrance had been a virtual recognition of its authority. It was doubtless in view of the state of popular exasperation, so bitter that the Church was resolved, while without a Pastor in place of Edwards, not to allow him to enter the pulpit even as a supply, that the Council decided against the expediency of Edwards's re-settlement at Northampton. In this decision, we can well believe, he more than acquiesced.

It might now seem that the seal of reprobation had been finally, as it had been signally, affixed to the peculiar views of Edwards. But reason, if not louder, was in the end stronger than passion. Edwards's Treatise on "*Qualifications &c*" was seed sown broadcast, and all his persecutions had simply harrowed it in. Nor was this all. A strange Providence was at work, to place him in a sphere where he might perform more important labors than any which he could hope to accomplish in his pastorate at Northampton. Two weeks before the Council that dismissed him met, John Sergeant, missionary among the

Stockbridge Indians, sickened and died. Samuel Hopkins of Great Barrington was urged to accept the vacant post. He declined it, but in the hope that Edwards might be induced to accept it and become his neighbor. His plan succeeded; and on the banks of the Housatonic, in sight of Monument mountain, Edwards found leisure, amid his missionary labors, to compose the great work on the Freedom of the Will, which for all after time has coupled his name with those of the profoundest metaphysicians of the world.

Nor was this all. The leading instruments in the expulsion of Edwards from Northampton had reason bitterly to lament their folly. Joseph Hawley, within two years after he had triumphed as the leader of the party opposed to Edwards, began to perceive his error, and a few years later, with a rare manliness that does more honor to his memory than all his noble services as the compeer of Samuel Adams in the cause of freedom in his native State, wrote and published a recantation of his mistakes and a penitential acknowledgement of his faults, which is embodied in the record of Edwards's life.

Jonathan Ashley, the "young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities," the "fluent speaker," and Pastor at Deerfield, who exulted over Edwards's dismissal by holding up his views to rebuke in the pulpit which Edwards could no longer enter, found that his course had brought trouble within the bounds of his own congregation. The people of Belchertown were dissatisfied with their Pastor, Mr. Billing; and in sympathy with those at Northampton, prepared to imitate their example in dismissing their Pastor. His firm support of Edwards, as well as adherence to his views, had rendered him unpopular; and in April 1752, he was dismissed from his charge,

But Mr. Ashley at Deerfield had not succeeded in convincing all of his congregation of the correctness of his own views. Some of them were in sympathy with Edwards; and at this very juncture, the portion of his congregation which was finally set off to form the town of Greenfield, saw fit to renew an application which they had made fourteen years before to be made a separate parish. Meanwhile Mr. Billing was at leisure to supply them with preaching on the Sabbath. At their invitation he almost immediately commenced his labors; and on September 24, 1753, "after taking the advice of several Ministers with respect to the fitness of Mr. Edward Billings for the work of the ministry in Greenfield, the Town voted to give him a call." That call was accepted; and Mr. Ashley was compelled to witness, in spite of all his persuasions and remonstrances, the success of a project which must have materially reduced the resources and strength of his congregation, and given him for

\* Joseph Hawley, like Solomon Williams and Jonathan Ashley, was a first cousin of Edwards.

his nearest neighbor one who held all the obnoxious principles of the Northampton Pastor.

The discourse in which he attempted to dissuade his people from leaving him, is important as defining the position which he took in opposition to Edwards, and as confirming the accuracy of Edwards's statements on the nature of the reports which were circulated to injure his character and influence. "Crafty designing men," so he wrote to Gillespie in Scotland, "have abundantly filled the ears of the more ignorant with suggestions that my opinion tends to overthrow all religion, and to ruin the present and future generations, and to make all heathens, shutting them out of the Church of Christ."

At the time when Ashley's discourse was delivered, the first steps had already been taken to secure the services of Mr. Billing for the Greenfield congregation. Those who composed this body had doubtless other reasons than sympathy with the views of Edwards, for wishing to be disjoined from the Parish of Deerfield. But to these the discourse makes no reference. After discussing the relation of members to the Church under the figure of the grafts to the olive tree, Mr. Ashley remarks,

"If these things are so y<sup>t</sup> the olive tree is a ch<sup>a</sup> state or covenant relation, and that all baptized persons are ch<sup>a</sup> members, or branches of this olive tree

"Then let me intreat you who are about to constitute a ch<sup>a</sup> upon quite different principles, to consider seriously what you are about to do.

"You are about to break off some of the branches which by baptism are grafted into the olive tree & not suffer them to partake of its root & fulness. Some of the branches are to be treated as heathens, and left in such a state.

"And let me tell you if you will act up to y<sup>e</sup> principles you profess you can expect no other but the greater part of the branches will be broken off and denied the privileges of ch<sup>a</sup> members.

"Is it not enow to move your concern and pitty when you think these under branches are to be rejected & left to wither & perish away, your sons & daughters live & grow up like heathens without the bonds of religion & left to live in sin as they please.

"Surely you cant be so unnatural as to have no thot & concern for those who came out of your own bowels & are part of yourselves—and can you think of it without concern y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> shall be, the greater part of you in a little time heathens.

"Perhaps you will tell me there is no danger of this, I assure you you can expect no other upon the principles you have embraced—yes, you already see the effects of these principles.

"Such as fall into the Sin of fornication, or or any other gross Sin, neglect to humble themselves—lie under guilt—dishonor God & these principles keep them in such a state—others neglect to give up their children to Baptism.

"& let me tell you it is not even y<sup>t</sup> any of you have had a hope y<sup>t</sup> you have had faith, but you must upon your principles have it in exercise when you bring a child to baptism or come to the Lord's table. For you are not to live on old acts of faith—and if you doubt of your having faith yourselves, you must not bring your children to Baptism.

"I intreat you to think seriously of these things & whether those of you who are about to declare yourselves regenerate and to exclude all others who have not boldness enow to do it from your communion, whether you dont too much resemble those Is. 65, 5,—and dont you boast against your fellow branches.

"You have censured me y<sup>t</sup> I have not publicly addressed; I have now done it; whether you will hear or whether you will forbear I know not, but I shall have this satisfaction y<sup>t</sup> I have forewarned you and have delivered my own soul.

"Whether ever I shall have opportunity to address you as a part of my charge again I know not.

"I therefore tell you, however you may think I am your enemy for telling you the truth that I have no small conflict for you and am not a little concerned for your welfare—nor am I a little distressed when I see how some of my Brethren are to be treated by you—denied the privileges of the ch<sup>a</sup> among y<sup>e</sup>—whose souls need the means of grace as well as you, however you may be willing others should be so treated yet I am well assured your own children are so dear to some of you that you cant bear it when it comes to your own case.

"One thing I request of you which is that you could understand the principles you are about to bind yourselves to—this I am sure you dont at present—scarce any two of you understand them alike.

"Some suppose that it will never be required of such as come to special ordinances to make any declaration y<sup>t</sup> implies their being converted or regenerate—others suppose they will.

"Let me tell you when he whom you have invited to be your Pastor was dismissed from his late charge—it was put to him whether he could not admit persons to the ordinances who expressed it y<sup>t</sup> duty to come altho y<sup>r</sup> dare not profess themselves regenerate, he said he could not, and he had rather beg his bread than do it,—& if he did he could expect no other but God would leave him in darkness all his days.

"Now Suppose him to be always Conscien-

"ticus & act up to his principles, Judge you whether you must not profess yourselves regenerate—

"Which leads me also to request one thing of you Sir who are seeking the charge of this people, & this is to deal plainly & truly with them & let them know your principles which I am sure they do not, and as they are a part of my charge & I am bound to be concerned for them I request it of you y<sup>t</sup> you would satisfy them in the following particulars.

"1<sup>st</sup> are not all baptized persons y<sup>t</sup> are not excommunicated in the ch<sup>h</sup>.

"2<sup>dly</sup> do you hold that it is lawful for any person who judges himself in a state of nature either to come to the Lord's Table or bring his children to Baptism.

"3<sup>dly</sup> will you allow any person to come to special ordinances without making a profession which does imply his being regenerate if he speaks true, or in other words if a person whose life is free from scandal shall tell you he thinks it his duty to attend the Lord's Supper as a converting ordinance but he does not look upon himself regenerate nor dare he profess anything with respect to his regeneration—will you admit such a person without making any profession that implies regeneration.

"4<sup>thly</sup> what do you esteem to be the duty of a person in the ch<sup>h</sup> who believes himself to be in a state of nature—is it his duty to come to the Lord's Table or absent himself—I entreat you to think of these things and let me know and this people who are under my charge your sentiment on these things y<sup>t</sup> you may not be deceived in matters of great importance to y<sup>r</sup> Souls."\*

The scene which must have been presented on the occasion of the delivery of this address must have been such as even a novelist would allow to be sensational. It would appear that the Greenfield people, toward the close of the year 1752, or the commencement of 1753,† had matured their plans and invited Mr. Billing to become their Minister, or at least to preach for them—that he had arrived upon the ground—that on this last occasion (probably) before the secession of the congregation took place, the Greenfield people, together with Mr. Billing himself, were present at Deerfield, worshipping with Mr. Ashley's people, and that he took adroit advantage of this occasion to throw the apple of discord among the seceders, or alienate

them from the man whom they designed to call as their Minister. It was a bold experiment, but in keeping with the character of Mr. Ashley. His effort however was futile. The Greenfield people adhered to Mr. Billing, and withdrew from Mr. Ashley's congregation. He was compelled to see the man whom he, above others doubtless, had been instrumental in unsettling at Belchertown, through his influence and arguments at Northampton, the leader of an important secession from his own Parish.

It was thus that the principles of Edwards made progress even where they were most opposed. His *Treatise*, and his expulsion from Northampton made them understood throughout New England; and the half century which followed merely settled the local details of a victory already won. One by one, the Churches, either by formal vote, or by the silent influence of their Pastors and of a changing public opinion, came into the scheme of Edwards, until it seemed scarcely credible that such views as those which were held by his opponents could have had such a strong hold on a large portion of the New England Churches.

### III.—THE EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

#### REPLY TO THE EDITORS OF *The Methodist*.

*The Methodist* of the thirtieth of March, the fifteenth of April and the twenty-seventh of April, contained a series of papers in answer to our article on this subject, printed in the December number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and as we have copied the articles referred to in our last number we propose to offer a few words in reply.

The question involved is one concerning the History of Early Methodism, and whether or not the several statements contained in our original article on that subject were true. It is one concerning *facts* rather than *opinions*; and it is to be decided by the weight and character of the evidence adduced on either side, rather than by the "note" of the witness before the world or his standing in society or in the Church. If, therefore, we can produce *better* evidence to support, than *The Methodist* has produced to controvert, our original statements, it matters not if our "value" or "note" is below the Methodist standard, since our fidelity as a Historical writer will not suffer; and the world of letters and the common sense of the world at large will declare, in that case, that while *The Methodist* may or may not be the superior authority on questions of mere *opinion*, on matters of History

\* The address given above was copied from a leaflet among Mr. Ashley's manuscripts, and the handwriting is indisputably his. The first portion of the discourse is wanting.

† It was on April 2nd 1758 that the town of Deerfield voted for a Committee to consider and determine the dividing line between that Town and the proposed district on the North side of Deerfield River. The charter of Greenfield was dated June 9, 1758.

which are matters of solid *facts*, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, whether of "little note" or the contrary, is the peer of its neighbor, in every respect.

If our original narrative was false, as *The Methodist* has repeatedly stated, the emphatic denials and counter-statements which it has made in its answer, are true; and "the late 'centennial' interest of Methodism," to which it has referred, instead of affecting the subject disadvantageously, will have afforded a wider field for the dissemination of the Truth, as it will have been thus established by our opponent, before many witnesses. It seems to us, therefore, aside from the standards of the Church and the teachings of the Bible, that, in that case, magnanimity to a discomfited opponent who has been considered worthy of so much of *The Methodist's* space and attention, should have prompted the latter to tell the whole truth, rather than a part of it; and by avoiding, on its part, a *suppressio veri*, while it exposed his infidelity to the Truth, it would have given evidence to the world of ITS OWN good title to respectability. When *The Methodist* concealed the fact that the article in question was one of a series of articles on the early History of Methodism, which had appeared in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, month after month, successively, and insinuated that it was merely a special article, written for a special occasion, "for the purpose, probably, of attracting attention to his [our] publication," it "probably" fulfilled its mission as a religious weekly, as that mission is understood by its conductors; but we trust we shall be pardoned if we intimate, as we do most decidedly, that our idea of the mission of such a sheet is entirely different.

So also, when *The Methodist* spoke of the "decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of opinion in favor of the Colonists," and told the world that we "must have read" it in Doctor Stevens's *History of Methodism*, although it *knew* THERE WAS NO SUCH EVIDENCE THERE, it supposed, we have no doubt, that it was acting as became a Methodist journal, engaged with a contemporary older than itself, in discussing a purely historical subject; but we hope that it will pardon us again if, in this instance, also, we differ from it; nor will that pardon be less readily bestowed when we shall remind it that Mr. Wesley's own testimony to the contrary, adduced by us from the archives of the "Society" in John street, as published by its Pastor in August, 1780, and republished in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for December, 1866, was in its possession when it made this reckless averment, and was entirely disregarded.

There are several other instances, in the three articles referred to, in which *The Methodist* has zeal-

ously suppressed the truth, as if its readers could not be safely entrusted with the original evidence in the case, nor even know of its existence; and it will pardon us, we hope, if we differ from it again, as we do, while we protest, in their behalf, that that evidence is far preferable, as a guide for the judgment of those readers than its own unsupported word on the subject can be.

We are not one of those who consider the laity as necessarily incapable of judging, from the evidence, for itself, concerning simple matters of fact: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this instance arises, probably, from the fact that we are a layman and not a Methodist, while it is the organ of Methodists who are, also, clergymen.

We believe that History is written properly only when it is written truly, and when it carries with it, openly, for the instruction of the judgment of those who shall read it, the best evidence of its truthfulness: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this respect is accounted for in the fact that we have no foregone theory to sustain and no ancestral nor denominational reputation to bolster up with fictitious patriotism or questionable Christianity. We believe that when History has been thus correctly written and thus supported with the best original authorities on the subject, those who controvert it are less unfriendly to its author than to his authorities; and that the writer of the narrative, who faithfully repeats what he has learned from others who were most capable of imparting the information on which he writes, suffers less at the hands of a doubting disputant than do those on whose information he wrote his narrative: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this respect originated in the fact that we had seen no reason for discrediting John Wesley and Richard Boardman, "the old book" in John street and the *Minutes of the Conference*, J. B. Wakeley and Lorenzo Sabine, on matters of fact, concerning the Toryism of the Early Methodists, even for the purpose of accrediting Abel Stevens, LL.D., with an importance as an Historian, to which he was not in the least degree entitled.

We believe that those who, while discussing Historical subjects, shall conceal known facts which illustrate those subjects, and advance unfounded insinuations which shall be calculated to mislead their readers thereon, are cowardly partizans and falsifiers, and unworthy of credit: that we differ from *The Methodist* in this respect arises, probably, from the fact that its conductors control a wide-spread, popular, and influential sectarian periodical, whose prospects might be injured by a bold and manly declaration of the naked Truth concerning the History of its Denomination; while THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, without any party or sect at its back, is

devoted to unadorned *History*, and although "of some value," is of "little note."

The averments which *The Methodist* has disposed of on its own authority, in the articles to which this is an answer, are these:

I. "Every Methodist of that period," [during the *American Revolution*] "whether in Europe or America, was necessarily an *Episcopalian*, one of whose leading tenets was that George III., King of Great Britain, was his supreme ecclesiastical head on earth."

On this subject we wrote, and *The Methodist* made no mention of, the following:

"We have before us a copy of the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Preachers in connection with Rev. John Wesley, Philadelphia, June, 1773*—the first General Conference in America—during which the following Rules were agreed to by all the Preachers present:

"1. Every preacher who acts in connection with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labour in America, is strictly to AVOID ADMINISTERING THE ORDINANCES OF BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"2. All the People among whom we labour to be EARNESTLY EXHORTED TO ATTEND THE CHURCH, AND TO RECEIVE THE ORDINANCES THERE; but in a particular manner to press the people in Maryland and Virginia, to the observance of this minute.

"3. No person or persons to be admitted to our love feast, oftener than twice or thrice, unless they become members; and none to be admitted to the Society meeting more than thrice."

"The 'RULES' thus 'agreed to by all the Preachers present,' in the General Conference, in 1773, were unquestionably respected by the Methodists throughout the several Colonies;—even the War which, soon after, broke down all the sympathies of the great body of the inhabitants for everything that was English, could not eradicate the fidelity of the Methodists to the Established Church of England, as required by the 'RULES' which we have quoted. To prove this, we cite the following facts:

"In the General Conference, held in Kent County, Delaware, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1779, the tenth question asked, and the answer thereto of the Conference, were as follows:

"Ques. 10. SHALL WE GUARD AGAINST A SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY?

"Ans. BY ALL MEANS."

"Again: In the General Conference, held at Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1780, the subject was renewed, and similarly determined. The following is the official record of that action:

"Ques. 12. SHALL WE CONTINUE IN CLOSE COMMUNION WITH THE CHURCH, AND PRESS OUR PEOPLE TO A CLOSER COMMUNION WITH HER?

"Ans. YES."

"Ques. 13. Will this Conference grant the privilege to all the friendly Clergy of the Church of England, at the request or desire of the people, to preach or administer the ordinances in our Preaching-houses or Chapels?

"Ans. Yes."

"What was meant by 'the Church,' among those who, like this Conference, favored the 'Establishment,' at the dates referred to, needs little illustration—it referred to 'the Church' of England, as established by Law, in Virginia, etc.

"It will be seen from this authoritative testimony that the Methodists of 1766–85 were only a 'Society' within 'the Church': Mr. Wesley's letter 'To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America,' dated 'Bristol, September 10th. 1784,' shows that, at that date, even, none of his preachers had been ordained—Francis Asbury was not even Deacon, before 1785, as will be seen in Section IV. of the *Form of Discipline*, Edit. N. Y. 1789.

"No one will pretend that an unofficial member of any 'Society' can administer a Sacrament: Mr. Wesley's own *Sunday service of the Methodists*—the 'Methodist Prayer Book'—(Edit. London, 1786, pp. 287, 288,) in the Ordination service of Deacons, thus tells us what a Deacon might do:

\* \* \* \* \*

"It will be seen that even Francis Asbury, prior to 1785, was disqualified for the administration of an ordinance; but it was equally certain that, prior to that date, there was not a Methodist Church in the country, to which such Ordinances were necessary; neither was there a Methodist Pastor. All this is evident from the *Minutes of some Conversations between the Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a General Conference held at Baltimore, January, 1785*, and the first perfected *Form of Discipline*, Section IV.; and it seems proper to remind some of our friends that, prior to 1785, Methodists were necessarily *Episcopilians* of the British Established Church; that those who taught them were simply 'Preachers'; that their church edifices were simply 'Preaching-houses'; that even Francis Asbury was, subsequently, made successively a Deacon, Elder, and Bishop; and that not before January, 1785, was there a Methodist Church, as such, in America, nor a Methodist Pastor."

To this averment, thus sustained, *The Methodist* made no attempt at reply, in either of its ar-

ties; and we have a right to treat it as one which has been conceded by our opponent, with all its necessary consequences.

We have a right, in view of its silence on the subject, to consider *The Methodist* as conceding the truth of the averment, thus sustained, that "every Methodist of that period was necessarily *an Episcopalian*," and as necessary a daily suppliant for a bestowal of the Divine favor on George III., his Parliaments, his Armies, and his Fleets, as were Doctors Seabury and Inglis, Chandler and Wilkins, and all other Episcopalians of the period; and we have a right, also, in view of the same silence, to treat our opponent as conceding the claim, thus sustained, that it was not until the Conference of January, 1785, that George III. ceased, in law, to be the Supreme head, in ecclesiastical affairs, of every Methodist "Society" in America; and that, until that time, the Canons, and Liturgy, and Common Prayer promulgated by his authority were their Supreme law.

We say we have a right to thus take judgment against *The Methodist*, by default, although we are not disposed to do so—preferring rather to strengthen the evidence which this uncontradicted testimony affords concerning the Toryism of the Early Methodists, by the introduction of other testimony to prove the unequivocal Loyalty to the King, his Sovereign, of him on whom every Methodist leaned for support, at the period referred to; and thus to show that not only in its streamlets but at its very source, METHODISM WAS TORYISM. This brings us to our second proposition:

II. "Mr. Wesley made no attempt to conceal his repugnance to the earlier disloyalty of the Colonists; and when" [*in the latter days of the War*] "he was attacked by some of his countrymen who differed from him, his fellow Methodists" [*in this country*] "hastened to his relief, without the least hesitation."

In confirmation of this averment we referred, our original article, to the tract—condensed from Doctor Johnson's Ministerial production, *Taxation no Tyranny*—which Mr. Wesley wrote and published in 1775, with the title of *A Culum Address to our American Colonists*; and from the latter we adduced the following as the opinion of the founder of Methodism, in the earlier days of the War, concerning the demands of the Americans for a redress of their grievances:

"These good men [*the republicans in England*] hope it will end, in the total defection of North America from England. \* \* \*

"But, my brethren, would this be any advantage to you? Can you hope for a more desirable form of Government, either in England or America, than that which you now enjoy? After all the vehement cry for liberty, what

"more liberty can you have? What more religious liberty can you desire, than that which you enjoy already? May not every one among you worship God according to his own conscience? What civil liberty can you desire, which you are not already possessed of? Do not you sit without restraint, *every man under his own vine*? Do you not, every one, high or low, enjoy the fruit of your labor? This is real, rational liberty, such as is enjoyed by Englishmen alone: and not by any other people in the habitable world.

"Would the being independent of England make you more free? Far, very far, from it. It would hardly be possible for you to steer clear, between anarchy and tyranny. But suppose, after numberless dangers and mischiefs, you should settle into one or more Republics: would a republican government give you more liberty, either religious or civil? By no means. No governments under heaven are so despotic as the Republican: no subjects are governed in so arbitrary a manner, as those of a Commonwealth. If any one doubt of this, let him look at the subjects of Venice, of Genoa, or even of Holland." (pp. 14-16.)

"That they contend for 'the cause of liberty' is another mistaken supposition. What liberty do you want, either civil or religious? You had the very same liberty we have in England. I say, you had; but you have thrown away the substance, and retain only the shadow. You have no liberty, civil or religious, now, but what the Congress pleases to allow." (pp. 19, 20.)

"Ten times over, in different words, you 'profess yourselves to be contending for liberty.' But it is a vain, empty profession; unless you mean by that threadbare word, a liberty from obeying your rightful sovereign, and from keeping the fundamental laws of your country. And this undoubtedly it is, which the confederated Colonies are now contending for." (p. 23.)

The *Taxation no Tyranny* was probably written at the instance and under the patronage of the Royal Government—it certainly was one of the most obnoxious to the Americans, of the many Tory pamphlets of that period—yet Mr. Wesley selected that from which to take his *Address to the Colonists*, in behalf of the Monarchy, and the Parliament, and the Church; and so well did he perform his labor that even Doctor Johnson, who was seldom civil to any body, "not only approved Wesley's use of it, but felt 'honored by it,' as every other Tory would have been, by the co-operation of a volunteer from any quarter, in the service of the King.

To this direct evidence of Mr. Wesley's Toryism in 1775, *The Methodist* cannot offer either a

denial or an excuse: it contents itself, therefore, with telling its readers that we *welied*, "completely lied"; and that we "knew Mr. Wesley changed "his opinion," on the subject referred to, when "we referred to it, "without intimating his" [Wesley's] "subsequent change of opinion and "vindication of the Colonial cause"; and with other similar remarks which no one but a clergyman would ever have had the face to employ.

We say, plainly, that WE NEVER KNEW AND DO NOT NOW KNOW, that Mr. Wesley ever deigned to be Loyal to the King of Great Britain, in the broadest sense of the term; and that WE NEVER KNEW AND DO NOT NOW KNOW that he ever entertained the least sympathy for the American Revolutionists or their cause, or ever, even by implication, "vindicated the Colonial cause." We say, also, just as plainly, that neither Doctor Stevens nor *The Methodist*, nor both combined, EVER KNEW or NOW KNOW any such thing of Mr. Wesley; and that neither the historian of Methodism nor its exponents in newspaper form, can produce any *authentic* testimony to establish such an averment as *The Methodist* has thus put forth. Mr. Wesley was a well-known seeker for Governmental favor, a sycophant of those in authority; and, as Doctor Stevens and *The Methodist* both know, his faith is manifested in his Works, wherein the individuality of man was never recognized in his disciples, and their mission to do any thing but obey his mandates was never considered worthy of his notice. Nor need Doctor Stevens and *The Methodist* go very far to witness, personally, to-day, the entire absence of all sympathy, in Mr. Wesley and his followers, for every semblance of Republicanism, and his and their entire affinity for every thing that was Despotic. The "Societies" which he founded in America, even after eighty years of association with avowed Republicans, are, or were until very recently, controlled with as little regard to the individual manhood of their members as are the Greek Churches under the Czar, in Russia; and the Laity, until very recently, if at all, were never represented in the denominational "Conferences," wherein all questions of Faith and Discipline are determined, and were never considered of any temporal importance, except as subjects of a *self-imposed* Clergy and as blind supporters of *The Christian Advocate and Journal*.

When either Doctor Stevens or *The Methodist* shall see fit to produce "undoubted" contemporary evidence of our infidelity to the truth of History, concerning Mr. Wesley and what he considered to be the "Rebels" in America, we shall take the earliest opportunity to withdraw our accusations and acknowledge our errors in the most ample form: in the meanwhile, both the one and the other will pardon us if we prefer

to remain subject to their joint and several disapprobation rather than to purchase their goodwill at the expense of every thing that is requisite in a reliable Historian. But we have not yet done with Mr. Wesley.

In the summer of 1780, five years after he published his *Calm Address*, a report was published in one of the New York newspapers affecting "Mr. Wesley's want of faithful attachment to the King and Constitution," "when his "Assistant preacher in that city" promptly produced a *ready-made* voucher for the loyalty of his chief, and stifled the rumor as soon as it was born—a movement which was subsequently confirmed by a second letter from Mr. Wesley and another, supporting it, from Richard Boardman, who was personally known to nearly all the Methodists in New York. The following is a copy of the record of this affair, from the originals in the Library of the New York Historical Society:

## I.

## [THE REPORT CONCERNING MR. WESLEY.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 408, New-York, Saturday, August 26, 1780.]

"LONDON, June 7. The mob have continued "all last night with a degree of violence unknown "for this century past. Many houses are pulled "down, and the fine new building of Newgate "they have reduced to ashes. The Dissenters, "and Wesley, at the head of the Methodists are, "as I observed before, blowing up the flame."

## II.

## [THE DEFENCE OF MR. WESLEY, BY HIS ASSISTANT IN NEW YORK.]

From *The Royal Gazette*, 409, New York, Wednesday, August 30, 1780.]

"A number of gentlemen in this city, feeling "themselves hurt at a paragraph in our last "paper, copied from a letter from London, of the "7th July THE FOLLOWING IS INSERTED TO "EFFACE ALL SUSPICION OF THE REVEREND MR. "WESLEY'S WANT OF FAITHFUL ATTACHMENT "TO THE KING AND CONSTITUTION."

"MR. RIVINGTON,

"SIR.

"HAVING read a paragraph in your Saturday's paper, in which the Reverend Mr. Wesley is charged with secretly blowing up "the flame which has lately been kindled in "London, we have sent you a copy of a letter "from him to his Assistant Preacher in this city, "your giving it a place in your Wednesday's

"paper, will greatly oblige the Society of people commonly called Methodists in New York."

"MY DEAR BROTHER  
"A REPORT was spread some time since in England, that the British troops "were to be recalled from New-York, but I am "inclined to think it was raised and propagated "by designing men, who intended thereby to "weaken the hands of them that FEARED GOD "AND HONOURED THE KING, OR BY WEAK MEN, "WHO believed WHAT THEY wished; but it now "clearly appears to have been without any "foundation; on the other hand, government "are determined to act more vigorously than "ever."

"It is a wonderful instance of the goodness of "God, that we have any societies left in America. "I do not advise you to leave it till you have a "clear providential call. Be strong in the Lord, "and in the power of his might.

"I am,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"J. WESLEY."

"N.B. Any Person may see the Original, by "applying next door to the METHODIST "PREACHING HOUSE, in John Street."

Against this testimony, thus sustained, *The Methodist* says:

"An Englishman, preaching in New York, did "defend him in the *Royal Gazette*, of New York, "against a charge of 'blowing up the flame' of "a London mob in 1780, and of thereby showing "disloyalty to his king; and Mr. Dawson cites "this defence to show that Wesley and the New "York Methodists were opposed to the Ameri- "can movement!" without saying, as it would have done had it been conducted by honest laymen, that that "Englishman" was Mr. Wesley's correspondent and accredited preacher, then in charge of the Methodist Society in John street; that that letter was published by the Tory printer, in the *Royal Gazette*, at the request of "the "Society of people commonly called Methodists "in New York;" and that the avowed object of that "people" in thus publishing it, as understood and stated by the printer of it, was "to efface all suspicion of the Reverend Mr. Wesley's "attachment to the King and Constitution"—that is to say, to eradicate all ideas of his sympathy with "the Colonists."

But *The Methodist* continued its answer in this style: "Now, every student of English history "knows that this London mob—the famous Lord "Gordon Riot—was an anti-Catholic outbreak, "and had nothing whatever to do directly with "the Colonial question. Mr. Dawson gives no "intimation of this fact whatever; and because "Wesley and his friends vindicated his loyalty

"to his country's laws by declaring that he and "his people did not 'blow up this flame' in "London, Wesley and his people, even his Ameri- "can people, are accused of hostility to the "American cause! This is certainly a new sort "of syllogism."

No one knows better than Doctor Stevens and *The Methodist*, that the riots referred to HAD something to do, *indirectly*, "with the Colonial "question," in so far as they indicated an opposition to the existing Government; and no one better than our opponents knows that those riots were thus considered in America, since "the Society of people commonly called Meth- "odists in New York" declared that to be its understanding of their purport, when it published the article in question, for the express purpose of "effacing all suspicion of Mr. Wesley," on that subject.

*The Methodist* knows, also, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE concealed nothing which related to this subject; that it published, *verbatim et literatim*, ALL that "the Society" itself considered necessary for the vindication of Mr. Wesley from an implied charge of disaffection to the King and Government; and that when, in its third article, *The Methodist* insinuated the contrary, it insinuated a falsehood which it had not sufficient courage to declare openly.

*The Methodist* then continued: "The New "York English preachers did at this same time "publish in the *Royal Gazette* of the city a let- "ter of Wesley's not bearing at all on the ques- "tion of the London mob, but evidently written "at an early period, showing Wesley's fidelity "to his Government, and referring unfavorably "to the American question. The design of its "publication at this time was evidently to prove "that Wesley, being loyal to his country, could "not have incited the London mob. But the "letter is without date; it only proves Wesley's "opinion at a former and indefinite time. 'We "doubt not that it expresses what was Wesley's "opinion, throughout the war, of his duty of "submission to the administration of his Gov- "ernment, and what was originally his opinion "of the American revolt. But he changed his "opinion on the latter question, as we shall pro- "ceed to demonstrate."

"The New York English preachers," thus referred to by our opponent, were the preachers in charge of "the Society of people called Meth- "odists in New York," and were acting for that "Society": why, then, did not *The Methodist* state that fact to its readers or publish the publication itself, in order that they might read it for themselves?

It is very true that Mr. Wesley's letter, thus published by the John street "Society," in 1780, was probably "written at an early period"; that



"it showed Wesley's fidelity to his Government "and referred unfavorably to the American "question"; that "it is without date"; that "it" had "no bearing on the question of the London "mob"; and that "it only proved his opinion at "a former and indefinite time"; but it is not true, and *The Methodist* knew it was not telling the truth when it made the statement, that "the "design of its publication was evidently to "prove that Wesley, being loyal to his country, "could not have incited the London Mob."

The object of the publication, as expressed on its face, was "TO EFFACE ALL SUSPICION OF THE "REVEREND MR. WESLEY'S WANT OF FAITHFUL ATTACHMENT TO THE KING AND CONSTITUTION," in contrast with the opposite sentiment which was then prevailing in America and which had already lost, to all intent and purposes, thirteen of the richest gems belonging to the British Crown; and, with this avowed purpose in those who published it, it matters nothing that it was not recently written, without date, and somewhat irrelevant, since the temper of both the writer and the publishers was openly expressed therein and perfectly patent to every one who read it; and the Toryism of both Mr. Wesley and "the Society of people called Methodists in New York" was sufficiently established by this ready-made material, notwithstanding it had been prepared for another purpose, and was only awkwardly adapted to this.

But, if there was any reason to doubt the purpose or the success of the first, there was a second publication in *The Royal Gazette*, in February, 1781, by the same "Society of people called "Methodists in New York," at the expense of the John street Society itself, as can be ascertained from its books, in which Mr. Wesley himself, and Mr. Boardman, lately the preacher in John street, bore direct testimony concerning the political opinions of the former, and his "writings, "conversations, and preachings," in vindication of the Home Government, from the beginning of the War until the fall of 1780, when the fate of the United States was no longer a matter of doubt. With a purpose, however, which was undoubtedly the opposite of that of its predecessors, *The Methodist* did not publish nor even refer to this latter testimony, in any of its articles; and although by its reticence it sheltered Mr. Wesley from immediate condemnation on his own testimony and itself from the shame, before its own readers, to which its deliberate falsehood had subjected it, we propose to lift the veil and expose in all their naked deformity the peculiar Republicanism of Mr. Wesley, "the "founder" of Methodism, and the peculiar Christianity of *The Methodist*, which is its modern, New York exponent. The record reads thus:

[From *The Royal Gazette*, 460, New-York, Saturday, February 24, 1781.]

"MR. RIVINGTON  
"SIR.

"WE send you a copy of a few lines from the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, in answer "to a letter published the latter end of August "last, accusing him with being an abettor of "the rioters in London; together with a copy "of a letter from Mr. Richard Boardman, to his "correspondent in this city. Your inserting the "whole in your next Gazette, will greatly oblige "the Society of people called Methodists in New "York."\*

[MR. WESLEY TO MR. RIVINGTON.]

"London, October 25, 1780.

"Mr. Rivington,  
"I HAVE advice from New-York, that a letter "from London has been published there "which, after mentioning the riots occasioned "by Lord George Gordon, asserts "It is the "Dissenters and Methodists who are secretly "blowing up the flame." Let the Dissenters "answer for themselves, but I will answer for "the Methodists.—ALL OF THEM WHO ARE "CONNECTED WITH ME, FEAR GOD AND HONOUR "THE KING, and not one of them was any "otherwise concerned in the late tumults than "in doing all they possibly could to suppress "them.

"The letter writer asserts farther, the Dissenters and Wesley at the head of the Methodists are blowing "up the flame." This poor wretch has shook hands both with truth and shame; not one Methodist had anything to do with the riot, and as for me, I was then near three hundred miles off, namely at New-castle upon Tyne.

"I am, Sir

"Your humble Servant,

"JOHN WESLEY."

[MR. BOARDMAN TO HIS FRIEND IN NEW YORK.]

"London, October 27, 1780.

"My good Friend,  
"WHAT will not prejudice do, or say? NO MAN IN ENGLAND HAS MORE STEADILY AND ZEALOUSLY VINDICATED GOVERNMENT, BY WRITINGS, CONVERSATION AND PREACHING, THAN MR. WESLEY HAS DONE, TO THE NO SMALL MORTIFICATION OF THE DISAFFECTED OF ALL PARTIES; this is well known through these Kingdoms, so that whether the piece "published in the New-York Gazette, was fab-

\* "The old book" of accounts of "the Society of people called Methodists in New York," shows that on the first of March, 1781, there was "Paid Mr. Rivington for advertising. "Mr. Wesley's letter, &c. £2 16s. 0d."

"ricated on this, or your side of the water, matters not; it is false and scandalous.

"Wishing you peace and truth, I am,

"Yours affectionately,

"RICHARD BOARDMAN."\*

Without occupying space with additional testimony, or with speculations of our own on the value of what we have adduced, or might have adduced concerning Mr. Wesley's Toryism, even at the close of the War, we may be permitted to quote, on that subject, what has been said by Rev. J. B. Wakeley, the well-known modern Methodist historian, who boldly and truly says, in his *Lost Chapters recovered from the History of American Methodism*: "The Methodists were considered not as Dissenters, but part and parcel of the Church of England, using the Prayer Book and communing at St. Paul's Episcopal Church." \* \* "The founder of the Methodists, Mr. Wesley, was known to be a great Loyalist, and strongly opposed the course pursued by the Americans, having written a *Calm Address to the American Colonies*. This was the case also with Mr. Fletcher."

This testimony was before *The Methodist*, both when it charged the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by name, with "completely lying on the subject," and when it undertook to convince its own readers that Mr. Wesley was a friend to the American cause, who had been slandered by "Mr. Dawson's" misconduct; yet it boldly concealed it from his readers and as boldly assumed that it did not exist. We are free to say, therefore, concerning this flagrant suppression of the Truth by our religious opponent, that if its Works are to be taken as a fair criterion of the character of its Faith and that of its brethren, we have no desire to become either a Methodist or the neighbor of one.

We come now to our next avowment:

III. "The evidence of the political sentiments of the early Methodists, in England, is not more conclusive of their **TORYISM** than is that of the evidence that their brethren in America had little sympathy for the popular cause, in their own country."

To sustain this proposition, we stated, what we now repeat, that a few days after the commencement of hostilities at Lexington and Concord, their Conference declared for "Peace," notwithstanding their countrymen, everywhere, were hurrying to the field; and on the eighteenth

of July,—a month after the action on Bunker's Hill—a General Fast was observed "for the Peace of America." (*Minutes of Conference, 1775.*) They were emphatically the "PEACE-MEN" of their generation.

Again: Their meeting-house in John street, New York, was respected by the British army and their preacher was permitted to continue at his post, as no other meeting-house was respected and no other preacher undisturbed, during the occupation of the city by the Royal forces, except those whose fidelity to the Royal cause was unquestionable and unquestioned. (*WAKELEY'S Lost Chapters, 261-263, 267-278; WATSON'S Annals, 326.*)

The Methodists of Baltimore, also, "almost to a man," were "enemies to our cause under the mask of religion," and the following letter, from one of the leaders of "The Sons of Liberty," in that town, will further illustrate the subject:

[From the Schuyler Manuscripts, in the possession of the family.]

"BALTIMORE, 4th May 1777.

"Dear Sir:—I have seen a person in this place within a few days past, whom Mr. Hillegas & I from several circumstances suspect to be a spy; and could not but conceive it my duty to acquaint you as a member of Congress of our apprehensions, that he may be at least prevented from going to New York, which I understand is his intention. The person I mean is Capt<sup>r</sup>. Webb the Methodist preacher, & as I am informed a half-pay officer in the British service. He came to this place last Tuesday or Wednesday, & in his sermon to his followers hinted as much as that it was the last time they should see him. I have since heard that he intends going to New York to embark for England. The character under which he travels affords him the very best opportunities of making observations, which it can't be doubted he will communicate if permitted to go to New York. IT IS A CERTAIN TRUTH THAT ALL THE DENOMINATION CALLED METHODISTS ALMOST TO A MAN (with us) ARE ENEMIES TO OUR CAUSE UNDER THE MASK OF RELIGION, AND ARE COUNTENANCED BY THE TORIES. One of their preachers did lately in this place tell his hearers that every man killed in battle would certainly go to hell. Can the worst avowed Tories propagate a more dangerous doctrine to weak minds.

"Mr. Webb was attended here by a young man named Carey who appears to be a great devotee, and of whom Mr. Hillegas & I have lately observed some things that give great room to suspect he is a travelling emissary of the enemy's, & increases our suspicions against Mr. Webb. This Carey about 2 or three weeks

\* Mr. BOARDMAN had been the "Preacher" in John street, for several years, but was then in England.

He came to America, in company with Mr. Pilmoor, in 1769; preached a short time in Philadelphia, and thence removed to New York. He remained there until 1778, except during occasional tours of duty in New England, &c.; and in the early days of the Revolution, he returned to England, in company with Mr. Pilmoor. (*WAKELEY'S Lost Chapters, 197-206.*)

"ago was taken up on Elk Ridge as a suspected person, & he got clear by saying that he was in the employment of Mr. Hillegas the Continental Treasurer. This person is constantly travelling to and fro betwixt this, Philad<sup>a</sup>. & the Jersey under the character of a horse jockey, an excellent cloak for an emissary. The evening before Mr. Webb left town, Mr. Hillegas & I observed this Carey with a person, who appeared as a rider go into the house of a tory near Mr. Grants, & after staying there some time the rider was despatched in a great hurry, I immediately after got three young gentlemen to pursue him on horseback, but it being late in the evening they missed getting him. Upon enquiry at Mr. Grant I find that Carey keeps a spare horse constantly at his stable & that he seems to have plenty of money, altho' he has no visible means that he knows of to get money but what I have mentioned and appears as a gentleman. Carey has been out of town since Thursday, altho' he told Mr. Grant that was only going a little way out of town. I therefore suspect he is gone to Philad<sup>a</sup>. If Mr. McCary who lodges at my house & who is now at Philad<sup>a</sup>. should not be left it before you receive this, you may possibly find him at my brother's house in Philad<sup>a</sup>. & I suspect that he knows Carey & can give you a description of him. You may depend on it that Mr. Hillegas & I shall take all the pains in our power to investigate this matter. For that some inimical plan is carrying on I am well convinced. I am

"with much respect Sir,

"Your most hb<sup>l</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

"SAM<sup>l</sup>. PURVIANCE Jun<sup>r</sup>."

Finally, at the close of the war, when the Tories sought safety in exile, Rev. John Man and probably Rev. Samuel Spraggs, of the John street "preaching-house," and a large number of the members of that Society, removed to Nova Scotia, where, subsequently, Rev. Freeborn Garretson—son-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, and a New York Methodist refugee—became the Presiding Elder. (SABINE'S *History of the Loyalists*, i., 463, 464; ii., 45; WAKELEY'S *Lost Chapters*, 262-266, 293, 296, 297.)

Against this testimony, which may be fairly considered as "undoubted," concerning the infidelity to their Country of the early Methodists in New York and Baltimore, *The Methodist* staggers while it ADMITS ITS ENTIRE TRUTH, in its unqualified admission that they really declined to enter the "Association" in which every patriotic American was cheerfully engaged, and declined to be bound by those engagements which every lover of his country voluntarily assumed—it even admits that "they could not

"conscientiously take some of the Colonial test-oaths," which were administered only to the extremely disaffected; and it tells us, also, that some of them suffered the extreme penalty of their ultra Toryism, in their early exile from America. All this is told with the utmost frankness; and that admission will not be considered less important when it shall be received, as it will be by every intelligent reader, as an unqualified plea of "Guilty," by *The Methodist*, to the charges which THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has brought against the early American Methodists, of Loyalty to their King and disaffection to their Country, when the former was a Despot and the latter in Revolution.

In extenuation of the offense, if it was one, of which the early Methodists were guilty, as admitted by *The Methodist*, our opponent curiously endeavors to qualify if not belittle it, by pretensions, *unfounded in fact*, of their subsequent good behavior. He does it, in this wise:

FIRST: "They were the first ecclesiastical men of the country to acknowledge, *officially*, the new Government, and to affirm the obligation of Loyalty to it," *The Methodist* says; but if that exponent of Methodism knows anything on the subject, or one-half as much as it pretends, it knows that there is no evidence, beyond its naked word, which is not quite "conclusive," of any such "official" action by the only "official" organization of Methodists in America, which existed during the entire War, and until some years after—in 1775, it merely declared for "Peace" while all *patriotic* America was flying to arms; in 1776, it was perfectly silent on public affairs; in 1777, it refused to take or to sanction any step that might separate the Preachers from their stay-at-home brethren, notwithstanding "the present distress," with the enemy in the seat of the Congress, called every man into the field; in 1778, it was silent on public affairs; in 1779, it reiterated its fidelity to the Church of England, with its Prayers for the King and the success of his Armies and Fleets, etc.; in 1780, it renewed its declaration of fidelity to the Church of England; in 1781, political affairs were not alluded to; in 1782, it reiterated *unanimously* its obedience to Mr. Wesley's mandates, of whom, a few months before, it had been said, "officially," "No man in England has more steadily and zealously vindicated Government" [*in taxing without representation, in hiring Hessian soldiers, in arming Indians with rifles and scalping-knives etc.*] "by writings, conversation, and preaching," than Mr. Wesley has done, to the no small "mortification of the disaffected of all parties;" in 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, and 1792, it was silent on public affairs; and we need go no further to prove the entire groundlessness, in fact, of every portion of *The*

*Methodist's* pretensions, and its entire disingenuousness in *making them*. We speak from the testimony on the subject of the *Minutes of the General Conferences*, which will be recognized by every one as both "official" and "conclusive."

In fact, whether in 1775, when the Congress assembled, or in 1776, when it declared the Independence of the several Colonies, or in 1781, when the *Articles of Confederation* were adopted, or in 1783, when the King acknowledged the independence of the several States, or in 1787, when the Convention formed the new Constitution, or in 1789, when "the new system" became operative, the Methodists took no "official" notice of public affairs, preferring, more wisely than our opponent, to keep their mouths closed when they could not safely open them.

SECOND: It excuses Captain Webb, whom it does not admit to have been a Tory, although he was an officer in His Majesty's service; and it appeals to papers in possession of the Schuyler family, of which it knows nothing whatever except what it has read in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and it finds in those papers, it says, or insinuates, a record of the notoriety in Baltimore of Webb's movements, of Carey's discharge from imprisonment in Philadelphia, of Webb's undisturbed and open return to New York from Baltimore, etc., *although there is no such testimony among them.*

THIRD: It tells us of certain "other preachers" than Mr. Asbury, whom it pretends, without reason, were patriots and enemies of the King. Chievrant, Bidlack, McCormick, and Jacob Carter are among those "other preachers" whom it thus parades as "patriotic," while they were also, it admits, living in defiance of the Association: it does not say, however, that there were no such men among the Methodist "preachers" during the period referred to, nor for many years after its close, as the official lists will show. It tells of Jesse Lee "consenting to go into camp as a Preacher and wagon-driver, but not as a fighter"; although he was not "received on trial" as a Preacher until the sixth of May, 1783, several months after the Treaty of Peace had been signed, when he was sent to Caswell, instead of "into camp"; and that he was not "admitted into full connection" until January, 1785—more than three years after the suspension of hostilities. It tells, also, as among the "other preachers" during the War, of "Bishop McKendree," of whom we find no record whatever during that period nor for many years after—William McKendree, if that was the person referred to, was not "admitted on trial" until 1788—sometime after Cornwallis's capture, where, as "Bishop," he seems to have figured in *The Methodist's* imagination—and not until 1790 was

he "admitted into full connection." Thomas Hare, another of *The Methodist's* "other preachers" in buckram, was not on the records during the War, nor for a dozen years subsequent—if Thomas Ware was meant, our opponent was equally unfortunate, since he, also, was not "admitted on trial" until 1783, and "into full connection" until 1786. Lately Matthews, the last of its airy party, was no more a preacher at the period referred to than were those whom we have already dissected—he was not "admitted on trial" until 1786, and "into full connection" until 1788, as our opponent may know if it will examine the records as closely as we have done.

*The Methodist* owes it to its own readers as well as to the world at large, to explain its purpose in thus attempting to impose upon them and us by such a wholesale manufacture of spurious "History," as that which is here exposed, in order that it may fill an awkward crevasse existing in the annals of early Methodism. At any rate, it should learn that those who desire to tell falsehoods should refresh their memories before embarking in such an enterprise; and it should not forget that there are some persons who do not read their History of Methodism through Doctor Stevens's spectacles, nor any where else than in "official" contemporary authorities.

FOURTH: It tells of the "loyalty" of the Methodists in New York—it says "the little society came out of the War quite generally 'loyal':—but, very shrewdly, it does not say to whom they were 'loyal,' the King or the State.

In 1774, there were two hundred and twenty-two Methodists in New York, two hundred and four in Philadelphia, two hundred and fifty-seven in New Jersey, two hundred and eighteen in Brunswick, N. C., etc. Within a year, in 1775, New York lost twenty-two, and Philadelphia fourteen, while in the country places, where the Sons of Liberty were not so perfectly organized nor so vigilant, they everywhere gained—Brunswick, for instance, *increasing four-fold*. A year later (1776), New York had lost another sixty-eight, Philadelphia fifty-three, and New Jersey one-half its membership, while Brunswick had again doubled its membership. Still later, in 1777, New York had lost another thirty-six, and Philadelphia forty-one, leaving only ninety-six in each place—*The Methodist* tells us, however, that those who fell off were "in sympathy with 'the Home Government,' and were exiled, which acknowledgment strikes us as an exceedingly awkward one, under the circumstances.

FIFTH: It says "it is utterly false" that the John street "preaching-house" was secured to its owners because of their Toryism, as charged by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; yet it turns

around on the next line and stamps the ignominy on its own cheek by admitting the truth of the Magazine's averment—"doubtless the well-known early committal of Wesley on the Colonial question had some influence in their favor," are its words—and we dismiss it to itself, since it will need no worse tormentor.

SIXTH: It says "it" [*the John street chapel*] "was given to the Hessian troops and their chaplain, who used it on Sundays," and it cites Stevens's *History* as its authority; but the contemporary authorities and the earliest history of Methodism published in America would have taught it, had its conductors cared to learn from such sources, that the Hessians worshipped in the Lutheran church edifices, not in the Methodists'; and that the "indulgence" which the latter enjoyed at the hands of the King's officers was less from regard for the convenience of the Hessians, than, as Doctor Stevens strangely expresses it, in view of *The Methodist's* earnest denials, "out of respect to Wesley's opinions" concerning the sanctity of the King and the justice of his demands on America.

SIXTH: It refers to Mr. Sprogs, in extenuation of his Toryism, as "one of the English Preachers sent over by Wesley," as if he was any less a Methodist on that account; and he tells, all for the same purpose, that "at the breaking out of the War he retired from the work, to New York, on his way to England, but stayed there preaching for the Methodists, and afterward became a Protestant Episcopal pastor in Elizabethtown, N. J." as if that helped the matter. He was a Methodist Episcopalian, sent to America by Wesley; and when the troubles broke out in the Colonies, he was so much of a Tory and thought so much more of George III. and his cause than of Christ and his cause, that he "retired from the work" and sought safety under the guns of Royalty. These he found in New York; and there he stayed until, once more, in 1783, he was driven still farther—into Nova Scotia, the Tories' refuge;—and if he subsequently returned to Elizabeth Town, to the Tory congregation of T. B. Chandler, another exile for a similar cause, that return affords no more evidence of his patriotism during the War, than did the return from a similar exile, about the same time, of Samuel Seabury, and Peter Van Schaick, and other notorious Loyalists of that period.

SEVENTH: It refers to Mr. Mann, in extenuation, as "an English layman," as "not a travelling or regular preacher," as "never on the Minutes," as "not ordained even as a local Preacher," etc., as if he was any the less a Methodist, or any the less a Methodist Preacher for all that. Of course he was "a layman," but

which of the Methodist Preachers of his day was anything else than "a layman"? Of course he was "not a travelling preacher," since he was too much of a Tory to leave the shelter of the Royal armies. If he was not "a regular preacher" why was he not disowned, as he was not? Of course he was not on the American "Minutes" since he was not within the American lines, but those of the enemy. He certainly was "not ordained," as *The Methodist* says, but so also was even Mr. Asbury "not ordained" and not entitled to administer an ordinance, until long after the close of the War, when Mr. Mann was in exile because of his more manly course as an open, honest sympathizer with the Royal cause.

SEVENTH: It says the averment of Freeborn Garrettson's Toryism is "a flagitious fiction," yet it gravely turns about, within ten lines, and tells, successively, of its ignorance of his political opinions and of its knowledge that he refused to identify himself with the friends of America—its words are: "we are not prepared to say what were the personal opinions of Garrettson respecting the War," and "he was unwilling, like most of his" [*Episcopalian*] "ministerial brethren to take those Colonial oaths" which were tendered only to those whose patriotism was more than questionable and whose practises had rendered them obnoxious to the people and the local insurgent authorities. When *The Methodist* shall have determined to which of the two great parties it will attach Mr. Garrettson, we will follow it more closely: meanwhile, we commend to its prayerful consideration the biographical sketch of that gentleman which is to be found in Mr. Lorenzo Sabine's universally respected *History of the American Loyalists*; while we would also respectfully suggest, in the same connection, that the less it shall say concerning his marriage into the Livingston family, the better it will be for its cause.

EIGHTH: It tells, also, evidently as a feint to withdraw attention from the real question—how honestly will be apparent to every one—that "the Early Methodists" during "the American Revolution," were honest sympathizers with the popular cause, because "at the organization of the M. E. Church, it was the first to formally recognize the new American Government in one of its organic *Articles of Religion*;" although it knew when it made this plea that "the M. E. Church" was not "organized" until January, 1785, more than three years after the success of the insurgents was conceded by the Home Government, and two years after the Treaty was signed which officially recognized their Independence; and it knew, also, that in the "organic article" referred to by it, [*Article XXIII.*] "the M. E. Church" had said no more in Janu-

ary, 1785, than George III. had already said, in January, 1783, in the Treaty of Peace. As well, therefore, might *The Methodist*, by similar reasoning, claim that the King had also been a Patriotic sympathizer with the insurgents, since he, also, like the Methodists, had "recognized" the Congress, the General Assemblies, the Governors, and the Councils of State, as the *Delegates of the People*, AS THE RULERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and the States as not properly "subject to any foreign jurisdiction;" but who will not see that the mere admission of an unpleasant fact, either by the King or the Methodists, could go but a very short distance in proving the sympathy of either of them with the causes which had produced it; and that *The Methodist*, in grasping, at such a straw, too clearly indicates its own consciousness of the extreme danger in which it has found itself.

The same may be said, also, of "the *Personal Address*" which *The Methodist* very quaintly says was presented to Washington by the Bishops in behalf of "the Conference;" notwithstanding its "personal" character divested it of every appearance of an official character, and the Minutes of the Conference itself clearly indicate that no such Address was either adopted, or authorized, or sanctioned, or considered, or even alluded to in that body.

The same may be said, also, of the pretense that the *Articles of Confederation* were "super-seded" by the *Constitution*, since the latter is only an amendment of the former, which remains in full force to this day, in every feature which was not thus amended; and it may be said of the injunction of Loyalty to "the Government," which the Methodist Conference is said to have imposed on its members, although it had ceased to be the subject of a King and resided in a Republic, where "the Government" was the *servant* of the People, not its *Sovereign*, that its extreme Toryism could not have found any more emphatic and sympathizing testimony.

We believe that we have now met every issue that has been presented by *The Methodist*, and disproved every count of its indictment against us for alleged "complete lying," concerning the Toryism of the Early Methodists during the American Revolution, and we trust we shall be understood beyond a doubt, while closing our remarks, when we say, as we do say, distinctly, that we have never examined any subject, nor been engaged in any discussion, wherein there has been so complete and unblushing a disregard of the Truth, of the merits of the subject discussed, and of the courtesy which is due to an opponent who has produced authentic testimony to sustain his plea, as has been displayed by *The Methodist*, in the case which is now before us. H. B. D.

Morrisania, N. Y., May, 1867.

#### IV.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.

##### 47.—JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE TO CHIEF-JUSTICE MARSHALL.\*

DEAR SIR,

I send you the last Enquirer—I have not read it & feel no inclination to do so for some days at least I am worn down by disease & labour—I ride indeed, but it is as poor Robert Comistor used to do with Death upon the crupper—Port Equitem Sedet atre Casu—

I date this because I have not done as I wished I have not been to see you of late—

Most respectfully & faithfully

Yours J. R. of ROANOKE

To Tuesday, last of Feb.  
Mr. CHIEF JUSTICE.

[ON THIS LETTER IS INDORSED *in pencil*, IN HAND OF MR. RANDOLPH:]

No. 7. in the last paper sent is I think rather flat.

##### 48.—DAVID HOWELL, SENATOR FROM RHODE ISLAND, TO DR. SOLOMON DROWNE.†

PHILADELPHIA, 16<sup>th</sup> Octobr 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 17 Ult. came safe to hand & is now before me.

I feel the loss which the public must sustain in the Death of the late Governor Cooke. His political character will shine among the first Worthies in our State. His singular merit consisted in his stepping forward in the Service of the public at the call of his Country at a very critical time—He was a friend to his Country in time of need.

The Sentiments you express in regard to a late production are flattering—It has the evident marks of haste upon it; the writer must have had one foot in the Stirrup, as we say, but the Sentiments are good & such as, I hope, will prevail.

For many particulars in regard to Impost, half-pay, back-lands, &c. I must beg leave to refer you to my late Letter to His Excellency the Governor—As the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly will sit in Providence you will have an opportunity of perusing all the public papers.

Congress have called on our State to give a definite answer in regard to the Impost: I suppose it will be done at the present Session. I hope every friend to his Country will exert himself on this important occasion.

\* From the Collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.

† Communicated by H. T. Drowne, Esq., of New York.

Genl Cornell has taken an office under Mr. Morris of 2,000. Dollars p<sup>r</sup> Annum, he is inspector of Contracts in the Army and Delegate too. *Quere*. How does this consist with Art. 5<sup>th</sup> of this Confederation?

I am not a little mortified as well as you at British insolence on the Ocean; but it will more fully evince to Europe the necessity of a naval combination sufficient to check a power already become dangerous to their general interests.

Our foreign affairs are in a good train. Sweden has courted our friendship. An alliance of amity & commerce will no doubt soon take place betwixt that kingdom & the United States.

I pray you to present my respects to Mrs. Drowne & all Friends—I hope to see you by Christmas—I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble Servt

DAVID HOWELL.

Dr. SOL<sup>N</sup>. DROWNE.

[ADDRESSED:]

Dr. Solomon Drowne

Providence

Free

D. HOWELL

49.—J. FENIMORE COOPER TO H. ONDERDONK  
JR.\*

COOPERSTOWN, Oct<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1849.

DEAR SIR,

The defalcation of Gen. de Lancey, is well known to me, and has no influence as an estimation of his character. The circumstances, as I have always heard them explained, were these:

Gen. de Lancey was deputy Adj. gen of England. He must have succeeded to the Adj. generality. Mr Pitt was desirous to create a Barrack Master General, and offered the situation to Gen. de Lancey. The latter thought his prospects best in his old department and was unwilling to be B. M. General. The responsibility included the expenditures of all the Barracks of the empire. He finally took the office, under the express stipulation that his accounts should be audited every six months. This was done for a short time, but the pressure of business soon put a stop to it, and the accounts lay in an enormous mass, accumulating daily.

When the political stir was made in the case of Lord Melville, the *outs* brought forward every case they could, to prove corruption on the ministry. The Barrack Department was included in the investigations. A commission sat fore years to investigate accounts that ought to have been audited semi-annually. At first, of course, gen. de Lancey appeared as a defaulter to an enormous

amount, but investigation reduced the sum to what figure I never knew. His character never suffered, with the government, which left him his rank and his regiment, neither of which would have been done with one suspended, or convicted of moral defalcation. He was too indolent for the station he held, and I believe the office was abolished.

Magazines are seldom right in their details. In this they resemble newspapers. As respects the death of Gen. Woodhull, a lady of his connection—a blood relative indeed—has given me virtually the account of Judge Jones, she having been a contemporary and a resident near Jamaica. She said that Woodhull attempted to escape, was cut up by the dragoons, and only saved from death on the spot by the interference of Oliver de Lancey. I have no doubt, whatever, that this is the fact. I did not mention the name of this informant from an unwillingness to mix her up in such a discussion.

Judge Troup was an honest man, but a very impetuous and wrong-headed one. It was not probable gen. Woodhull would confess his attempt to escape, nor is there proof that he anticipated any publication on the subject.

In the only interview I ever had with Col. Troup, he then a man of sixty, and I a young one of some five and twenty, he betrayed his impetuosity, got his facts all wrong and felt it due to me to apologise, which duty he did not perform as a gentleman ought to have done. I confess that interview has greatly lessened the value of his statement, on this occasion.

The world is made up of prejudice, sophistry and falsehood. Truth is seldom unaccompanied by a lie, and history is little more than an elaborated fable.

Sir, Yours respectfully

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

HENRY ONDERDONK JR Esquire

50.—OLIVER WOLCOTT'S RECOMMENDATION OF  
JOHN PIERCE, JUNIOR.\*

Mr. John Pierce Jun<sup>r</sup> of Litchfield in Connecticut, having the Summer past been employed by Commissary Phelps at Albany as his clerk and to assist him generally in the Commissary Business, which Mr. Peirce I am well informed has done with Fidelity and Despatch and Mr Phelps having now resigned that Department and Mr. Peirce being desirous of some proper Employment in the Army—I can with great Satisfaction Recommend Mr. Peirce as a young Gentleman with a fair and unexceptionable char-

\* From the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

\* From the Collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York City.

acter—I have known him from his infancy and he has in my opinion Very justly acquired the Reputation of a faithful, industrious, prudent and Virtuous man—a good Writer & Accountant, a Man of Business and Despatch, amiable in his disposition and intirely well affected to the American Cause—And I believe may Very Safely be Employed in any Business in the Army when these Qualifications are necessary—Litchfield 4<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> A D 1776

OLIVER WOLCOTT

## V.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.

### 1.—DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, D.D.

The recent death of a respected local historian affords a fit opportunity for the commencement of a work which has remained too long neglected—the record of the lives and services in the field of Historical Literature, of those patient and generally unrewarded laborers who have risen, toiled, and fallen in the service, and whose very names are too often unknown, as Historians, beyond the limited circles of their own immediate acquaintance or the still more limited extent of their own neighborhoods.

The first whom we shall mention, in this connection, is the last who was taken from us; and we select him with the greater willingness because he was not an historian by profession and might have reasonably avoided the labor which it imposed, by confining his attention to the cares of his Pastorate.

The family of FIELD is an ancient one in England; and in America it has been seated for more than two Centuries, in the persons and descendants of Zechariah, of Hartford, Connecticut; William and John, of Providence, Rhode Island; and Robert, of Flushing, New York.

The first of these, ZECHARIAH, one of whose descendants is the subject of this sketch, came to Boston in 1630 or 1632; removed to Hartford in 1639; settled at Northampton, Massachusetts, about 1659; thence removed to Hadley, about 1663; and died in June, 1666, leaving a widow who had borne him five children—Mary, Zechariah, John, Samuel, and Joseph—all of them, probably, born while he lived in Hartford, and between the years 1643 and 1658.

ZECHARIAH (2d), the eldest son of the last-named, resided successively in Northampton and Deerfield, Massachusetts. On his decease, the date of which is not known, he left a widow, Sarah Webb, and three sons, Zechariah (3d), Ebenezer, and John; the second of whom, EBENEZER, the grandson of the first Zechariah, removed to Guildford, now Madison, Connecticut,

where he married Mary Dudley, and died on the seventeenth of May, 1741, leaving a widow and seven children—David, Mary, Samuel, Ebenezer, Joareb, Ann, and Zechariah, (4th.)

DAVID, the eldest son of Ebenezer, and great-grandson of the first Zechariah, settled in "the Woods," in the town of Guildford, now Madison, about 1720; and married, *First*, Mary Bishop; *Second*, Catharine Bishop; *Third*, the widow Abigail Stone. He had Sarah, Benjamin, David, and Ichabod, by his first; Anna, Samuel, and Ebenezer, by his second; and Timothy, Abigail, Catharine, and Mindwell, by his third wife; and died on the sixth of February, 1770.

The youngest son of David, TIMOTHY, who was the great great-grandson of the original emigrant from England, resided in Madison, Connecticut; served honorably through the War of the Revolution, in which service he attained the rank of Captain; and died on New Year's Day, 1818, aged seventy-three years. He was married on the twenty-seventh of November, 1767, to Anna Dudley, of North Madison, Connecticut, by whom he had Mina, Lois, Mina (2d), Timothy, Mary, David Dudley, Abigail, and Anna.

The second and youngest son of Captain Timothy Field last-mentioned, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD—who was the great-great-great-grandson of the founder of their family in America—is the subject of this sketch; and having traced his descent through five generations of honorable ancestors, we are the better prepared to understand the interest which he felt in all that related to Middlesex County, Connecticut, and Berkshire, Massachusetts.

He was born in North Madison, Connecticut, on the twentieth of May, 1781; and was fitted for college by Rev. Joseph Elliott, D.D., of Madison.

He entered Yale College, in 1798, and graduated with honor in 1802; having spent several months, during the intervals of study, in teaching school, in order that he might obtain means to complete his education. His class embraced, among others, Jonathan Evarts, Levi Hubbard Clarke, Hon. Isaac C. Bates, President Haskell, Professor Hough, Pelatiah Perit, Junius Smith, Rev. Dr. Woodhull of Brooklyn, William Maxwell, the historian, Governors Tomlinson and Pond of Connecticut, and Judges Couch of Ohio, Lyman and Hubbard of Massachusetts, Hall of Connecticut, and Lewis and Clarke of New York.

In the absence of Theological Seminaries, at the period referred to, students intended for the Ministry were obliged to resort to private instructors; and Mr. Field with several of his Class went to Somers, for the purpose of receiving instruction in theology from Doctor Charles Backus. In September, 1803, he was licensed to preach by the Association of New Haven



East; and immediately after, he was invited to settle in different parts of the country, but he decided to accept the call from Haddam, in Middlesex County, of which parish, after the usual probation, he was ordained Pastor, on the eleventh of April, 1804. He remained there until the eleventh of April, 1818; when he resigned in order to accept an appointment from the Missionary Society of Connecticut, to the new settlements on the shore of Lake Ontario, in the vicinity of the Oswego river. Five months after, he returned to New England; and for some time supplied the pulpits at Stockbridge, Mass. and North Haven, Conn., whose venerable Pastors, Stephen West and Benjamin Trumbull, had retired from their more active labors. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1819, he was ordained to the Pastorate of Stockbridge, where he remained nearly eighteen years; and on the eventful eleventh of April, 1837, he returned to Haddam, Conn. Seven years afterward, on the division of his parish, he assumed the Pastoral charge of the new Church at Higganum, where also he remained about seven years.

In 1848, he visited Europe, with his son Stephen; and, after his retirement from the Church at Higganum, he returned to Stockbridge, Mass., where he spent the remainder of his days, on his old homestead, and in peaceful retirement.

Doctor Field was married to Submit Dickinson, daughter of Captain Noah Dickinson, of Somers, on the thirty-first of October, 1803. They had ten children—David Dudley, a leading member of the New York Bar; Emilia Ann, married to Rev. Josiah Brewer, the Missionary in Asia Minor; Timothy Beals, an officer in the Navy; Matthew Dickinson, widely known throughout the West and South as a Civil Engineer; Jonathan Edwards, a member of the Massachusetts Bar, and sometime President of her Senate; Stephen Johnson, who died in infancy; Stephen Johnson, 2d., one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; Cyrus West, so well known as one of the principal promoters of the Atlantic Telegraph; Henry Martyn, one of the Editors of *The Evangelist*; and Mary Elizabeth, married to Joseph F. Stone, a merchant of New York.

Mrs. Field died on the sixteenth of August, 1861; and on Monday, the fifteenth of April, 1867, after enjoying, with a little great-grand child, a pleasant drive around the village where he resided, during which he declared to one of his neighbors that his health was remarkably good, Doctor Field sat down in his chair, within his own house, at Stockbridge, and was instantly a corpse—he died, literally, without a struggle, in the midst of his family and of the community of which he had been so long a most prominent member.

He was always a laborious student; and the duties of his Pastoral office were discharged with conscientious fidelity. Several of his Occasional Sermons were printed; and, in 1837, Williams College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

It is, however, more especially our province to notice Doctor Field's career as a writer of American History. He was always very much interested in historical pursuits, particularly in the little details relating to Towns and Churches, and in the individual history of the distinguished men of his section of the Country. He was a member of the Historical Society of Connecticut, and some time its Vice President; and he was a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania Historical Societies.

In 1819, he published, at Middletown, through the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, *A Statistical Account of the County of Middlesex in Connecticut*. It forms an octavo of One hundred and fifty-four pages; and embraces not only a general survey of the County, but a separate statistical account of each Town; closing with a series of Notes, containing a detailed list of the different County officers, including those who had served in the different Counties to which the several Towns had belonged, previous to the organization of Middlesex County; the Census of the several Towns, in 1756, 1774, and 1810; a detailed statement of the shipping owned in the several Towns, in December, 1815; an enumeration of the mills in each Town; of the dates of the introduction of Carriages and the number then used therein; of the Vessels launched therein, in 1815; of the different Turnpike roads, their routes, dates of grants, and capitals; of the several Post-offices and postroads; of the Ferries; of the Meeting-houses in each Town, with the date of erection and size of each; of the ecclesiastical connections of the inhabitants of each Town; of the dates of settlement and organization of the several Towns; of the formation of the Churches therein, and of their membership in April, 1818; of the different Ministers who had been settled in the several Towns, from the beginning, the places of their respective births and education, dates of their settlements, communicants admitted by each, dates of their respective deaths or dismissions, and their ages; of the Deacons in the several Towns, from the beginning, the dates of their respective elections and deaths, and their ages; of the Salaries paid to the Ministers in each Town; of the several Church-funds and Schools therein; of the deaths in each Town from the first of January, 1805, until the first of January, 1815; of the different Grave-yards in the County, and the dates of their respective improvements; of the several Libraries in the County, the dates of

their organization, and the number of volumes contained therein; the Lists of the different Parishes and number of dwellings in each; and the Military organizations within the County.

The labor spent in collecting this vast mass of statistics was necessarily very great; yet there are very few works of a similar character which will compare with it for completeness or practical usefulness.

In June, 1826, the Berkshire Association of Congregational Ministers, at its Session in Stockbridge, took measures to secure "the printing and circulation of a History of the County"; and requested Mr. Field to collect and prepare the material for it. He seems to have entered on the discharge of that duty with judicious zeal; and within three years he completed the undertaking. The chapters which were written by other gentlemen were revised and very often extended; that relating to the County at large was written "by the Committee," so far as related to the Aboriginal inhabitants; its settlement by the whites; the Revolutionary War; the insurrection under Shay; the Judiciary; and revivals of religion; and the Statistical Tables mostly came from the same source. The Chapter relating to the Town of Stockbridge, extending to Thirty-eight pages and embracing a synopsis of its history as well as a description of the physical structure of its territory, and the short Chapter relating to the Town of West Stockbridge, extending only to Four pages, were written by him and bear his name.

The volume, thus "prepared" by Mr. Field, was printed and published at Pittsfield in 1829. It is a duodecimo of Four hundred and sixty-eight pages, and bears the title of *A History of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts; in two parts. The First being a General view of the County; the Second, an account of the several Towns. By Gentlemen in the County, Clergymen and Laymen. Pittsfield; Printed by Samuel W. Bush.* 1829. Although scarce, this volume is not so rare as to be unknown to the greater number of students and collectors. It is found, therefore, in every well-appointed Historical Library; and it is justly regarded as a very excellent local history and an authority on the subjects of which it treats.

During the years 1834 and 1835, Mr. Field published, in *The Pittsfield Sun*, a series of letters concerning the History of that Town; and in 1844 he collected those letters and, with considerable additions, re-published them through Case, Tiffany, and Burnham, of Hartford, Connecticut, in an octavo volume of Eighty pages, bearing the title of *A History of the Town of Pittsfield, in Berkshire County, Mass. With a Map of the County. By Rev. David D. Field, Formerly Pastor of the Congregational Church in Stockbridge.*

This volume extended the History of Pittsfield until the date of publication; and, like other works from its Author's pen, it is crowded with statistics, biographical memoirs of prominent members of the Town, etc. It has become quite scarce; and we know of no public library, in this vicinity, in which a copy can be found.

In the summer of 1850 a Committee of the Town of Middletown, in Connecticut, invited Doctor Field to deliver the Address on the Second Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of that Town; and he accepted the call. His health was so infirm, from a long and distressing rheumatic affection, however, that it became necessary to postpone the Celebration; and it was not until the thirteenth of November of that year that he had so far recovered that he was enabled to discharge the duties assigned to him.

The Address which Doctor Field delivered on that occasion, was printed, in 1853, by William B. Casey of Middletown, Connecticut, with the title of *Centennial Address, by David D. Field, D.D. With Historical Sketches of Cromwell, Portland, Chatham, Middle-Haddam, Middletown and its Parishes.* It is a large duodecimo of Two hundred and ninety-six pages; and of these, Mr. Field's Address occupies Ninety-six, and his "Notes," One hundred and sixty-two.

Like his previously published historical works, this bears evidence of his patient industry and practical common-sense. His *Address* is a stern Historical production, without any other ornament than its evident fidelity to Truth; and his *Notes* teem with facts on every conceivable historical subject, relating to Middletown and its vicinity. The original Indian conveyances; the origin of the early settlers of the Town; the Towns, and the Societies within the Towns; the Ecclesiastical and Civil organizations; the means of education; the resident physicians, lawyers, etc., are all elaborately presented; and nothing seems to have been left unnoticed and unwritten.

In October, 1851, Doctor Field addressed two letters to Doctor Sprague—one relating to the character of Rev. Jonathan Todd of East Guilford, Connecticut; the other to that of his Classmate, Rev. Roswell Randall Swan,—in which he contributed to the *Biography of America*; and they were printed in *The Annals of the American Republic*, the former in Volume I., page 384; the latter in Volume II., page 487. He also contributed a memoir of Rev. John Brainard to Volume III., page 149 of the same work.

In 1857, through John F. Trow, New York, Doctor Field published *The Genealogy of the Brainerd family in the United States, with numerous sketches of individuals.*

This volume is an octavo of Three hundred and three pages; and is illustrated with Six

portraits. It contains a memoir of Rev. David Brainerd's life, extending over Forty pages, together with several extracts from J. G. C. Brainerd's poetry, memoirs, more or less complete, of the different persons referred to, etc.; but it does not seem to have been as well received as the Doctor's Historical works had been; and by those who are best qualified to judge of its merits, its venerable Author was less successful in this instance than in those which had preceded it. Indeed, in the words of an accomplished Librarian in a neighboring city, to whom we are indebted for this description of it, this volume "is not a model Genealogy, since it has neither Chapters, Generations, nor an Index."

In 1842, by a formal vote of the surviving members, Doctor Field was invited to act as the Historian of his Class; and in pursuance thereof he "gathered up such reminiscences as he could," and, in 1863, printed, for private distribution only, his *Brief Memoirs of the Members of the Class graduated at Yale College in September, 1802*.

It is a very handsomely printed octavo of One hundred and twenty-seven pages; and contains an "Introductory" of Eight pages, in which a General sketch of the Class is presented, followed by "Brief Memoirs of the Class"—those of members who had deceased being arranged in the chronological order of their several deaths, followed by those of members who were living, in alphabetical order.

The same unwearied painstaking which was so strikingly exhibited in the Doctor's other works were everywhere apparent in this; and the diligence with which he seems to have pursued his inquiries, concerning even the small details of his several subjects, is truly surprising.

We are not aware that Doctor Field was engaged in any literary labor after the completion of this History of his Class; he seems rather to have passed the evening of his days in that retirement which he had earned so well and which was so peculiarly appropriate for a student and a Divine. In the midst of his family and rewarded with the knowledge of his children's widely recognized respectability in their several professions and connections, when his work was unished, as already stated, he calmly surrendered his spirit into the hands of Him from whom he had received it, and his body to the Mother earth, within that Berkshire which he loved so well.

MORRISANIA, 1867.

H. B. D.

## VI.—THE RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM—CONTINUED.

### IN COMMON COUNCIL.

*Resolved*, That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to make copies of and to publish in that work, from time to time, such por-

tions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and such of its papers on file as, in his opinion, shall serve to illustrate the early history of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the same shall be done under the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Aldermen, December 6, 1866.

Adopted by the Board of Councilmen, December 10, 1866.

Approved by His Honor the Mayor, December 13, 1866.

D. T. VALENTINE,

Clerk of the Common Council.

## PART II.

### REGISTER OF THE BURGOMASTERS AND SCHEPENS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW NETHERLAND.

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

The student of the early history of New Netherland need not be told that the Colonists, like others similarly situated, grew more and more impatient of the control to which they were subjected as their worldly prosperity made them more and more independent of Fatherland. That they gradually became more determined in their opposition to the Colonial Government is matter of History; and that, especially in the growing settlement at New Amsterdam, whose prosperity was more rapid and better defined, they resolutely demanded all the rights of free men, is clearly set forth in the records of the Colony, and in the more general memorials of the times.

As early as 1645, it was found necessary to yield to the several settlements an appearance, at least, of self-government; and their representatives, in joint session, it was thought, might most properly consult together and provide for the general concerns of the country, including its Indian relations, its intercourse with the English and French settlements, "the maintenance of free privileges, the correction of abuses, and the upholding of the statutes and the laws." One after another, therefore, the out settlements extended their local privileges; and Brukeken, Amersfoort, Gravenzande, Vlissingen, and other country towns, rejoiced in their local Magistracies and in a semblance, at least, of popular government, long before New Amsterdam, the seat of the Colonial Government, was allowed to control her own affairs or even to appoint her own Magistracy. Even Stuyvesant, who was a soldier and delighted in authority, was not anxious to extend the power of the Community, delighting rather in a law-abiding, orderly, and obedient people, than in one which should be vested with its original governmental authority; and his entire policy, therefore, like that of his predecessors in authority, was based on the assumption that it was the imperative duty of a people to obey, rather than on the great fundamental truth that it was its inalienable right to govern itself.

In this struggle—there was a struggle between the two systems, as represented, respectively, by the Governor and the Community—as may be very well supposed, there were great odds in favor of those who possessed the power and desired to retain it; but those who possessed the original right and were anxious to secure the legal authority, "the under dog in the fight," were steady, well-informed, discreet, and unyielding; and their success was as honorable to them as it was useful to the country.

The "Nine Men," founded on the system then existing in Holland, and conceded to the Community in 1647, were the first fruits of this popular contest with the centralized power which was seated in Fort Amsterdam; and, as the earliest of the Charters of this great Community, the instrument itself may properly find a place in this connection. It is as follows:

"WHEREAS, We desire nothing more than that the government of New Netherland, entrusted to our care, and principally New Amsterdam, our capital and residence, might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading place, harbor and similar highly necessary public edifices and improvements, for which end We are desirous of obtaining the assistance of our whole Community, as nothing is

"better adapted to promote their own welfare and comfort, and as such is required in every well regulated Government. Being unwilling, however, to vex and harass our dear vassals and subjects in any way by exactions, impositions and insufferable burdens, but rather in a more desirable manner to induce and solicit them to assist voluntarily in such honest and highly necessary works:—AND WHEREAS it is difficult to cover so many heads with a single cap, or to reduce so many different opinions to one, so did We, heretofore, with the advice of our Council, propose to the Community that the inhabitants should, without passion or envy, nominate a double number of persons from the most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable of our subjects, from whom we might select a single number of NINE MEN to them best known, to confer with us and our Council, as their Tribunes, on all means to promote the welfare of the Community, as well as that of the country; WHEREFORE, a double number of our good and loyal subjects having been, consequently, proposed, We, with our Council, select from said nomination, Nine Men, to wit:—From the merchants, AUGUSTINE HERMANS, ARNOLDUS VAN HARDENBURG, GOVERT LOOCKERMANS; from the Citizens, JAN JANSEN DAM, JACOB WOLFFERTSEN, [Van Couwenhoven.] HENDRIK KIP; from the Farmers, MICHAEL JANSEN, JAN KVERTSEN BOUT, THOMAS HALL, as Interlocutors in behalf of the Community, who having sworn before Us and Our Council, to conduct themselves reasonably and be faithful to their instructions, have been confirmed in their office on the following conditions:

"I. As good and faithful Interlocutors and Trustees of the Community, they shall endeavor to exert themselves to promote the honor of God, and the welfare of our dear Fatherland, to the best advantage of the Company, and the prosperity of Our good citizens; to the preservation of the pure reformed Religion as it here, and in the Churches of the Netherlands, is inculcated.

"II. They shall not assist at any private Conventions or Meetings, much less patronize such like deliberations and resolves, except with the special knowledge and advice of the Honorable Director-general and his Council, and his special order, unless only when they are convened in a legitimate manner, and have received the proposals of the Director-general and Council, then they have liberty to delay so that they may consult together upon such proposals, and then bring forward their advice; Provided that it remains always in the power of the Director-general either to assist at such a meeting in person, or to appoint one of the Council to act as President of such meeting, to second and support such proposals, collect the votes, and make a report of the result to the Council.

"III. WHEREAS, by increased population, the number of lawsuits and citations unavoidably are multiplied, and many trifling questions may be terminated by arbitrators; otherwise, important affairs must be postponed to the great prejudice of this city and its inhabitants, and at the price of enormous expenses, loss of time and vexation of the contending parties; therefore, three out of the number now chosen shall once in each week, namely, on every THURSDAY, on the usual Court day, be admitted to Our Council, as long as civil cases are before the Court, to become acquainted with cases where parties might be referred to them as arbitrators; to wit: one from the merchants; one from the Citizens; and one from the Farmers. This shall circulate in rotation among them every month, and in case any one cannot attend Court, by reason of sickness or otherwise, another member of the same Class shall then take his place, when parties shall be referred by the Director to them as arbitrators, to whose decision parties shall be obliged to submit, or by unwillingness pay for the first time One Pound Flemish, before the Plaintiff can appeal or be admitted to Our Council.

"IV. The number of Nine chosen Men shall continue until lawfully repealed, provided that annually Six leave their seats, and from the most notable citizens, again Twelve be nominated, who, with the Nine assembled shall be communicated to Us, without Our being required to call in future the whole Community together. This meeting shall take place, after next New Year's day, on the last of December annually.

Done in Council this 25th day of September, 1647.

(Signed.)

.. F. STUYVESANT, BRIAN NUTON,  
.. L. VAN DINGELAGE, A. KEYSER,  
.. J. A. MONTAGNE, P. LEENDERTS. VAN DER GRIET."

The Board, thus organized, was soon after called upon by

the Director general to consider the character of the buildings erected in New Amsterdam and to provide measures for the prevention of fires; to consider the wants of the children and to provide for their education; to consider the spiritual wants of all the inhabitants and to complete the unfinished Church edifice. To consider the exposed condition of the city and to provide for the repair of the Fort, etc.; and it was called, in company with the Nine Men from the other settlements, to deliberate with the Director-general on various other important subjects. It took care, also, at a very early day, to take measures to suppress certain abuses in trade; and before the close of the first year of its existence, it moved for a redress of long-standing grievances, and assumed the leadership of the popular party in its struggle for the rights of the Community.

Of the elaborate details of that contest we cannot make any particular mention in this brief Note; and it will be sufficient, therefore, to remark that both directly, in New Amsterdam, and through its accredited representatives before the States General, at the Hague, it boldly grappled with the Director-general and the Privileged West India Company which he represented, fearlessly exposed and brought before the Home Government the abuses to which the Community in New Netherland was subjected by its rulers; asserted intelligently the rights which belonged to that Community; and clearly and consistently presented and urged the adoption of a more judicious system of Government.

On the twenty-sixth of July, 1649, the Community's Memorial was addressed to the States General, by its Representatives, in which "unsuitable Government" was presented as the principal cause of the want of success which attended the Colonial enterprise; and a "suitable Municipal Government," such as Your High Mightinesses shall consider adapted to this Province, and somewhat resembling the laudable Government of our Fatherland," was solicited among the principal remedies. In some *Additional Observations* on this Petition, bearing the same date, the Memorialists describe their meaning concerning "a suitable Municipal Government" by describing it as "in form of a State," and by a description of the Town-governments of New England, between which and that referred to by them, they said there was "fundamentally a similarity."

On the thirteenth of October, following, this Memorial was presented to the States General, at the Hague, by the Committee from the Nine Men of New Amsterdam—Messrs. VAN DER DONCK, VAN COUWENHOVEN, and BOUT—when it was referred to the States General's Committee on West India affairs, of which M. VAN AERTSEBERGEN was the Chairman. That body after having spent several months in conference with the Delegation from America and with the Directors who were especially delegated for that purpose by the Chamber at Amsterdam and others of the Privileged West India Company, reported to their High Mightinesses, on the eleventh of April, 1650, what was termed a *Provisional Order respecting the Government, Preservation, and Peopling of New Netherland*, in which were noticed the various subjects of trade, existing abuses, malfeasance in office, military affairs, ecclesiastical concerns, revenues, the public lands, the government of New Amsterdam, etc., which had given so much uneasiness and so much retarded the prosperity of the Colony. At the same time was presented to the States General, by the Chamber of the West India Company at Amsterdam, a series of *Remarks* on this Report and on the several Sections of the proposed *Provisional Order* which it embraced; and it is not improbable that in these *Remarks* the Chamber presented the well-matured objections of all the Chambers of the Company.

It will not be necessary for the purpose of this Note to take notice of any portion of this Report of the States General's Committee, nor of its proposed *Provisional Order*, except Articles 17 and 18, which provided for the "establishment" within three years, "within the city of New Amsterdam, of a Municipal Government, consisting of one Sheriff, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens," and for the continuance in office, "three years longer," with increased authority, of "the Nine Selectmen" of New Amsterdam, who were then its nominal magistrates, which was the first appearance, we believe, of that form of Government in connection with the city of New Amsterdam.

Against all these features of the Report and against both these Articles of the proposed *Provisional Order*, save only that portion which proposed an increase of the judicial authority of the Nine Men, the Chambers of the West India Company offered no objections whatever; although the objections which

they raised against other portions of that proposition were most decided and unequivocal. Accordingly, when Mr. Van Aertzen, three days afterward, called up his *Report* and proposed *Provisional Order*, the States General sent the latter back to the Committee which had reported it, for further consideration; and on the twenty-eight of May, the united Chambers of the Privileged West India Company interposed against its adoption by the States-General, a second formal Memorial or Remonstrance.

In the meantime, the Committee of the States General had allowed the *Provisional Order* to be copied and sent to the Nine Selectmen in New Amsterdam, where it arrived on the twenty-eight of June, 1650, and on the thirteenth of September following, the latter became impatient and earnestly petitioned for its adoption; and three months later [December 22, 1650] the Board renewed its earnest prayer for relief.

For some reason which is not now known, Mr. van der Donck, the agent of the Nine Men of New Amsterdam, did not present this second Memorial to the States General, until the tenth of February, 1652, when it was referred, with the papers which accompanied it, to a Committee, of which Mr. VAN DER CAPELLEN THO RUSSEL was the Chairman, for consideration and report.

Six days after, on the sixteenth of February, 1652, the Committee reported on the various subjects embraced in the Nine Men's Memorial; but it would be foreign to the purpose of this Note to refer to any other portion of that Report than its Fifth Section, relating to the Memorialists' "Request that the Report on the *Provisional Order* of Government, drawn up by Mr. Aertzen in the presence of the Directors," and presented to the States General on the eleventh of April, 1650, "may be converted into a Resolution." On this subject—which had been sent back to Mr. Aertzen's Committee on West India affairs, on the fourteenth of April, 1650, nearly two years before, and allowed to sleep the sleep of death—Mr. van der Capellen recommended that the "opinions" of the Provinces of the Confederacy should be "requested"; and that the "considerations thereon" of the respective Chambers of the West India Company should be also "ordered."

The recommendation of the Committee seems to have been adopted by their High Mightinesses; and, although we have not found the opinions of the several Provinces, we have the answers of the five Chambers of the West India Company—that of Amsterdam supposing the subject had been disposed of nearly two years before, and asking the States General to suspend all action on it for the present; that of Dordrecht, favoring the Memorialists, and urging their High Mightinesses to proceed; that of Middleburgh looking in the same direction; that of Delft referring to the former action of the Chambers, and favoring delay; and that of Groningen sustaining the action of the Chamber of Amsterdam. The consequence of all this was, as might have been expected, the prayer of the Nine Men was again unsuccessful.

The energetic and intelligent Agent of the Commonalty of New Amsterdam, who was watching its interests before the States General, at the Hague, anxiously witnessed the triumph of the Amsterdam Chamber in the failure of the Colonists' last attempt to secure a redress of their grievances and a guarantee of their political rights from the common Sovereign of all, both the oppressors and the oppressed; and "wholly disheartened" and cast down, "he immediately prepared to return to America. Before doing so, however, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1652, he addressed another Memorial, in the name of his constituents, praying the States General to determine whether or not that body had legal jurisdiction over the affairs of New Netherland, and whether or not the Memorialists had acted legally when they petitioned their High Mightinesses for relief from their oppressors, giving as a reason for this last Memorial the necessity which existed for an immediate appeal to the proper quarter, wherever it was, in order, "if possible, to arrest and prevent their utter ruin."

The several Provinces of the Confederacy immediately requested copies of this last Memorial, and copies were sent, also, as usual, to the several Chambers of the Privileged West India Company: the Chamber at Amsterdam, as usual, resisted every effort to secure the action of the States General, on the subject; and, once more, the Nine Men of New Amsterdam were overpowered by those whom they considered as their oppressors.

It is proper to remark, however, that in this complicated struggle of parties in New Amsterdam, although the application for a Municipal form of Government for that city was one of the subjects which were repeatedly brought before the Home Government by the popular party, it was as often unsuccessful, not because of the opposition of any one to that particular

measure, but because it was invariably coupled with other measures which were entirely obnoxious, and all, agreeable and disagreeable, were necessarily carried down together. It was a bold stroke of partizanship, therefore, and one which entitled Director-general Stuyvesant to much credit as a politician, which led him to "propose" to the Directors of the Privileged West India Company the disarming of the opposition, to some extent, by the concession to the antagonistic Commonalty of New Amsterdam, of a Municipal form of Government, to be fashioned after that established in the ancient city of Amsterdam, in Friesland; and the Directors wisely listened to his advice, and thus conveyed to him, by letter dated the fourth of April, 1652, the welcome intelligence of the voluntary extension of the political privileges of the Colonists residing here:

"We have hereby resolved upon your proposal, in order to "stop the mouth of all the world, to allow a Bench of Justice "to be established there, formed, as much as possible, according to the Custom of this city, to which end, herewith, go printed copies respecting all the Courts of Judicature and the whole Government, and we are of opinion that it will be "sufficient at first to choose one Schout, two Burgomasters and five Schepens, for the reason that all judgments shall be appealable to the Supreme Council in order that definitive sentence may be decreed there. In the selection of the aforesaid persons, particular attention must be paid to honest and respectable individuals who, we hope, can be found among the citizens; and especially we will have promoted to such offices, as much as possible, persons of this Nation. That, we think, will afford the greatest satisfaction to the Citizens and Inhabitants."

The character of this concession by the acting Sovereign of the Colony—for the States General appear to have acquiesced in the pretensions of the Company, in like manner that the English Government was supplanted by the Company in the Massachusetts Colony—is, fortunately, not a matter of doubt; and from this basis has arisen the great superstructure which, with modifications and additions, from time to time made, forms, to-day, the Corporation which is known in law as THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMONALTY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

The Schout, or Sheriff, was, also, the public prosecutor and the executioner of the Court's decrees.

The Burgomasters, in addition to their Legislative duties, were the principal officers of the Church, the Guardians of Widows and Orphans, the Overseers of the Poor, the Trustees of the City's property, and the Supervisors of the City's Exercise. Their consent was necessary to make legal any instrument which should be executed by females or minors; no distress could be levied except in the presence of one of them; and no capital penalty could be pronounced on a Burgher, except with their consent, nor be executed, except in their presence. They were the guardians of the public peace, and controlled, for that purpose, the military power; and it was their duty to quell riots. They were the custodians of the City's seal; in their name were all public instruments drawn; and, in conjunction with those who had previously held the office, THEY APPOINTED THEIR OWN SUCCESSORS. They attended, personally, in rotation, to the business of the City; and for the manner in which that business was transacted the sitting member was accountable only to his associates in THAT office and those who had previously served as Burgomasters, in joint session—THE LATTER, IN LAW, KNEW NO SUPERIOR AUTHORITY, although the bayonet sometimes usurped it.

The Schepens were to be appointed by the representative of the Sovereign, on the nomination by the College; and beside their duties as Legislators, they formed the Judiciary of the City. They possessed Judicial authority, both in Civil and Criminal cases, to a very wide extent; they appointed Curators or Executors to vacant estates; their consent was necessary for the sale of the property of minors, for the issue of Injunctions, for the burial of strangers dying in the City, and for the construction of temporary buildings. They certified the acknowledgement of Deeds, Bonds, etc.; and they were, also, arbitrators between Burghers.

The Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens, collectively, formed what was known as a "College"; and in this College, by virtue of this concession, was vested the sole authority to make all necessary Ordinances for the government of the City; and of that necessity the College was the sole judge.

It is not the province of this Note to present to the Reader the arbitrary and illegal usurpation, by the Director-general, who was an old soldier, of some of the undoubted prerogatives of the Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens, which were thus vested in them, and of some of the franchises which were thus

conceded to the City by the Company; nor shall we attempt to seek a motive for those usurpations, since the fondness of that class of rulers to disregard the written law when it conflicts with its tastes or interferes with its private interests is well known. It is sufficient for our purpose to indicate that such a system of usurpation has existed from the beginning of the City's existence; that its officers have successively, from the beginning, been struggling with the central authorities for the possession of undoubted Rights and Properties belonging, legally, to the Municipality; and that, sometimes by dint of argument and sometimes by re-purchase, they have, from time to time, recovered some portions of those disputed Privileges and Properties, which had been previously withheld or wrested from them.

At length, on the feast of Candlemas, [February 2, 1653.] which was also the beginning of the Municipal year in the Mother City of Amsterdam, after which the new City was to be fashioned, the Director-general issued a Proclamation by which he organized the new Municipality by appointing for the *Commonalty whose Right it was to "elect" them*, ARENT VAN HATTEM and MARTIN CRIGIER, as its Burgomasters; PAULUS LEENDERTSEN VAN DER GRIST, MAXIMILIAN VAN GHEEL, ALLARD ANTHONY, WILHELMUS BEEKMAN, and PIETER WOLFFERTSEN VAN COUWENHOVEN as its Schepens; and the Company's Fiscal, the notorious CORNELIS VAN TIENHOVEN, as its Schout—he had previously [January 27, 1651] invaded the Prerogatives of the projected College, by appointing one of his favorites, JACOB KIP, as its Secretary or Clerk, and by fixing his salary—privileges which, after the practice in Fatherland, had already been conceded by Stuyvesant's masters, to the College itself. Four days afterward on the sixth of February, the College, thus illegally constituted, held its first Session; and from that day to the present, with the exception of the eventful period, from the summer of 1776 until the close of 1783, when the City was governed by Martial Law, the Government thus originally organized, with here and there a change of style and form, has continued in unbroken succession, at the head of the principal City of the Colony, Province, and State, under as many Nationalities.

The Minutes, or "Register" of the Sessions of this newly-organized College have never been printed; but, by permission of the existing Municipal authorities, it is now our privilege to introduce them to the World of Letters, through the successive numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and to add thereto such illustrative Notes as we shall suppose will add to their interest and usefulness.

Like the Record of the Orders of the Director-general and Council, which have preceded them, these Minutes of the Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens of the City, will be copied from the Translations which have been made from the Originals, by order of the Common Council; and the pages of each series of volumes—the Originals and the Translations—will be carefully noted in their proper places, in the Text, in order that Students may correctly refer to their contents without a personal examination.

Morrisania, 1867.

H. B. D.

## REGISTER.

[Original, not pagged; Translation, 105-107.]

### PRAYER BEFORE MEETING.

O! God of Gods and Lord of Lords, and Heavenly and Merciful Father, we thank Thee that Thou hast not only created us in Thine own image, but that Thou received us as Thy Children and Guests, when we were lost.

And, in addition to all this, it has pleased Thee to place us in the Government of Thy people in this place.

O! Lord our God, we, Thy wretched creatures, acknowledge that we are not worthy of this honor, and that we have neither strength nor sufficiency to discharge the trust committed to us, except Thou vouchsafe to us Thy assistance.

We beseech thee, Oh! Fountain of all good

gifts, qualify us by Thy grace, that we may, with fidelity and righteousness, serve in our respective offices. To this end, enlighten our darkened understandings that we may be able to distinguish the right from the wrong, the truth from falsehood; and that we may give pure and uncorrupted decisions, having an eye upon [106] Thy Word, as a sure guide, giving to the simple, wisdom and knowledge. Let Thy Law be a light unto our feet and a light unto our paths, so that we may never turn away from the path of righteousness. Deeply impress on all our minds that we are accountable, not to man but unto God, who seeth and heareth all things. Let all respect of persons be far removed from us, that we may award justice unto the rich and the poor, unto friends and enemies, to residents and to strangers, according to the law of Truth; and that not one of us may in any instance swerve therefrom. And since gifts do blind the eyes of the wise and destroy the heart, therefore keep our hearts in judgment. Grant unto us, also, that we may not rashly prejudice any one without a hearing; but that we patiently hear the parties, and give them time and opportunity for defending themselves; in all things looking up to Thee and to Thy Word, for counsel and direction. Graciously incline our hearts that we may exercise the power which Thou hast given to us, to the general good of the Community, to the maintenance of the Churches; that we may be a praise to them that do well and a terror to evil-doers.

Incline, also, the hearts of the subjects unto due obedience; so that through their respect and obedience our burdens may be made the lighter.

Thou knowest, Oh Lord! that the [107] wicked and the ungodly do generally contemn and transgress Thine Ordinances; wherefore clothe us with strength, courage, fortitude, and promptitude; that we may with all due earnestness and zeal, be steadfast unto the death against all sins and misdemeanors.

Oh! good and gracious God, command Thy blessing upon all our resolutions, that they may be rendered effectual and redound to the honor of Thy great and holy name, to the greatest good of the trusts committed to us, and to our salvation.

Hear and answer us, Oh! Gracious God, in these our petitions and in all that Thou seest we need, through the merits of Jesus Christ Thy beloved Son, in whose name we thus conclude our Prayer: "Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as it is done in heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

[Original, not paged; Translation, 109.]

On Thursday, the 6th February, 1653, [at Fort Amsterdam,?] were Present, Paulus Leendertse Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Wilhelm: Beekman, and Peter Wolfertsen.

The Noble Burgomasters and Schepens of the City of New Amsterdam do hereby give public notice that they will hold their ordinary sessions, (in the building heretofore called the State-house but, for the present, the City-hall),\* on Monday mornings, at nine of the clock, for the purpose of hearing and determining all disputes and differences between parties, as far as it may be practicable. Whereunto let all and every one take notice.

Thus done in Session, this 6th February, 1653, at New Amsterdam, and underwritten:

MARTIN CRIGIER,†  
PAULUS LEENDERTSE VAN DER GRIST‡  
WILH: BEECKMAN,§  
PIETER WOLVERSEN,||  
MAXIMILIANUS VAN GHEEL,¶  
ALLARD ANTHONY.\*\*

\* "THE STATE HOUSE. but, for the present, THE CITY-HALL." This edifice, which stood on the upper side of Pearl street, opposite Coenties slip, was originally the City Tavern. It was converted to Municipal uses in 1654; and in 1699 it was sold to John Rodman.

An interesting sketch of the history of this celebrated structure, from the pen of George Henry Moore, Esq., the accomplished Librarian of the New York Historical Society, will be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, First Series, x., pp. 73-74: and a picture of it is in the first volume of the *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*.—H. B. D.

† Vide page 37, ante.

‡ Vide page 36, ante.

§ WILHELMUS BEECKMAN was born at Hasselt, in Overijssel, in 1623; served the West India Company on board *The Princess*; settled as a Merchant in New Amsterdam, in 1647; was married to Catalina De Booghs, a native of Amsterdam, on the fifth of September, 1649; was appointed Lieutenant of the Burgher Corps, in 1651; one of the Schepens of New Amsterdam, when that City was incorporated, in February, 1653; in which office he was continued in 1654, 1656, 1657, and 1673; Commissary of South River, in July, 1658; Vice Director of the same Colony, in October, 1658; Commissary at Esopus, in July, 1664; Burgomaster of New Orange, in 1674; and Alderman of New York, in 1679, 1680, 1682, and 1685; and Alderman of the East Ward of the city, from 1691 until 1695; and died in 1707, aged eighty four years, leaving six children—Marie, wife of Nicholas Wm Stuyvesant; Hendrick; Gerardus; Cornelia; Johannes. and Jacobus.

He was engaged in business as a Brewer, as the successor of Thomas Hall, in Smit's Vly [Pearl] near Beekman street, "where William and Beekman streets still bear his name;" and his descendants, widely scattered over the country, are among the most respectable and respected of its inhabitants.—H. B. D.

|| PIETER WOLVERSEN VAN COUWENHOVEN, a native of Amsterdam, and step son of Wolfert Gerritsen, appears to have been a Builder as well as a Brewer; and he was a Schepen of the City, in 1653, 1654, 1658, 1659, 1661, and 1663; an Orphan Master, in 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, and 1662; a City Surveyor, in 1655; and a Lieutenant under Martin Crigier, in the operations against the Esopus Indians in 1663.

His residence was on the North-west corner of Pearl and Whitehall streets; but, late in life, in consequence of troubles with the English conquerors and their Dutch sycophants he left New York and settled in the Achter Col, where he became one of the earliest settlers of Elizabeth New Jersey.

He married Hester Simons, a native of Amsterdam, on the

[Original, not paged; Translation, 110-115.]

On Monday, the 10th. February, 1653, at Fort Amsterdam, were Present, Arent Van Hattem\* and Martin Crigier, Burgomasters; Schepens Paulus Leendertse Van der Grist, Wilh: Beekman, Allard Anthony, M. Van Gheel, and Pieter Wolversen; and C. Van Tienhoven, Schout.

THOMAS STEVENTSE,† Plaintiff, vs. HENDRICK RUDIERTS,‡ a Defendant.

The Defendant [ ]

THOMAS STEVENTSE, Plaintiff, vs. CORNELIS JACOBSEN,§ Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Fifty Stuyvers|| arising from the purchase of a house, from Pieter Braelye¶ the payment of which had been assumed by the Defendant.

The Defendant admits his indebtedness to the amount of Forty-eight Stuyvers;|| but he says

second of December, 1640; and appears to have been childless. He adopted Aeltje Petersen as his heir, on the second of January, 1642.—H. B. D.

¶ MAXIMILIANUS VAN GHEEL is said to have been a Merchant, but we have ascertained nothing whatever concerning him, except that he was the next neighbor to Annetie Bogardus, opposite the Company's mansion, in 1633; during which "opposite" he was a Schepen. H. B. D.

year, also, ANTHONY, a native of Amsterdam and a Merchant. \*\* ALLARD ANTHONY, east corner of Whitehall and Marketfield streets, in New Amsterdam, in 1653; in 1654 he was sent to the City in 1652; a Schepen of the Colony, in which he rendered Holland as the Agent, received the thanks of the Government; in 1655 he was in the Council and a City Surveyor; in 1655, 1656, 1657, and 1661, he was a Burgomaster of the City; two Commissioners to lay out the streets of the City; from 1662 until 1665 he was the Schout; and from 1666 until 1673 he was the Sheriff.

He was married to Henricke Wessels, a native of Utrecht, on the twenty sixth of March, 1656, and had one child, Nicholas, born January 28, 1657. He died, generally detested, in 1683.—H. B. D.

\* ARENT VAN HATTEM was a Merchant, but we have learned little concerning him beside the fact that, in 1652 he was one of "the Nine Men;" that he was sent, with Van Tienhoven, on a mission to Virginia, in 1653, during which year he was Captain of the Burgher Corps; that he was a Burgomaster in 1653 and 1654; and had some difficulty concerning his accounts.—H. B. D.

† THOMAS STEVENSON appears to have been an English farmer, residing, in his latter days, at Middleburg [New York]; and his frequent appeals to the Courts render his name somewhat familiar to the student of the local history of New Netherland.

He was married on the fifteenth of August, 1645, to the widow Marie Bernards; and, in 1653, he seems to have purchased property on the bank of the East River, extending from Ferry to Catharine streets.—modern times.—H. B. D.

‡ Of this person we have found no mention elsewhere.—H. B. D.

§ CORNELIS JACOBSEN was from Middelburg, but in 1658 he leased a bouwery called Walensteyne, and he appears to have lived at the Walensteyne, a native of Amsterdam, on the twenty fourth of August, 1642; by whom he had four children.—H. B. D.

¶ PIETER BREYLE appears to have been engaged in trade as a Tobaccoconist, and he was also engaged in raising it; but beyond these facts, we believe that nothing is known of him.—H. B. D.

|| Thus are the Records, but probably intended for Guilders.—H. B. D.

the Skipper Lourens\* had agreed to pay Twenty-four Guilders of it.

Whereas it appears the Skipper Lourens had not paid, the verdict of the Court is that the Defendant shall pay his debt by the first of May next, without waiting any longer.

[111] JURYAN BLANCK,† Plaintiff, *vs.* HERMAN SMEEMAN,‡ Defendant.

Concerning the payment, in Beavers, for a brewing-kettle purchased by the Defendant and delivered to him, as appears by the obligation.

The Defendant admits the indebtedness and agrees to pay the same within a fortnight from this date, with which the parties are both satisfied.

SYBOUT CLASEN,§ Plaintiff, *vs.* HERMAN SMEEMAN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment for labor done for Volkert Evertse,|| whose Estate has been delivered to the Defendant as his heir, amounting to Six Beavers.

The Defendant denies that he owes anything, since the account was not brought forward in a former settlement nor spoken of until this date.

The Plaintiff is ordered to prove his demand.

HERMAN SMEEMAN, Plaintiff, *vs.* SYBOUT CLASEN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of Thirteen Beavers, according to the verdict of the Director-general and Council, dated the seventh of October, 1652.

\* By this name, Captain LAURENS CORNELISSEN of the *Gabriele* and *The Maid of Enckhuysen* was known. (Compare *William Kieft's letter to Director Stuyvesant and the Council*, June 18, 1647, with *Jochem Pieterzen Kuyter and Cornelis Meljn's answer thereto*, June 22, 1647.)

He is noted in History chiefly because of his dispute with Director Kieft, which resulted in his banishment from the Colony.

† JURYAN BLANCK was a sea-faring man who settled here at an early day, and resided on the South side of Pearl street, between Whitehall street and the Battery.

He was a Smaller Burgher, of the date of 1657; and was residing in his old home as late as 1674. His widow, Tryntje Claes, occupied the same house in 1686.—H. B. D.

‡ HERMAN SMEEMAN, "husband of Barent Dircksen's widow," appears to have been possessed of considerable real property, and to have been a Burgher of the date of 1657; a Magistrate of Bergen in 1661; a representative of that settlement in the Convention of April 10, 1664; etc.

His wife was Elizabeth Evertse, widow of Barent Dirckse the baker, to whom he was married on the fourth of December, 1645; and his residence was on the East side of Broadway, below Wall street.—H. B. D.

§ SYBOUT CLASEN, a house carpenter from H.orn, residing on the South side of Stone, near Broad street and a burgher of the city of New Amsterdam, married Susanne Jans, widow of Aert Tennissen, lessee of the bouvery of Hoboquin, on the twelfth of March, 1645; and he soon afterward became famous in history in consequence of a controversy with Director Kieft and Director Stuyvesant, for the prosecution of which he visited Holland in 1649.

He was one of the lessees of the Company's sawmill on Noten (Governor's) Island, in 1639; lived on the South side of Hough-street [Stone street] near der Heere Graft [Broad street]; and died in 1679. He was a highly respectable man.—H. B. D.

|| VOLKERT EVERTSE was evidently a relative of Smeeman's wife, probably her brother; but we have been unable to ascertain, positively, the exact relation.—H. B. D.

The Burgomasters and Schepens order the payment, in conformity with the verdict referred to.

[112] ABRAM PLANCK,\* Plaintiff, *vs.* DIRCK TEUNISEN,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff's wife appeared.

It is ordered that as the Plaintiff must always appear in his own person, if he is in the place, the Plaintiff in this action is in default.

PIETER ANDRIESEN,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* LOURITS DUYTS,§ Defendant.

Jan Willemsen,|| appeared, offering to answer for the Defendant, but without Power of Attorney.

It is ordered that, for the reason that the parties must appear in person, the Defendant is in default.

AUKEN JANSEN,¶ Plaintiff, *vs.* THE WIFE OF

\* ABRAM PLANCK was one of the principal men in New Amsterdam, in the days of Director Kieft; a member of the Board of Twelve Men, in 1641; and one of the three who, in 1648, petitioned for and obtained permission to attack the Indians, when they were so inhumanly and basely massacred at Pavonia; but beyond the fact that he is said to have lived on Smits Vly [Pearl street], near what is now Beekman street, we know nothing concerning him.

There was an ABRAHAM ISAACSEN PLANCK, who was the original grantee of Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, and the progenitor of the noted family of VANPLANCK; and these different names have often been considered as belonging to the same person. In the absence of any evidence to prove this, and in view of the care with which this name is so frequently recorded, as if to distinguish the two, we have preferred to regard them as belonging to different persons.—H. B. D.

† DIRCK TEUNISEN—sometimes called "the Norman," at others a Norwegian—resided in 1657, at Midwout [Flatbush] on property leased from Jan Evertsen Bout; and in 1674 he seems to have lived in Smits Vly [Pearl street], New York.

He appears to have possessed a bad character; and was very lightly esteemed. His wife was Adriaenje Wallich.—H. B. D.

‡ PIETER ANDRIESEN, sometime a seaman, came to the Colony, in 1639, in the *Fire of Troy*; and in company with Lawrence Duyts, the Defendant in this action, he leased some land at Morrisania from Jonas Bronck for the purpose of raising tobacco and Indian corn.

He was described by one who knew him, as "an honest, upright man;" and, in 1645, he purchased property in the rear of the public tavern in New Amsterdam, and at Newtown, on Long Island; and, in 1661, some in Wall street.

During the latter years of his life he was occupied in sweeping chimneys, having been elected a Small Burgher of the city, in 1657.—H. B. D.

§ LAWRENCE DUYTS, as already stated, came to America from Holstein, in the *Fire of Troy*, in 1639; and settled in what is now Morrisania, as a farmer, in company with Pieter Andriessen who had crossed the ocean with him.

He was married to Ytje Janen; but led an infamous life; and, in 1658, he was banished from the Colony for the crime of adultery.

|| There seems to have been two persons bearing this name, in the Colony; and it is uncertain to which of them this entry refers.

One of these was subsequently a Councillor of New Amstel, on the South River, [Delaware]; and a very respectable man: the other, "Jan Willemsen van Iselesteyn, commonly called 'Jan of Leyden,' seem to have possessed a more questionable reputation, and was banished from the Colony, for slander, in May, 1664.—H. B. D.

¶ AUKEN JANSEN, a carpenter by trade, resided on the West side of Broadway, below the Rector street of to-day. He was the builder of the church at Midwout, [Flatbush], in 1660; and in 1673 and 1674 he was a Schepen of that town, in which capacity, in the latter year, he represented it, in Convention, in New Amsterdam.—H. B. D.



JURIEAN ANDRIESEN,\* Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Twenty-four Guilders, for work done according to account and settlement.

The Defendant answers that the Carpenter's work done by the Plaintiff is charged higher than it is worth; and for that reason he contends that he is not indebted to him.

The Burgomasters and Schepens appoint Gillis Pietersen† and Abram Clock,‡ house-carpenters, to inspect the work and to report in writing, their opinion concerning it.

[113] AUKEN JANSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERRITSSEN,§ Defendant.

The Defendant in default.

JACOB WILLEMSSEN,|| Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERRITSSEN, Defendant.

The Defendant in default.

HENDRICK GERRITSSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* ROELOF JANSEN¶ and JAN GERRITSSEN,\*\* Defendants.

The Plaintiff in default.

\* JURIEAN ANDRIESEN was a sea-faring man, in the employ of the West India Company; and, in 1648, while master of the *Cat*, of fourteen guns and a crew of fifty men, that vessel was lost on Sand Hook, otherwise Godyn's point, after having captured and sent in as a prize, a Spanish bark.

The name of his wife does not appear.—H. B. D.

† GILLIS PIETERSEN VAN DER GOUW, son of Hendrick Jansen, was in the employ of the West India Company, as its "Overseer of the Carpenters," as early as June, 1638; and on the sixth of July, 1642, he was married to Elsie Hendricks, by whom he had Eva, Pieter, Tryntje, Tryntje, 2d. Hendrick, and Maria.

He was a man of great respectability; and lived on the bank of the East River, on the Northern line of Wall street.

It is a singular illustration of the difficulties which attend the labors of the Genealogist that a few weeks after the appointment, by the Council, of Pietersen to the office of Master Carpenter, in the Company's service, another Gillis Pietersen, a boatswain of the yacht *Hope*, was sentenced by the same Council to have his name posted as a perjurer and villain, and all his wages confiscated, on a charge of desertion to the English.—H. B. D.

‡ ABRAHAM CLOCK was a Carpenter, engaged in business on his own account as early as 1642. He was a Small Burgher, of the date of 1657; resided at the Southwest corner of Stone and William streets; and was highly respected.

There was an ABRAHAM MARTEN CLOCK, a Carpenter, who was also a Miller, residing on the Great Highway, in 1655-6; and it is not impossible that it was the same person.—H. B. D.

§ HENDRICK GERRITSSEN was a resident of the Colony as early as 1638. He was a tailor by trade, residing next door to the celebrated Annetje Bogardus, near the Fort.

There was also a person of the same name, who was a sea-faring man, commanding the Company's vessel, the *Neptunus*, in Kieft's expedition against the Raritans; and in 1660 there was a third, a Cadet, in the military service of the Company, in New Amstel.—H. B. D.

|| Of this person we have found no mention elsewhere.—H. B. D.

¶ ROELOF JANSEN (VAN MEPPLEN) a butcher, married Geertruyd Jacobs, a widow, on the nineteenth of April, 1643, by whom he had Maryken, Jan, Jochem, Albert, Jochem, Willem, and Geertje; and lived in Bever straat [Beaver street, between Broadway and Broad street].

ROELOF JANSEN, a mason, was admitted to the Small Burghership, in 1657; and in 1662, a person of this name was Collector of Excise at Flushing.

It is not known to which of these the entry refers.—H. B. D.

\*\* JAN GERRITSSEN was married to Greetje Jans, on the last day of April, 1655; and we know nothing more of him.—H. B. D.

HENDRICK HENDRICKSEN,\* Plaintiff, *vs.* ANDRIES PIETERSEN,† Cooper, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Thirty-one Stuyvers: according to written obligation.

The Defendant confesses judgment.

The Burgomasters and Schepens order payment accordingly, within One month from this date.

JOOST GODERIS,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* GULYAN D'WYS,§ Defendant.

The Plaintiff enters his complaint to the Court, that the Defendant had addressed him, saying that Joost might rather give him, the Defendant, permission to play with his, the Plaintiff's, wife, since Allard Anthony was in the habit of doing it. He demands right and justice.

The Defendant denies the charge, and demands a copy of the Complaint.

[114] It is ordered that the Plaintiff prove his Complaint and furnish the Defendant with a copy of the same, forthwith.

JOOST GODERIS, Plaintiff, *vs.* ISAAC BEDLO|| and JACOB BUYS, Defendants.

[*The parties?*] appeared before the Court and the Plaintiff offered to prove his Complaint, charging the Defendants in substance as follows:

FIRST: The said Joost Goderis coming from Oyster Island¶ in a canoe in company with a young man, to which island he had been for the

\* HENDRICK HENDRICKSEN, in May, 1653, bought Auke Jansen's house on the Great Highway; and in June, 1654, George Rapelle's house, in Pearl street.

He was from Middleborough; a baker by trade; and in October, 1656, he was suspended from following his business, for selling bread of a light weight.

There was another bearing this name, a Drummer in the Company's service who was admitted to the Small Burgher right in 1657.

It is probable that the entry refers to the former.—H. B. D.

† ANDRIES PIETERSEN, the Cooper, appears to have resided in the Colony as early as 1638; but we know nothing more of him.—H. B. D.

‡ JOOST GODERIS was a poor man, sometime a Porter in the City Weigh house; and his wife, the subject of this celebrated action, was Jacomyntje Wallinga, to whom he was married on the first of October, 1650.

He appears to have lived in New Amstel in 1650. He had Jan, Frans, Frans, Maria, and Joris; and his son Frans lived to be at the head of a large family, in New York, many years after.

This affair occupied considerable attention; and it is creditable to the Court that the young men of high social standing, in those days, were not allowed to insult those in the lower walks of life, without being punished.—H. B. D.

§ GULYAN D'WYS, from the fact that he imported "certain goods in the *Spotted Cow*," in June, 1651, was probably engaged in trade; but we have found no further particulars concerning him.—H. B. D.

|| ISAAC BEDLO was a Merchant residing on the Hooghstrat [Stone street, between William and Broad]. In 1667, 1668, 1669, 1671, 1672, and 1673, he was an Alderman of the city; in 1668, he was Comptroller of the Customs; and he died about 1674.

He was married to Elizabeth de Potter; and had Isaac, Catalina, Pieter, Maria, and Francois.

He was the Commissary, or Agent, of Governor Lovelace; and after his death there was considerable trouble in the settlement of his estate.—H. B. D.

¶ OYSTER ISLAND, now known as Ellis's Island, in the harbor of New York.—H. B. D.

purpose of obtaining some Oysters or Crabs, met the Defendants in company with Gulyan d'Wys, Guysbert Verdonck, Jan Vingé,\* Pieter Werkhoven,† Harmanus Hartoogh,‡ and the younger Cornelius Melyn,§ when the Defendants called aloud, saying, "Joost Goderis, You are a cuck—"hold!" and immediately thereafter they sung out, "Joost Goderis ought to wear horns, as the cattle are wont to do," etc.; and, moreover, Bedlo and Buys called out to Joost Goderis, "Allard Anthony has had your wife down." The Plaintiff also complains that at Loockman's house, on the Strand,|| after the setting of the Watch, that he had asked Bedlo why he had insulted him, whereupon he replied "You fool! I have not said so.[115] You have said it, yourself!" upon which Joost gave him [Bedlo] a slap, and Bedlo drawing his knife gave him [Goderis] a wound in the neck, as can be seen. He demands redress and justice.

The Defendants deny the charges and demand a copy of the same.

The Burgomasters and the Schepens order that the Plaintiff shall, on the next Court-day, prove his allegations and forthwith serve a copy thereof on the Defendants.

[Original, not paged; Translation, 115-117.]

On Monday afternoon, the 10th February, 1653. Present, A. Van Hattem, Martin Crigier, Paulus Leendertse, Wilh: Beekman, Allard Anthony, M. Van Gheel, and Pieter Wolfersen.

By The Noble Burgomasters and Schepens of this City of New Amsterdam, in joint session, it is resolved to address the Noble Director General and Counsellors, for their consideration, the following Memorial, to wit: That, for the benefit and accommodation of the public, at the earliest opportunity, a Weigh-house shall be ordered, so that all Merchandize, without any [116]

\* JAN VINGÉ, son of Gulyan and Ariana [Cuilye] Vingé, was the first white male born in the Colony; step-son of Jan Jansen Damen; brother-in-law of Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Dirck Volckersen, and Abram Verplanck; and, by profession, a Brewer.

He was beaten by Peter Segersen. In 1652, and the verdict of the Court was, "well deserved the beating he got." He was a Schepen in 1655, 1656, 1661, 1663, and 1673; and a Great Burgher of the date of April, 1657. He lived in Smit's Vly [Pearl street] near Malden lane and in Smit's straat [William street below Wall]; was twice married; and died, without leaving issue, in 1691, aged about Seventy seven years.—H. B. D.

† PETER VAN WERCKHOVEN was a Merchant and a resident of the city and a guardian of a minor, as late as 1660; but we have no other information concerning him.—H. B. D.

‡ HARMANUS HARTOOGH seems to have been a Trader; but, beyond this fact, we have learned nothing concerning him.—H. B. D.

§ CORNELIS MELYN, JUNIOR, probably a son of CORNELIS MELYN, the Patron of Staten Island.—H. B. D.

|| "LOOCKMAN'S HOUSE, ON THE STRAND" On the thirteenth of May, 1649, Teunis Nyssen sold this property, "East of the 'Great Highway,' [Stone street] to Captain Govert Loockerman; but the exact locality is not known.—H. B. D.

exception, which shall be delivered here, shall be weighed by a person thereunto appointed; and for all parcels so weighed which shall weigh more than Fifty pounds, there shall be paid One Penning per pound, to be paid by the buyer and seller equally, or as the parties shall have agreed.\*

Moreover, that on all Weights and Measures, such as Ells, Schepels, Casks, Half-barrels and Quarter-casks, and Cans, there shall be put a mark, according to the custom in Old Amsterdam.†

Moreover, that it is necessary that Orphan Masters be appointed, for which purpose, by a plurality of votes, are nominated, from the College,‡ Paulus Leenderse van der Grist and Wilhelm Beekman, and from the Burghers, Olof Stevensen§ and Cornelis Steenwyck,|| to be ap-

\* This resolution was presented to the Director-general and Council on the eighteenth of February; and the consideration of it was postponed. *Council Minutes*, v., 101. On the twenty-fourth, the Burgomasters and Schepens, as will be seen below, renewed their petition; and two days later, (February 26th) the request was granted, as will be seen by the Order of the Director-general and Council, to that effect. *Council Minutes*, v., 102.—H. B. D.

† This request of the City Government was granted in the same Order which established the Weigh house last mentioned.—H. B. D.

‡ The joint body of Burgomasters and Schepens of the city, were thus called.—H. B. D.

§ OLOFF STEVENSEN, from Courland, came to America, a soldier in the West India Company's service in 1637; and on the first of July, 1640 he was transferred to the Civil service, of the Company, and made one of its Storekeepers. In September, 1641, on his petition therefor, his salary was increased to Thirty Guilders (\$12) per month; and in 1643 it was again increased. He held this office until 1648, when he resigned and entered into private life.

He was temporarily in the Colonial Council in 1645, during which year he was, also, one of the Eight Men of the City. In 1649 and 1650 he was one of the Nine Men of New Amsterdam, and Colonel of the Burgher Corps; in 1654, a Commissioner to settle the boundary of New Gravesend, a Commissioner to superintend the fortifying of New Amsterdam, and a Schepen of the latter; in 1655, he was a Burgomaster of the City, to which office he was also called in 1656, 1659, 1659, 1660, 1662, and 1668; in 1657 he was an Orphan-master, and again in 1661; in 1660, he was again, temporarily, in the Colonial Council; in 1668, a Commissioner on Captain Scott's claim to Long Island, and one to adjust the Boundary between New Netherland and Connecticut; in 1664 one of the Commissioners to treat for the surrender of New Netherland to the English; in 1666, 1667, and 1671, an Alderman of New York.

He was a Merchant and Brewer, by profession; an opponent of Kieft and Stuyvesant, in politics; and an office bearer in the ancient Dutch church.

He was married to Anneten Louckermans, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1642; by whom he had Stephanus, who married Gertrude Schuyler; Marritje, who married Jeremias Van Rensselaer; Johannes, who died unmarried; Sytje, who married Andrew Teller; Catharina, who married, first, John Dervall, and, second, Frederic Philippe; Cornelia who married Barent Schuyler; and Jacob, who married Eva Phillips.

He resided on Brouwer street, [Stone street below Broad]—a portion of the Great Highway of the City—and died about 1688.

He was the founder of the ancient and honorable family of VAN COURTLANDT, since so widely known in the annals of New York.—H. B. D.

|| CORNELIS VAN STEENWYCK from Harlem, was a Merchant, residing and transacting business at the corner of Whitehall and Bridge streets.

He is first known on the records of the Colony in 1651; in 1657 he was made a Great Burgher; in 1659 and 1660, a Schepen; in

that of Letters have been appealed to, on either side, to determine the merits of the respective disputants. Suddenly, uninvited and unheralded, Mr. George L. Schuyler, who has been more widely known heretofore as a great man among the railroads of the country than as a critic or historian, ran on a switch, blew off his steam, exchanged the working-bar for a pen, the time-table for a historical manuscript, and joined in the contest; for he, too, had a grandfather whose merits had been unjustly depreciated by "the great historian," and he, too, had personal grievances to be avenged.

General Schuyler needs no protection from us, as he needed none from his grandson; since, with one or two exceptions, there was no one, among the soldiers of America, whose record is as honorable as his. The greatest wrong under which his memory suffers is the wrong committed by Mr. Schuyler himself, in doing what others have done with similar results—he neither uses them himself nor allows others to do so for him, the fine collection of manuscripts concerning General Schuyler which were rescued from destruction by his lamented wife, a few years before her death; and he leaves scholars to grope in darkness and uncertainty, and, sometimes, to arrive at wrong conclusions concerning the good old General, when he might have conclusively established the entire truth of the matter, years ago, and deprived Mr. Bancroft of the opportunity to belittle his ancestor, which he has thus been permitted to enjoy, by a more judicious and liberal policy. Indeed, we very well remember the disagreeable result of a respectful application for a slight examination of a very small portion of those manuscripts, bearing only on one specific subject, which was made by a respectable working student, through Mr. Schuyler's father-in-law, a few years since, when a paper was in preparation for the Historical Society of Vermont: and while we heartily sympathize with every one who condemns the sectional outrages from which General Schuyler suffered so much while living, we cannot extend that sympathy to his grandson, in his, nor in the anxiety to which, it is very evident, this pamphlet owes its origin, which we should do but for that recollection.

Considered in itself, Mr. Bancroft has displayed in his treatment of General Schuyler the same want of fidelity to the truth, if not the same ignorance of the great subject of his narrative, that he has shown in other parts of his work, concerning other military men of the Revolution.

General Schuyler was a New Yorker, of Dutch descent, a Soldier of tried abilities, a Federalist Statesman of great experience, a patriot without a stain: Mr. Bancroft is a New Englander, incapable of understanding the first principles of

military science, a politician of the dirtiest Democratic school—that which looks more to the offices and the spoils than the principles—and of questionable judgment as a historian. Why, then, need there be any surprise that Mr. Bancroft has done injustice to the character of the General? Why should he be expected to portray the services of the General with any degree of fidelity, when New England was in the Cabal, in 1777, and there was nothing accessible from which Mr. Bancroft could take his cue, had he been disposed to convey to his readers a fair estimate of the General's military services? As Mr. Bancroft has now published his story, and cannot steal from his neighbors without giving credit, unless at the risk of immediate detection, it is within our knowledge that more than one coveted historical study which has been withheld from the public on that account, will see day-light at an early day; and we earnestly hope that a more liberal policy on Mr. Schuyler's part, concerning the Schuyler Manuscripts, will induce the working-men of the profession to turn their attention to the minor details of the Northern Campaigns of the Revolution and to the unsurpassed merits, both as a Soldier and a Statesman, of his grandfather.

The edition of this volume numbered Two hundred copies; and it was mostly used for presents.

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4.—*Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL.D.* By Brantz Mayer, President of the Maryland Historical Society, prepared at the request of the Society, and read before its Annual Meeting, on Thursday evening, February 7, 1867. *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 36.

We are indebted to our respected friend, the author, for a copy of this tract; and as it is devoted to a recital of the life, and services, and character, of another near and dear personal friend, it is peculiarly welcome.

It is well-written, truthful, and as complete as such a production can be; and it is peculiarly appropriate as a memorial of the departed historian from the city of his early ministry and the home of many of his earliest friends.

It is illustrated with a portrait of Doctor Sparks at the age of forty, and was neatly printed for the Society, by John Murphy.

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5.—*Letter to Abraham Lincoln.* By Manton Marble, Editor of "The World." New York: Privately printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. 25

In May, 1864, as our readers will remember, *The World, Journal of Commerce*, and other papers in New York were imposed on by Joseph Howard, Jr., with what purported to be a Proclamation by the President ordering a draft for four hundred thousand men, which, subsequently, was ascertained to be a forgery, but not before

the two papers referred to had printed it in their regular issues.

They will remember, also, that notwithstanding the Publishers and Editors of the papers in question immediately suppressed the publication of the forgery, as far as was possible, and circulated, far and near, notices of the forgery, Mr. Lincoln issued orders for the summary arrest and incarceration in Fort Lafayette of the Editors of both papers and the entire suppression of the papers themselves; that the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Marble and Mr. Prime was only prevented by the earnest representations of General Dix, who commanded in the city; and that the offices of both papers were seized by the military authorities of the Republic, in open violation of the Constitution; and that both were, for several days, entirely suppressed.

On the day on which the establishments were tossed back into the hands of their proprietors, Mr. Marble, the Editor of *The World*, publicly addressed a letter to the President, in which he recited the facts, in all their details, and asserted the Rights of Property, of Person and of the Press, which are the birthright of every freeman, with great clearness and precision and with unusual boldness. That letter, we well remember, made a deep impression on the thinking part of the community; and its clear, ringing notes carried alarm into the conclaves of the unprincipled violators of the written law who then swarmed over the country.

Three gentlemen of New York, two of them Republicans, and all personally unknown to Mr. Marble, have re-printed this letter in the most sumptuous style, for private circulation; and we are glad to see it thus rescued from the fate of a transient editorial leader.

The edition numbered ninety-nine copies, and was printed at the Bradstreet Press.

6.—*The Game of Euchre compared to a Game of Life.* New York: Privately printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. 2, unpagged, and 10.

Although this is not historical, we consider it a very interesting specimen of privately-printed book-making, and notice it accordingly.

It is composed of three separate pieces of poetry—"The Game of Life—a homily," by J. G. Saxe; "A homily on a homily," by Douglas A. Levein; and "A homily on 'A homily on a homily,'" by G. W. Pettes—on the game of Euchre as representing the game of Life.

We know nothing about the former game, and the technical terms which abound in these homilies are, consequently, entirely unintelligible; yet we can see enough to satisfy us that to persons who do understand it, this must be a very entertaining tract.

It was privately-printed for Mr. William J. Slingerland, of New York; and the edition numbered fifty copies, thirty-eight of which were printed on white paper, and twelve copies on laid tinted paper, the latter on one side only.

7.—*Sketch of Henry Hudson, the Navigator.* By Dr. G. M. Asher, of Heidelberg. Brooklyn: Reprinted for Private Distribution, 1867. Octavo, pp. 23.

In this neatly printed tract our friend, Mr. George Hannah, the popular Librarian of the Long Island Historical Society, has issued what is designed as a specimen of a series of historical tracts which he proposes to issue from time to time, for private circulation and exchange.

The particular work before us is very well adapted for the initial number of such a series, since it is well written, instructive, and locally interesting; although we imagine General Read has taken possession of Hudson, and will hereafter leave nothing in doubt concerning him.

The edition numbered about a hundred copies.

8.—*William B. Reed, of Chesnut Hill, Philadelphia. Expert in the art of exhumation of the dead.* Reprinted from the London edition, 1867. Octavo, pp. 15.

Another privately-printed tract resulting from Mr. Bancroft's attack on President Reed of Pennsylvania, and Mr. William B. Reed's Vindication of his grandfather, is here presented.

Our readers have already learned our opinions concerning both Mr. Bancroft's and Mr. Reed's volumes, and we can very soon give our opinion concerning Mr. Reed's—whether Mr. Reed's statements are true or false, Mr. Reed's are not calculated to disturb them, very seriously; and if we do not mistake, it has not disturbed them at all.

9.—*Rapport sur les deux ouvrages de Bibliographie Américaine de M. Henri Harriette, Avocat.* Par M. Ernest Desjardins lu à séance de la Commission Centrale, de 18 Janvier, 1867. Extrait du Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Paris: 1867. Octavo, pp. 20.

This is a very thorough and very minute Report on the merits of the two works by Mr. Harriette, which our readers know so well; and it endorses, with all the enthusiasm of the French, every claim which has been made for Mr. Harriette or by him. Indeed, it goes so far as to insist that these are the first-fruits of American book-making which possess any intrinsic merits, either literary or typographical; and even this praise is qualified by the repeated assurance that their author is a Frenchman.

Concerning the typography of these works, the Reporter is less enthusiastic, and he seems inclined to throw on the printer some of the faults which really belong to the Author and Proof-reader, Mr. Harriette himself—how correctly our readers can judge.

10.—*Publications of the Narragansett Club. First Series* Volume II. Providence, R. I.: 1867. Quarto, pp. 4 (unpaged), 240, 36.

In this very handsome volume, the Club has sent to its members John Cotton's *Answer to Roger Williams*, edited by Professor Diman of Brown University, and Roger Williams's *Queries of highest consideration*, edited by Mr. Guild, Librarian of Brown University.

The first of these, as an historical authority concerning the differences between Mr. Williams and the rulers of the Bay Colony, possesses great interest; and Mr. Diman has edited it with care and good judgment. The second has been printed from the only known copy, that in the British Museum; and Mr. Guild has introduced it with an elaborate Preface, which seems to have been carefully written and is evidently well adapted to secure a correct understanding of the otherwise uncertain *Queries*.

This Club is doing a good work for the cause of our Colonial history and we sincerely hope it will be sustained by a liberal support.

11.—*Records of the New York Stage, from 1750 to 1860.* By Joseph N. Ireland. In two volumes. Volume II. New York: T. H. Morrell, 1867. Octavo and quarto, pp. 2, (unpaged), 746.

In our February number we noticed the first volume of this work and called the attention of our readers to the vast amount of labor which had been expended on it by its industrious Author and to its importance as a work of reference concerning the American Stage, especially that of New York. It is now our agreeable duty to announce the completion of the work; and to express, as we do, our entire satisfaction with the manner in which the Author has occupied the space which was appropriated for the undertaking.

There has been no waste of room in useless dissertations, no bestowal of unnecessary labor on merely ornamental flourishes, no niggard economy of either labor or space, when the "Record" required them. It is, in every respect, a credit to the industry and judgment of its Author; and if the Publisher had seen fit to give his subscribers a better quality of paper, there would have been little left undone which should have been done.

The edition numbered two hundred and sixty copies, of which sixty are quartos and two hundred octavos.

12.—*Official Documents, Addresses, Etc., of George Opdyke Mayor of the City of New York, during the years 1862 and 1863.* New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867. Octavo, pp. xi., 368.

This volume, from the Riverside Press, contains the record of Mr. Opdyke's services as

Mayor of New York, during two of the most eventful years of its history. It was prepared and printed chiefly for private distribution among the friends of its Author, in order that they might be enabled to determine from authentic data how faithfully he had discharged the duties of the trust which had been confided to him; and neither the Author nor his friends have any reason to be ashamed of its teachings.

Mr. Opdyke is a Merchant, an intelligent Merchant, one who finds time to follow the bent of his inclination in looking for himself into the Literature of Commerce and the Literature of Governmental Science. He was, therefore, well fitted by his acquirements, and habits, and daily business associations, to represent a Commercial City; and, notwithstanding, because of his party associations, he was not a representative man of the members of the Corporation over which he presided, he discharged the responsible duties of his office with honor to himself and to the City. The volume before us is, therefore, such a memorial as reflects credit, both on the Author and on the community of which he is a member.

The papers of which this volume is composed have been arranged chronologically; and a good analytical Table of Contents enables the reader to find any desired paper without unnecessary labor.

13.—*New York in the Nineteenth Century. A Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society, on its Sixty-second Anniversary, November 20, 1866, by Rev. Samuel Ogden, D.D.* Published by order of the Executive Committee. New York: Printed for the Society, 1867. Octavo, pp. 127.

We have been most agreeably disappointed in this interesting volume. We knew its Author had desired to do justice to his subject, that he had diligently sought information in various quarters, that he had endeavored to speak favorably of the community in which he has lived and been honored during a longer period than in any other, but we knew, also, that he is a New Englander by birth, a Massachusetts man by education, a Puritan in everything but extreme intolerance; and we expected that the same causes in him would have produced the same results which they have produced in others of the same class. We are really glad to find, however, that there is, in this case, an exception to the general rule; and that one Massachusetts man exists who eats the bread which New York supplies and enjoys the honors which she freely bestows, without insulting her and without ringing in her ears how much she is favored by his company and by the honor of his readiness to enjoy all her hospitality, to tell her of the superiority of his family, and to become her ruler. We would that four others would show themselves, in order

that the righteousness of the five might save the modern Sodom from the annihilation to which the Omnipotent, and Omnipresent, and Immaculate New England, of modern times, has assumed to sentence it.

In his reference to the Dutch, and in his comparison of their polity, habits, and ruling spirit with those of the Puritans, Doctor Osgood has done nobly because he has done justly, even at the expense of his New English ancestry. So, too, of the progress of Revolution in New York, "the English Toryism" of Jay and his associates who defied the popular sentiment in their persistent resistance of Independence, and the stern republicanism—"jealousy of centralized power," he calls it—which prompted George Clinton and his associates to oppose the ratification of the proposed Constitution, the Doctor spoke nobly because he spoke fearlessly and truly. He dared, also, to condemn the Federalists for what he called "their distrust of the people;" and he did not hesitate to "join the names of the old Democrats, Chancellor Livingston and George Clinton, to those of their great Federal antagonists, Hamilton and Jay, in his record of the architects of liberty in New York city."

He has carefully portrayed New York, in 1801, and contrasted it with New York, in 1866; but he speaks of the time when Three or Four thousand dollars would pay for a house, and flour was Four and Five dollars a barrel, and beef Ten cents a pound, as if that time existed only in 1801, although we remember very well, many years later, when the same prices ruled and when a respectable working-man's family of Six persons was respectably fed, and clothed, and "brought up," on *Fifteen dollars per month*, besides house rent, and that in the city of New York; but we remember, at the same time, that there was then no "glory" to be paid for; and a hundred and fifty millions of dollars per annum were not then required to support our Republican army, during a period of perfect peace.

He recognizes Madison's superiority in the Constitutional Convention, and Hamilton's, Jay's, and Morris's inferiority among those to whom the State and the Republic are indebted for "the development of the power of the State and the City" of New York. He sees more practical common sense in "the New York mind," than speculative philosophy. He sees, or supposes he sees, in the State Constitution of 1777 an evidence of "the power of Jay and his associates over the mass, who were far more radical than he, and who consented to restricted suffrage and the aristocratic Councils of Appointment and Revision as keeping them within the safe old paths, whilst they rejoiced in the untrammeled religious liberty given;" he has failed to see, however, or to notice, that "the mass"

*had nothing to say on the subject referred to, and gave no such "CONSENT" as he has referred to.* He has not seen, also, that Jay strenuously urged, and *dishonorably* attempted to establish, through that very Constitution, the very opposite of the "religious liberty" of which he speaks; and that, until 1822, "the mass" of whom he speaks was not politically recognized and not until 1846 were "the aristocratic" institutions of appointing powers wiped out by the tide of truly Republican ideas—now, it may be, to be revived through the sitting Convention of 1867. "The People," in 1801, was composed of the "aristocratic" minority: in 1867, it is composed of the aggregate of the adult male population, and "the major will" is the supreme law: in 1870, it is not improbable, it will consist of the politicians only, when the major *purse* will be the sovereign power.

In his review of the New York of to-day, Doctor Osgood is thorough and remarkably precise—indeed, we know no picture of the great metropolis which will compare with his. We cannot pretend to follow him, however, in all the details which he has exhibited and so amply sustained; and we must content ourselves with urging our readers to examine it for themselves.

The volume is very neatly printed, and is creditable, as a specimen of book-making, to John F. Trow & Co., who printed it.

14.—*Sixty first Anniversary Celebration of the New England Society in the city of New York at Irving Hall, Dec. 22, 1866. Sine loco, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 86.*

We have in this pamphlet the official claim of the natives of New England to superior social and political standing in the Republic, by virtue of an assumed superiority of ancestry and an assumed superiority of intellect.

The feast was enjoyed by the Governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; a native of Hartford presided; a Boston Clergyman asked the blessing of God on the forthcoming splurge; Mr. George William Curtis, of Rhode Island, was the leading Orator; Mr. Henry Ward Beecher followed; and Mr. Joseph H. Choate had the last word—who shall say, therefore, that the claim was not duly verified.

Mr. Curtis told his hearers that, a few months before, he had heard, "from one of the most distinguished divines of Massachusetts, a sermon of which Massachusetts was substantially the text;" and he said, also, of that "distinguished divine," that "it was clearly his opinion that almost all that is great and glorious in this country proceeded from the State of Massachusetts." He said, also, concerning the old parson's notion, that "it was an opinion in which I

"have no doubt there are many gentlemen that 'cordially agree;' and he said of it, for himself, that he 'found that by substituting the words 'New England,' in place of the word 'Massachusetts,' he was enabled to digest the sermon as 'comfortably as I hope he' [the old parson] 'digested his Thanksgiving turkey.'"

In view of the fact that this claim was set up in the midst of a community of which only less than one-fortieth of its numbers are New Englanders; among those from whose toleration alone these very claimants are drawing their bread; by a handful of foreigners—foreigners in fact and in law, in spirit and in truth—it is simply an insult to those among whom these claimants move, whose bread they eat, and whose hospitality they outraged.

But, when Mr. Curtis, Mr. Beecher, and Mr. Hepworth, Governor Smyth, Governor Bullock, and Governor Hawley, displayed their bad breeding by entering a neighbor's house and telling him, while sojourning on his premises, that he and his ancestors are and were the inferiors of themselves and their ancestry, it is undeniably true that in doing so they assumed to be what they were not, and "stole the livery of the Court of Heaven" to serve the Devil in."

Mr. Curtis, for instance, while speaking of "those grand old Radicals, the Pilgrim Fathers," of Plymouth, never seemed to suppose that they were neither Puritans nor Episcopalian; and he seemed to have forgotten, if he ever knew, that Roger Williams was not of the Pilgrims, and had no part in the *Mayflower*. Why, indeed, was it considered necessary to mass the New England family if all its members were of the same ancestry and jointly entitled to the same renown and the same superiority? Since Roger Williams, and John Clarke, and William Coddington were originally neither Pilgrims or Separatists, why was not he satisfied with Roger Williams, and John Clark and William Coddingtion, for their own sakes, without committing petty larceny on Plymouth Rock for their decoration. The exact truth is "the Pilgrim fathers" are used as God-fathers for every rascally Puritan in New England; and the Plymouth Rock which was rejected by the builders of the Puritanic Commonwealth, has suddenly become, in these our days of bastard Republicanism, the head of the corner.

In this conclave, the blarney with which the city of New York was besmeared by those who had just before insulted her founders and Thirty-nine out of every Forty of her inhabitants, received no response. It was significant, even in a New England assemblage, that there was no one with "cheek" enough to reiterate, individually and in detail, what the mass of the Society had done "in glittering generalities."

Governor Smythe, also, after opening his address with an indecency which would have been considered disgraceful even in a crowd of New York news-boys, was loud-mouthed concerning "the great force of the Puritan stock," as if that had anything to do in common with the Pilgrim Separatists, whose anniversary he was then attending; and Mr. Beecher was as busy over "the spirit which animated our fathers," as he would have been if slavery had never existed in Massachusetts, and babies like puppies been given away in order that their mothers might be more serviceable to their masters.

In short, there was only one of the party who seemed inclined to tell the truth, and that was Mr. Choate, who emphatically likened the mass of the People of Massachusetts to the prophets of Baal in Mount Carmel, in whom there was neither Truth nor Righteousness and upon whose *Bullock* the Spirit of the Almighty never descended, even when they "cut themselves, after their manner, with knives and lancets, until the blood gushed out upon them," as other heathen idolaters were and are wont to do. We fear that these idolaters in Massachusetts have not improved very greatly since that event; and that Baal is still worshipped more zealously therein than the Lord God of Israel.

We do not envy the sons of New England all the glory which they can gather from such a display as this, since, like Theudas, they "boast themselves to be somebody," while they are only deceivers.

15.—*Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, from his embarkation for New England in 1630, with the Charter and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, to his death in 1649. By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867. Octavo, pp. xvi., 483.

We are indebted to the distinguished author of this work for a copy of it; and we have read it with great pleasure.

As our readers are generally aware, this work is the second of a series, the first of which contained the *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, in Old England; and in the two, we have a connected biography of that celebrated man, from the pen of one of his descendants, who is most competent to do justice to his memory and to that of his fellow-settlers in the Bay Colony.

We have read these volumes, as we said, with great pleasure, because they have enabled us to judge more correctly than before of many features of Governor John Winthrop's personal character, and because we have seen therefrom the reasons for some questionable features of his public policy, from the stand-point which is now occupied by those who are most interested in his reputation.

We have admired, as every one must admire,

the affectionate intercourse, during his absence, with his wife and family; and if we ever doubted his personal integrity, the letters which passed between him and them would have scattered those doubts to the four winds—no willfully wicked man could have written such *private* letters as these or have received from those who best knew him, such unexceptionable replies.

We have admired, also, the stern regard for what he conceived to be his duty, in matters concerning the Colony and his fellow-colonists, even while we have learned, more than ever before, to condemn the great underlying principles on which he based his actions, and to resist the pretensions, still fostered by some, that these Puritan fathers were Republican in their tendencies and the conservators of that freedom of conscience, of that "freedom to worship God," which they found there, on their arrival in the Massachusetts Bay. The fault was, probably, in the system rather than in the instruments; and, although we may lament that such intelligent men as Winthrop should have been so far misled, we may look around us, to-day, and find similar causes and similar results, among those whose personal integrity and general intelligence are just as evident as were his.

The truth is, the Puritan fathers of Massachusetts were just such men as the Prelatist fathers of England, in that day, differing from the latter only on some points of sectarian detail. The Church of England, *as established by law*, was the "Dear Mother" of each; and neither of them ever conceived the idea that the union, by law, of the Church and the State, was not an ordinance of God and to be sustained at every cost. The King of England and the unholy system of Government on which he rested his pretensions to "Divine right" were supported by the Prelatists, both in theory and practice; the Puritans, in practice, to this extent, at least, conformed to the others, although they rather faintly intimated, in their theories, that the King was accountable to the Parliament, which was the representative body of none but the Nobles and the Gentry.

The idea that "all men"—rich and poor, good and bad, religious and irreligious, landlords and tenants, masters and servants, alike—were members of the State; that the King was their agent and servant; that the existing Government could, *legally*, be altered or abolished and another substituted in its stead, at the pleasure of the great body of the Governed, was never entertained for a moment by either party; nor did either of them ever intimate than in matters of Faith, the individual was accountable only to God, and that when the State interfered concerning it, it was an usurper of the Divine prerogative. Both Prelatist and Puritan were alike

Aristocratic and Monarchical in their ideas and practices: neither of them considered that the masses of the People possessed any right, civil or religious, *except what had been granted to them*, nor that the Church or the Parliament or the King were limited in their authority, *except by their own concessions*. They were exactly the opposite of Republicans—considering the King and the Church as the *sources* of authority and power rather than the *instruments* by which the authority and power, granted by God to the Commonwealth, enunciated by "the major will," and by it delegated respectively to them, should be vicariously exercised and controlled, in behalf and for the sole benefit of the whole.

We are willing to acknowledge that the Puritan fathers changed their views after they had become settled—we do not know whether it was before or after they had laid that cornerstone of our modern Republican institutions, of which modern Boston has had so much to say—but we are equally sensible of the fact that the change was one of form rather than substance. They *never* pretended to a recognition of the "inalienable rights" of "all men," of the relative rights and duties of the Governed and the Government, and of that "soul freedom" which has made Rhode Island history so note-worthy. They simply *transferred* from the King, and the Parliament, and the Church of England, *to themselves*, a great portion of the authority which had previously been divided among the former, while the masses were never consulted on the subject nor was it ever considered, even for a moment, that they had anything to do in the matter, but to obey—as in a recent instance, one of the favored ones in Massachusetts evidently considered "obscurity" in the individual as a sufficient reason for a disregard of his dormant rights; and the waste-paper basket or the blazing fire as the most proper receptacles for his communications.

It was consistent, therefore, for John Winthrop to have every appearance of an honest man and yet be, as he was, intolerant and aristocratic. He could be a good husband, and father, and neighbor, and friend, as he evidently was; he could discharge the ordinary duties in the family, the Church, and the State, as the best of other men discharged their duties and as he certainly did his; he could love God and honor the King, after his own fashion and quite as earnestly as the Prelatists loved the one and honored the other, or even better than they, as appears to have been the case; but we have every reason to believe that the Pharisees of old did just the same without escaping the entire condemnation, on matters concerning their intrinsic worth, *as Christians and as men*, of Him whose knowledge of the subject was better than their own; and



the measure by which these were tested is that by which John Winthrop and the Puritan fathers, in the case before us, should have been tried.

"The Humble Appeal" indicates the earnestness of his affection for his "Dear Mother," the Established Church of England, while he was yet in England; whence came the subsequent conviction that that "Mother" was not virtuous, and the authority for his own repudiation of her and persecution of her faithful children? The transfer of the Headship of the Church from the King of England to the body of which he, himself, was the leading spirit and official head, was not very clearly a disinterested measure; and a continuation, by the Massachusetts Establishment, of the burdens which the English Establishment had imposed upon Dissenters—the refugees to Massachusetts, as well as those who remained in England—with even greater rigor in the execution of its edicts than the Bishops had employed, was certainly controlled by something else than the golden rule of "doing unto others as he would they should do unto him."

The Antinomian troubles, it seems to us, should have been more thoroughly cleared up in the volume before us, than has been attempted by its author, since few pretend that they involved nothing else than an Article of Faith concerning a very obscure abstraction; while it is very evident that they also involved many leading questions, in which the Republicanism of the Puritans, if any such Republicanism existed, was a prominent feature.

We are sorry, also, in this connection, that Mr. Winthrop did not examine for himself, and determine, and record his opinion, concerning the authorship of the *Short Story*; rather than have taken the *ex parte* statements of Mr. Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, which had been already exploded in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by one of the most acute and best informed of Boston's historical writers.

Without noticing in detail all that is in this volume, we may say that very few volumes have been published which contain more useful material than this; and very few are to be found which will be more heartily welcomed by every historical student.

The volume is from the press of J. Wilson & Son; and it is illustrated with a steel-plate engraving after the statue of Governor Winthrop, in the chapel at Mount Auburn, and a lithographic *fac simile* of the latter conveying to his son, the intelligence of his death.

16.—*Facts and Suggestions, Biographical, Historical, Financial, and Political, addressed to the People of the United States.* By Duff Green. New York: Richardson & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. vi., 234.

Few men have been more active in Federal

concerns than Duff Green, the editor of the *Washington Telegraph*; and few have been thrown into so many of the incipient movements which have subsequently resulted in the more notable events of our country's history. An autobiography of such a man, therefore, must necessarily be both interesting to the general reader and important to the student of History.

In the volume before us, Mr. Green actually begins "In the beginning," and through Eden and Babel, the Jews and the Gentiles, he traces his theory, concerning Slavery, Labor, and Government. He next narrates his ancestry, early life, religious experience, military career, marriage, commercial life, entrance into politics, etc.; and he continues throughout the volume the narrative of his strange and eventful career.

We have read in this volume, with lively interest, the record of political trickery in Henry Clay, Thomas Hart Benton, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, William H. Crawford, and others of the great men of the past; and the veil which Mr. Green has raised no longer conceals the fact that politicians, in "the good old days" of the Republic were just like the politicians of to-day, and just as unprincipled: both being alike a disgrace to mankind and a curse to the Country.

The importance of this volume, in all that relates to the history of parties in the United States, will be apparent to every one.

17.—*The History of South Carolina.* From its first European discovery to its erection into a Republic. With a supplementary book, bringing the narrative down to the present time. By William Gilmore Simms. New York: Richardson & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. viii., 437.

*The History of South Carolina* is so well known that a description of it, in this place, is unnecessary.

In this new edition of the work, the title-page says it has been continued to "the present time;" but the contents of the last book indicate that it reaches only to 1859; and we suppose that it is one of those careless blunders in the Publisher who, in altering the stereotype plates for a new edition, neglected to correct anything but the date.

This volume is neatly printed on fair paper.

18.—*Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States.* By the late ex President Martin Van Buren. Edited by his Sons. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867. Octavo, pp. ix., 486.

The venerable statesman, after his withdrawal from public life, varied his occupation by an occasional use of his pen, in the preparation of a review of the events of his busy life and of a record of his recollections of his Contemporaries

and of his Times. The volume before us is a distinct portion of this autobiographical contribution to our Political History, which possesses unusual interest; and his sons have done well in presenting it to the public in a separate volume.

Mr. Van Buren opened his discussion with attributing the early strength of the Democratic Republican party to its adherence to the system of nominating by Congressional Caucus and its subsequent decay to the abandonment of that system at the close of Mr. Monroe's administration; and then, after making a comparison of the relative value of the Caucus to the Democratic and the Anti-democratic parties, respectively, and a passing allusion to previously written histories of our political parties, he proceeded to trace the two parties from their origin until the period of the Kansas-Nebraska excitement.

In doing so he traced the progress of party from the English Revolution of 1688, through the Colonial era and that of the Revolution, to the organization of our two great parties in America; and with greater clearness than any other with whom we are acquainted, he went to the very root of the matter when he told of the "settled aversion," during the Revolution and down to the spring of 1787, which existed "in the minds of a majority of the People to any measure or course of measures which were indicative of the slightest desire to return in any degree to the system which they had overthrown;" and he left it very apparent, also, that there was a minority who desired to restore the old order of things, and return to a Monarchy.

He told, also, of "the intense hostility of the Colonists and their successors to Monarchical institutions, and of the recollection of the cruelties inflicted upon them and upon their predecessors under the authority of Kings, which produced a determined repugnance on their part to the concentration of power in the hands of single magistrates;" and in this most important part of his history Mr. Van Buren left little without noticing it. Indeed, so completely and so perfectly satisfactorily has he done this part of his work that there seems to be little to be desired—if we regret that he omitted from the list of those who were the leaders of the Monarchists and the most earnest antagonists of a Republican form of Government, the name of the most obnoxious of the tribe, as we are compelled to do, we do so with the assurance that it was an oversight and not the result of a settled conviction.

We have room only to notice another portion of Mr. Van Buren's narrative; and we single it out because in it, also, we notice the result of either an oversight or a want of authentic data.

We refer to the character which he has given to the opposition to the proposed Constitution by the Anti-Federal or States-Rights party of that day, and to the necessity which he supposed had existed for the establishment of that "new system," even in the modified form which it assumed after the adoption of the Ten Amendments. In those instances, if we are not mistaken, Mr. Van Buren's seclusion worked mischief, since no one can write a history of what he has not any personal knowledge, except from the material which has been left by others; and concerning such a complicated subject as this, wherein so many were participants, the venerable agriculturist at Kinderhook, who wrote less from inclination than to gratify his children and friends, could not be expected, with any reason, to possess the material, nor, while in the country, to use it.

Had Mr. Van Buren sat and pored over the literature of that period as closely as some others have done, he would have seen in even stronger light than he did see it, the towering intellects of the States-Rights opponents to the originally-proposed Constitution, in all their glory; and he would have seen, also, in the pretended necessity of the country only a myth, and in the originally-proposed Constitution itself only a trap, the teeth of which were subsequently filed off, when the Ten Amendments confined the Federal authorities to a prescribed field of operations and forbade them from trespassing.

Throughout this volume there is the same clearly-defined distinction between the theories and doings of the two great parties in the United States, as seen from that standpoint which was occupied by the Van Buren wing of the Democratic party, as in the portion to which we have particularly referred; and we close the volume with the conviction that it is one of the most important contributions to our Political History that has yet appeared.

When the next edition shall appear we hope to see in it a complete and carefully prepared Index: the author will not have fair-play with the readers of this edition because of the absence of that very important addition.

The volume is from the Riverside Press, a pattern of neatness, and is illustrated with a splendid portrait of Mr. Van Buren. The selling price is Three dollars.

19.—*Reply to Him Charles G. Loring, upon "Reconstruction."* By John J. Wright, of Illinois. Boston: A. Williams & Co. Octavo, pp. 31, xxiv. 189.

We have not yet met with the pamphlet of Mr. Loring to which this is a reply; and we must, therefore, notice the latter on its own merits and not relatively as part of a discussion.

The volume before us consists of two parts,

one, entitled "The pith of this matter," extending through Thirty-one pages of fine type, and embracing the author's plan for regenerating the Republic and saving what has been too long lost to be worth seeking; the other, covering Two hundred and thirteen pages, forming the "Reply" to Mr. Loring.

Of the "Pith of the matter," we have few words to say. Mr. Wright proposes to turn the torrent of absolutism which has broken down the Constitutional levee of the Republic and is carrying demoralization and political degradation over the entire country, North and South, East and West, by circulating some well-meant, but entirely too ponderous, publications among the Editors and Clergy—Four thousand copies to each tribe;—and he assures himself that those amiable, impartial, truth-loving, God-fearing classes will at once see their errors and become the undoers of the mischief of which they, more than all others, have been most notably the promoters.

Mr. Wright says, very properly, in this connection, that the busy-ones of the country cannot spare the time to read for themselves; and he thinks that the Press and the Pulpit must, therefore, read for them—which we do not admit—and that the Press and the Pulpit must, therefore, learn in order that it may teach, and read his books in order that they may learn.

All this is very well; but Mr. Wright will learn before he shall get very far on his mission that both Editors and Parsons have learned ALL THAT CAN BE LEARNED, ALREADY; that what they do not know is not worth the trouble of learning; and that his labor and his money had better have been spent elsewhere. The truth is, the great body of both the Press and the Pulpit is radically corrupt; and out of nothing nothing can proceed. Instead of the leader and instructor of the People, the Press, with here and there an exception, is only a panderer to the worst propensities of a degenerate race; and a threatened loss of a thousand subscribers will as effectually muzzle the most "independent" Press in the country; as an uneasiness in the pews, from any cause, will supersede, in the Pulpit, the most emphatic, "THUS SAITH THE LORD."

Neither the Press nor the Pulpit, as a body, will condescend to read a page of Mr. Wright's book; and of those who shall read it, so ignorant are they as well as depraved, not one in a hundred will understand it.

Of the "Reply to Mr. Loring," which constitutes the greater part of this volume, we also have little to say. It is well-meant, but it is too intricate, and too ponderous and too abstruse, to be at all effective among the masses, or even among the great body of those who read *The Ledger* and rule the Republic. For the great

purpose for which it was written, therefore, it will be entirely useless; and the great truths which have been scattered through it will be without effect, because they are over-ridden by what we must say we consider an unnecessary verbiage.

We know Mr. Wright, personally, and no one knows better than we, the earnest sincerity and the untiring steadiness with which he labors to be useful to his country; but he has not yet caught that enviable acquirement which would enable him to convey to every other with whom he may be thrown into company, the full measure of enthusiasm on an entirely dry, and, to others, entirely uninteresting if not obnoxious subject, which he possesses. As a necessary consequence, he cannot secure readers for his volumes, unless among the very few; and of those, the greater number will consider him, because of their own self-righteousness, a political monstrosity.

The volume before us is handsomely printed, from the Riverside Press, and sells for One dollar and a quarter.

20.—*The Public Debt of the United States. Its Organization: its liquidation: administration of the Treasury; the financial system.* By J. S. Gibbons. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. xii. 276

The author of this volume opens with a declaration that a public debt may sometimes be a public blessing, and, at worst, can only inflict alarm and injury to the body politic, without ruining it.

We do not concur with him in either of these views; and he is young enough, in the ordinary course of nature, to learn from observation what he might have learned from the history of the Republic, that taxation affects the pockets of the People and that the pockets are exceedingly sensitive to the touch of any but their owners. Indeed, if we have read correctly, one public Debt has been repudiated already, because the taxpayers did not consider it a public blessing; and Wall street should not shut its eyes to the stern fact that what, in that line, has been done once can very easily be done again.

In the volume before us, as the title indicates, we have a minute account of the *Federal Debt*, in all its aspects; but we do not find in it any notice whatever of the *State and Municipal Debts* which, united with the first, are crushing the industry of the country into the earth, as that of debt-ridden Europe has long been crushed, for the benefit of the few and to the destruction of the many. It discusses, also, the capability of the masses to stand taxation as coolly as the phlebotomist discusses the strength of his patient, but it does not seem to care, if it knows, that they are also struggling with other than Federal fates, as indicated by both their State and Municipal tax-gatherers.

If we are not mistaken, we knew Mr. Gibbons as a clerk in the old Bank of the State of New York, many years ago; and we fear that the rigidity of his education under Reuben Withers and Joseph Lawrence, which cared more for the payment of the money than the source from whence it came or the manner in which it was obtained, has not been modified by the knowledge, not learned in banks, that a People in its collective capacity cares very little for the rules of trade and is governed more by its ignorance and its immediate interests than by its information and its ultimate good.

21.—*Lectures on the Nature of Spirit, and of Man as a Spiritual Being.* By Chauncy Giles, Minister of the New Jerusalem Church, New York. General Convention of the New Jerusalem Church. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 206.

Viewed from any point, these Lectures are remarkable productions. Bold, earnest, confident, they almost "rush in where angels fear to tread." We cannot call them dogmatical, for their leading characteristic is their continued and almost consecutive appeal to human reason. Their author asks no favor from credulity, while he gives no quarter to scepticism. One thing is certain, he has not arrived at his conclusions by any process of *a priori* reasoning. He has a theory, and holding it forth, he confidently challenges the clearest perceptions and the profoundest reflections of man. He deals with spirit as if it were form and substance, entirely cognizable to perception and reason. He passes the confines of the spiritual bourne as if he were a denizen of the empyrean world. And yet his boldness does not shock us, nor does it desecrate that which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard." His spirits are not sheeted dead, but men and women—real men and women. His celestial realm is not the silence of viewless life, nor yet the sabbath monotony of psalms and praises. It is not a conjectural existence—a mysterious waiting for a resurrection of the body, but a world of action and real life—of fields and landscapes; of mountains, plains and valleys; of habitations and employments; the archetype of earth—earth as it would have been had sin never entered to mar its harmonies nor disturb its felicities. We pause to enquire "whence hath this man this wisdom," and his oft repeated experience, "the new church teaches," assures us that his inspiration is from other sources than himself. It is clear that he is but a disciple. His duty seems to be but to illustrate and confirm, by appeals to reason, the teaching of his master. What is most noticeable in the book is the unity of idea that pervades every page. If one receives a portion he will be compelled, by a logical necessity, to accept the whole. It is impossible, within the

limit of this brief notice, to give any just idea of the book, nor of the philosophy it is intended to inculcate. To understand it, the whole must be read, perhaps studied. Yet it will not be a wearisome task—not "light reading" indeed—but its pages enchain. He who reads a single lecture will not omit to read them all. At this day of theological speculations, when the foundations of opinion, old dogmas, and ecumenical decrees are yielding to new discoveries, both in nature and in philosophy, it is pleasant to find at least one system of theology not open to conflicting theories. The followers of Swedenborg are intensely loyal. What is written is written. Within the range of what is taught, and now lies locked in the unchanging Latin of the ponderous tomes of their great Master, his followers deem an ample field for the most extended research and investigation. Beyond that they seek not to penetrate the veil. The volume before us is wholly Swedenborgian. And we think that nowhere can be found a book from which so clear and so compressed a view of the leading doctrines of this rapidly growing sect can be obtained as from a perusal of these lectures. We have in vain attempted to extract passages from which our readers may see what we can say is a fair specimen of the book. The unity of idea that pervades it forbids us to interrupt its harmony by extracting a single passage. The student of philosophy, the man of the world, as well as the devout and humble Christian, will find himself most amply repaid by a careful perusal of every line of the volume.

22.—*The History of the Civil War in America*; comprising a full and impartial account of the origin and progress of the Rebellion, of the various Naval and Military engagements, of the Heroic Deeds performed by Armies and Individuals, and of touching scenes in the Field, the Camp, the Hospital, and the Cabin. By John S. C. Abbott. Complete in one volume. New York: Ledyard Bill, 1866. Octavo, pp. 507, 2 (unpaged) 629.

We are indebted to our respected friend, the publisher of this work, for a copy of it; and, although we have not yet had time to go over it very carefully, we place it on our record, in order that Bibliographers and Collectors may not lose sight of it.

Mr. Abbott is so well known that he needs no introduction to our readers; and, notwithstanding his writings may not have been critically reliable, in all their details, in every instance, there need be no doubt of the fact that they have been popular and profitable to those who have circulated them.

We have glanced over some pages of this volume and we have wondered why its Author considered "the conflict" a *Civil War*. We have wondered, also, why he could have written, on

pages 19 and 20, what he said of the Constitution in its relation to Slavery, in the face of what he must have known to have been the Truth. We have wondered why the Author, who knew better, has treated this "Civil War," as if it had been produced only by reason of Slavery and Freedom. We wonder that any one, having access to the evidence, can consider General Scott as either a good soldier or a good citizen, as Mr. Abbott has considered him. There are many other similar causes for wonder, but we have not room enough to recite them.

So far as we have read the narrative of the military movements, we have seen nothing that is especially blameworthy: but we would suggest to the publisher that the man who made the indices most certainly did not know what they were for, since he could not otherwise have done them so shabbily.

23.—*History of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment, from August 22d. 1861, to September 30th. 1864.* By W. W. H. Davis, late Colonel. Philadelphia: Jas. C. Roberts, 1866. Octavo, pp. pp.

We have received from the gallant author a copy of this interesting volume, which we take pleasure in introducing to our readers.

The Regiment referred to was the Bucks County regiment: and it served at Washington, on the Peninsula, and in the Carolinas, with distinguished honor. Its services are narrated in the volume before us with great precision, yet without affectation and unnecessary detail; and that officer, in these our days, who can say, as Colonel Davis has said, in the face of such a record as belongs to this Regiment, while speaking of his own description of it, "it contains no wonderful exploit, but a simple narrative of the campaigns of the Regiment, which has been written without passion or prejudice and with a sincere desire to do justice to all," is certainly deserving of great credit, and furnishes evidence of his own fidelity.

The careful reader will find in it one of the best of the Regimental histories of the war; and we earnestly hope that it will be properly sustained by those who collect this class of works.

The volume is very neatly printed; and it is illustrated with several wood-cuts.

24.—*A history of the townships of Byberry and Moreland, in Philadelphia, Pa., from their Earliest Settlement by the Whites to the Present Time.* By Joseph C. Martindale, M.D. Philadelphia: T. E. Zell, 1867. Octavo, pp. 379, Errata.

The Friends' community in Byberry and Moreland have found an annalist; and the result of his labors is found in this well-filled volume.

From the days of Penn, if not before his ar-

rival, there has been a settlement at Byberry; and its annals, year by year, are briefly presented in the first Seventy pages of the text of this volume. These are followed by a hundred and twenty-five pages of descriptions of Churches, Schools, Mills, Roads, Topography, etc.; and these by a hundred and seventy of Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of the ancient families of the locality.

We have seldom seen a better arranged local history than this; and rarely one that is written with better judgment.

25.—*Reports upon the Mineral Resources of the United States, by Special Commissioners J. Ross Browne and James W. Taylor.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867. Octavo, pp. 360.

Some of our readers will thank us for calling their attention to this public document, in which may be found a very complete historical sketch of gold and silver mining on the Pacific coast; reports on the Geological formation of the Pacific slope; on the condition of gold and silver mining there; on the resources, history, etc., of Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Montana, and Idaho; on the mines of copper, quicksilver, borax, sulphur, tin, and coal; on the climate, altitude, capacity to maintain a population, etc., and the mining laws of the various districts; an historical address on California and one on the acquisition of California by the United States; and a Report on the Gold mines East of the Rocky Mountains.

As a local history it is very important and well worth preservation.

26.—*The Descriptive New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. With Notes.* Illustrated with numerous engravings. New York: Clark & Mead, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 2 (unpaged) iv. 428.

A very neat little<sup>d</sup> edition of the New Testament, with Notes by Ingram Cobbin, and illustrated with numerous cuts, is here presented; and we have no doubt it will be welcomed by many unto whom these accompaniments will prove very interesting.

27.—*The life of Earl Ritter, late Professor of Geography in the University of Berlin.* By W. L. Gage. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, x., 242.

This beautiful volume, from the press of the Blackwoods, of Edinburgh, contains a well-written memoir of the great Geographer, by one of his most ardent admirers; and in it the author has traced the career of his master and friend, from his childhood, at Quedlinberg, through his youth at Schnepfenthal, his student-life at Halle, and his career as a Tutor at Frankfort-on-the-

Main, as a Savant at Geneva, as an Author at Gottingen, and as Professor at Berlin, to the close of his career in 1859.

It is well written, interspersed with extracts from his correspondence, and is exceedingly interesting.

28.—*The Romance of the Age; or the Discovery of Gold in California.* By Edward E. Dunbar. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 181.

This little volume contains, in the most convenient form, a complete synopsis of the more recent history of California, including the career of Captain Sutter, the discovery of Gold, and the subsequent events, incidental thereto.

It is, therefore, a most useful book; and the neatness of its dress will commend it to the favor of every one.

29.—*The Birth of Pleasure. The story of Cupid and Psyche.* From Apuleius. New York: James Porteus, 1867. 16mo. pp. 110.

In this beautifully printed little volume, we have the well-known mythological story of Cupid and Psyche, in the most enticing form. As a specimen of book-making it is a perfect little gem; and to those who delight in the class of works to which this belongs we have no doubt it will be very acceptable.

30.—*Liber Librorum; its structure, limitations, and purpose.* A friendly communication to a reluctant sceptic. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp.

In this little volume we have an earnest defence of the Historic Reality and the Supernatural Origin of the Mosaic and Christian systems, against the doubts of a reluctant sceptic; and the compactness of the argument and the merits of the case unite in making it an acceptable addition to the religious literature of the day. The field is certainly wide enough, in these our days; and we are glad to see one earnest laborer in the harvest, where so many are needed.

The volume is very neatly printed and is sold for One dollar and fifty cents.

31.—*Teetotalism as a rule of duty unknown to the Bible and condemned by Christian Ethics.* By D. R. Thomason. With a commendatory Letter by Howard Crosby, D D.

It appears from this little volume that there are some of the clergy who do not consider Total abstinence from intoxicating drinks either necessary for obedience sake or advisable on the score of health; and two of them, one of the number widely known and as widely honored both for his personal worth and his superior intellectual

powers, bear testimony in these pages to their convictions in the premises.

There appears to have been no finely-spun arguments in the discussion, by either of the authors; but by good, old-fashioned, sturdy blows they assail the citadel of Total Abstinence and oppose its champions, hand to hand. We shall look for as frank and manly a reply; and we earnestly hope that the Truth may be established.

32.—*Mr. Secretary Pepys, with Extracts from his Diary.* By Allan Grant. New York: James Porteus, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 264.

The prince of journalists has found in Mr. Grant a sympathising biographer; and "the learned associations styling themselves 'Societies'" — *Historical "Societies,"* he might have said — have found in him an ignorant slanderer.

It may have suited this Scotch admirer of an old English gossip to sneer at the collections of "rubbish" concerning America and Americans which Historical Societies in America have "garnered up" for the use of historical students, in all ages; but it seems to us that he might have been contented with the undisturbed enjoyment of his ancient English "rubbish," without insulting those whose lines of study differ from his own, or "the learned associations styling themselves 'Societies,'" who have seen fit to collect and preserve material for their use and instruction.

Be this as it may, Mr. Grant sneers at those who merely "sift, riddle, and readjust to suit 'the taste of the time,'" the "sweepings of a study"; yet, in the volume before us, he has done nothing more than an exactly similar work, in which he has turned a penny, we hope, by sifting, riddling, and readjusting to suit what he supposed to be the taste of the time, the gossip of Samuel Pepys concerning his shoe-buckles, mock venison, Sir George Downing, sack-posset, the refugee King of England, the London theatres, Sir George Carteret, etc., and interlarding it, here and there, with comments on New York boarding-house-keepers, half-fuddled New York Aldermen, Sir Walter Scott, Professor Blot, Andrew Jackson, roast pig, New York belles, etc. He might, therefore, it seems to us, have been contented with himself and with his own little affair without heaping uninvited abuse on others, in other lines of the profession, who are probably quite as worthy as he; and we hope he will hereafter rest contented with the credit which justly belongs to himself, in his own line of authorship, without volunteering abuse on others, in other walks of life.

The volume before us is, all things considered,

an entertaining little affair; and it has been issued in a very neat dress, by the enterprising young publisher in the Bible-house, whose imprint it bears.

33.—*The Reformed Dutch Church in Williamsburgh.* An historical discourse delivered on Sabbath morning, November 4, 1866, by Kilbert S. Porter, Pastor. Published by the Consistory. New York: 1866. Octavo, pp. 30.

The First Reformed Dutch Church of Williamsburgh, was originally only a branch of the old Church at Bushwick; and its Meeting-house was designed only as a Chapel-of-ease to that ancient parish. On the first Sunday in November, 1829, however, its independence was publicly recognized by the Classis of Long Island; and, soon after, the Rev. James Demarest was called to the Pastorate. Nearly ten years after, Rev. W. H. Van Doren succeeded Mr. Demarest; and in December, 1849, Doctor Porter was installed in the Pastoral chair and still occupies it.

The corner-stone of the first Meeting-house was laid on the twenty-eight of September, 1828, as a Chapel of the Bushwick Church, on the outskirts of a mere hamlet of some Two thousand inhabitants: to-day, enlarged and beautified, it stands in the midst of a city of One hundred thousand souls, teeming with wealth, and industry, and unrecognized blessings.

In the discourse before us, our respected friend and fellow-laborer has spread before his readers a life-like picture of the town and city of Williamsburgh, during its march from insignificance to celebrity; and we commend it to the attention of those who collect local histories as one of the most important of the series relating to Long Island.

We suppose that it may be purchased at the Consistory Rooms in Fulton street, New York.

34.—*Origin and History of the Measures that led to the construction of the Erie Canal.* Written at the request of the Buffalo Historical Society, by George Geddes. Syracuse: Summers & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 21.

We suppose, from the small portions of this tract which we have read, that it is exceedingly valuable, as a synopsis of the early history of the great system of internal improvements in New York; but we have been compelled, out of a tender regard for our eyes, to turn from the wretchedly-printed work and lay it on the shelf until it shall become necessary for us to turn to it.

At an early day we shall endeavor to lay before our readers some portions of the very important material which this pamphlet seems to contain.

35.—*The Illustrated Horticulturist Almanac for 1867* New York: Geo. E. & E. W. Woodward. Octavo, pp. 30.

This beautiful little affair is the best work of the kind, of its size, that we have as yet seen; and the calendar of operations in the Orchard, Vineyard, Farm, Garden, and Greenhouse, for every month in the year, which it contains, is worth very much more than the price of the book.

## 2.—BOOKS RECEIVED.

1.—From LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston. *Modern Inquiries.* By Doctor Bigelow.

—*Works of Edmund Burke.* Vol. XII.

—*The Jesuits in America.* By Francis Parkman.

2.—From THE MASONIC PUBLISHING CO., New York. *A Cyclopedia of Freemasonry.* By Robert Macoy.

3.—From SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Boston. *The Old Indian Chronicle.*

4.—From W. R. C. CLARKE, New York. *History of New York.* By Miss Mary L. Booth. 2 vols.

5.—From THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Fourth Annual Report.*

6.—From SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, Augusta, Me. *A Golden Wedding and the Dinsmore Genealogy,* from about 1620 to 1865.

7.—From W. J. WIDDLETON, New York. *Joseph Reed.* By George Bancroft.

8.—From Hon. D. D. FIELD, New York. *Suggestions Respecting the Revision of the Constitution of New York.*

9.—From A. E. CUTTER, Charlestown, Mass. *Poems of Anne Bradstreet.*

10.—From HARPER & BROS., New York. *Raymond's Heroine.* A Novel.

—*Mr. Wynyard's Ward.* A Novel. By Holme Lee.

—*College Life; Its Theory and Practice.* By Stephen Olin, D.D.

—*The Great Rebellion.* By John Minor Botts.

—*War of the Rebellion.* By H. S. Foote.

—*Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty.* By J. W. De Forest.

—*Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis.* By Himself.

—*Thackeray's Lectures.*

—*Bench and Bar.* By L. J. Bigelow.

—*The Civil War in America.* By Dr. John W. Draper. Vol. I.

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THE

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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. II. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

1867.



## PREFATORY NOTE.

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The end of another volume, which closes also the eleventh yearly issue of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, affords a fit opportunity for returning our thanks to those of our friends who have assisted us in our labors and sustained us by their subscriptions; and we gladly discharge that duty, trusting that they will continue both the contributions to our pages and the support of our subscriptions lists with which we have hitherto been favored, as their several opportunities shall admit.

We take pleasure, also, in recording the fact that, with here and there an exception, those who, at the close of the last year, had refused to recognize our just claims upon them for copies of the work supplied to them on their orders, because it contained, sometimes, articles which were distasteful to them, have obeyed either the demands of their consciences or the promptings of their fears, and ceased to be repudiators. Even the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has overruled the action of her insolent "Acting Librarian," and paid our bill in the legal currency of the country instead of the clippings from *The Congregationalist*, denunciatory of the work, with which he had previously attempted to liquidate the claim. Truly, the world moves, taking even Boston with it; and for this, also, we desire to be duly thankful.

We close our volumes for 1867, with very much more pleasure than we closed that for 1866, since Falsehood, in one of its favorite fields of adventure, has found in our pages a greater obstacle than it has usually encountered, and the Truth has been thereby more signally vindicated. Besides, we have, individually, one year less to labor, and are one year nearer our rest; and we are enabled to look forward with greater satisfaction to the day when the jeers of the ignorant and the shamelessness of the more intelligent, as they respectively cast the Truth from them and dally with Falsehood, shall no longer mock us in our struggle nor confirm, before our eyes, their own worldly success.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. SECOND SERIES.]

JULY, 1867.

[No. 1

I.—FIRST CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND.

By HON. E. E. BOURNE, PRESIDENT OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*Editor of the Historical Magazine:*

The following communication was sent to the *Congregational Quarterly* soon after I was notified of, and had read, the article of Mr. Cushman. I have just had it returned to me, for the reason that it was a little too sharp. I have always supposed that one of the material attributes of truth was its sharpness, and that when coming in contact with error, its pungency should be felt. At any rate, the Apostle Paul had some notion of this kind, and I have not felt that I was out of the way in following him. But the Editor takes a different view of the matter; and I have no disposition to quarrel with him for his opinion. Liberty is the appurtenance of every man. If he thinks that error had better go unanswred than to be corrected by the sharpness of truth, he has the right to exercise his liberty in that direction. The common law with publishers, I trust, is not of that stamp. E. E. B.

My attention has been called to the article in the last number of the *Congregational Journal* entitled "THE FIRST CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND." The same substantially (I presume by the same author), was published in one of the newspapers of the State, soon after the delivery of the Address referred to. It was not then regarded as meriting notice. But this writer was followed by another, with no more discrimination, in the use of the same historical facts, and by the same train of argument, reaching the similar conclusion, that the statements of the Address were not sustained by history. To both of these I replied, and I supposed conclusively, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. No replication to that answer has been observed. The renewal of the subject in your widely circulated Journal seems to render necessary a repetition of what was there fully stated.

I have not been aware of being under the influence of any special zeal to magnify the importance of the Popham Colony, or of the results of its attempt at Colonization; neither is it to me a matter of special interest to establish the fact, that the First Religious Services on the shores of New England, were according to the formula and mode of the Mother Church; or were Episcopalian in their character. The large and highly respectable communion of Christians

of that denomination has not drawn me into its fold. Yet, though claiming sympathy with Congregationalism, I trust I have sufficient respect for my Christian manhood, honestly to recognize historical facts, though they may, as some imagine, tend to give encouragement and strength to another Denomination.

But the truth that the first religious services here were Episcopal does not, in my view, impart any sanction to the doctrines and modes of worship adopted by that Church. Religion, in none of its manifestations, forms, or professions, gains any prestige by its antiquity. God's Law is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. As it was in the beginning, so it is now. Human action can give no strength to it, nor detract, in any measure, from its demands. So it is in regard to God's truth, which is but a synonym for his Law. If it is embodied in Episcopacy, established a thousand years ago, it has no stronger claim upon the reverence, sympathy, and hearty embrace of the human family, than though it was an institution of yesterday. Congregationalism, if in its forms and structure it conforms to the inspired word, is as worthy the acceptance and support of every rational man, if first addressed to his intellect and conscience to-day, as if it had been a familiar institution of human society from the birth of Creation. The only question is, What is Truth in relation to the matter in question? Whether it helps one denomination or another, is a point of no importance to the historical student.

Since the delivery of the Address, we have seen no reason for qualifying any of its positions; we must therefore reaffirm them all. The title-page sets forth its object, "THE CHARACTER OF THE POPHAM COLONY." The remainder, to use a legal term, is but inducement, and also incident, such as the occasion required. The statements controverted come under the last class.

The inducement, as stated in the Address, is in the following words: "It is claimed for the Sagadahock Colony, that it was the first attempt at Colonization; that it secured this territory to King James, and began the Settlement of New England." This position I was not called

upon to argue. But without this assumption, all the rest of the Discourse would have been unimportant. There was no object in the examination of the character of the Popham Colony, as its whole action was without effect.

Now, no man acquainted with the first principles of National and International Law, or Comity, can fail to see, in a moment, that all the quotations, of which your Author, in his criticism, has made such a display, have no bearing whatever on the statements of the Address. Any action, on any Island, was entirely irrelevant; as much so as if it was situated on the coast of England or France; and therefore no allusion was made to Neutral, St. George's, or Elizabeth Islands. The words "shore" or "shores," in the Address, are everywhere used in a marine sense, in contradistinction from the Islands; and as synonymous with Main, or the Continent; and every lawyer would readily so understand it, from the necessity of the case. Suppose that De Montz did occupy Neutral Island, and continued to occupy it year after year; that his Company planted grain, built houses, erected a Fort, and also a Church for the worship of God; and that from week to week, or from day to day, there went up from it the prayer and the song of praise and thanksgiving to the God of Nations—and the preacher cheered the hearts of his suffering hearers, by those heavenly utterances with which it is his province to address them; what had all this to do with the Shore or Main land? How did it dedicate the territory of New England to the great cause of Civilization? How did it impart or secure any possession, or interest in it, to France? How did this public worship consecrate Maine to the service and worship of God? Or suppose that George Popham, Gosnald, Weymouth, or any English navigator or voyager, on the Elizabeth Islands, George's Islands, Boon Island, or the Isle of Shoals, had done the same things, under British authority; or suppose, as at Sabino, on either of those Islands, they had built fifty houses, a store house, a strong fortification, a pinnacle, and also a chapel for the worship of God, and at the beginning proclaimed the Laws of England for the government of the people—under what law, or what theory of right, could such action have been made to attach to the main land or shores of New England? Did France ever pretend that the proceedings of De Montz on Neutral Island, or England, on the Elizabeth or George's Islands, gave them any possession or title to these Western shores?

Every one ought to know, and surely educated Ministers of the Gospel cannot be absolved from the requirement, that individuals or nations, when they set up a right by occupancy or possession, can acquire no title beyond the territory of which possession is proved. This position

carries with it so much common sense, that, without instruction, it must necessarily suggest itself to every considerate mind. The possession of an island never draws with it the shore; but by the Comity of Nations, the converse of the position is so far admitted, that the shore draws to it the adjacent islands.

As to the religious services in the cabin of Weymouth's vessel, necessarily at anchor in the stream, no comments can be necessary. No sane man would give them any significance on the question of the occupation of the Territory. But it may not be amiss to add, that neither Weymouth, nor De Montz, nor Gosnald, nor any one before Popham, attempted to secure the main by any actual occupancy or possession; for the very good reason that the Bed men of the Wilderness were too numerous, and of a nature too savage, to justify such a fearful hazard. What was done by George Popham was effectual only because it was done on the shore. De Montz gained nothing for France by his possession of Neutral Island but the island itself. So also is this postulate indisputable in regard to England's claim of St. George's and the Elizabeth Islands. They became small isolated dependencies of France and England while thus in their possession. The Continent was not New England till the foot of Civilization was planted upon it with the purpose of holding it for King James. When that was done, the islands near the shore became appurtenances of the territory.

It is presumed that what has been said will be sufficient to satisfy the reader as to the meaning and force of the incidental remarks in the conclusion of the Address. But the communication of Mr. Cushman can hardly commend itself to the intelligent Christian, from the misapprehensions of fact, and erroneous positions, which have a part in it. De Montz's Island, as it is now called, was not a part of New England until within the present century. Although England, by the action of the Popham Colonists, and other agencies, in securing the possession of the territory, became established in the title, the island was not regarded as appendant to it. It lies between Maine and New Brunswick, and was so situated as to acquire the name of Neutral Island. It was first annexed to the United States in 1811, when Maine made it a part of Robbinstown. Were Newfoundland, the Isle of Sable, Bermuda, St. Thomas, or even Canada now annexed to the Union, the position would not find very ready acceptance with the Christian world, that the first Christian worship in any of those places was the first in the United States.

But the aid which the references to Brereton and Haklyt bring to the Author in his enterprise is of still less avail; and one cannot but wonder that he should so peril his reputation as a his-

torical student, or as an astute member of his profession, as to deduce from it his first position. Every one knows that one of the prominent objects of the early voyages to the New World, was to plant among the Heathen the Christian Religion; no extracts were needed to sustain a postulate of that description. But the inference, that men are to be presumed to have done what they engaged to do, or set out to do, is surely a novelty in historical, political, or religious investigations. How long would Truth, Right, and Justice maintain their hold on society, if such a principle should be recognized? If the Author's congregation have promised to pay him an annual stipend for his ministrations, would it meet his views to apply the principle to his case? Suppose he was one of a jury, would his conscience be satisfied in rendering a verdict on a civil contract, that the Respondent fulfilled his agreement because he engaged to do so? Would he, in writing history, think himself justified in saying, that De Montz landed on Neutral Island, or Gosnald on Elizabeth Islands, because they embarked for that special purpose? Or would he be willing, in his sober senses, to sit down and enter upon his Diary, that one of his parishioners had repented of his sins, and become a Christian, because he said he would? I sometimes think that humanity may be tending heavenward. But its present status is so far short of the realization of that high destiny, that I can give no credit to the assumption as a principle, that men will do what they agree to do.

But this strange position finds more than its counterpart in what follows:—that it would be difficult to prove that there were not religious Christian services on these shores before those of the Popham Colonists. We are of the same opinion, and, at present, are not disposed to attempt any such Quixotism. But we cannot but admire the courage of a logician who can advance such a position as evidence of the allegation, that such services had been performed. How much respect would one's Theology be entitled to, which had no better basis than his naked averment that it could not be proved that it was not true? To one of the legal profession, these assumptions, as evidence of facts, would be regarded as ministerial waggery, rather than as emanations of sober, honest thought. History is to be based on Truth; and an act known to have been done is not bereft of its precedency by the argument, that another cannot be proved not to have been done before it. Proof of a negative is not required in Law or Morals. We might as well say that Civilization and the Christian Religion were planted on these shores before discovered by Columbus, and that it could not be proved otherwise, as to say that the solemnities at Sabino, in 1607, were not the first, because it

cannot be proved that there were not like services here before.

Any further comment on this labor of love for the Truth from Mr. Cushman cannot be necessary. One who would criticise either the sentiment or the truth of the statements of an Author, must first assure himself that he understands him. The voyages of Gosnald, De Montz, and Weymouth, are familiar to all with whom reading is a habit of life. They have been in our little Town libraries, under the title of BELKNAP's *American Biography*, for more than half a Century, and were before the writer of the Address at the time of its preparation; and it was believed that there was no discord in their respective historical averments. If Mr. Cushman did not comprehend the true import of the Address, his misapprehension is perhaps excusable from the circumstances of his life. If he had lived in a Commercial community, he would have learned that the Shore of a Country does not include its Islands, which are denominated such only because they are off from the shore.

E. E. BOURNE.

KENNEBUNK, 1867.

## II.—THE MYTHS OF MANIBOZHO AND IOSKEHA.\*

BY D. G. BRINTON, M.D.

From the remotest wilds of the Northwest to the coast of the Atlantic, from the Southern boundaries of Carolina to the cheerless swamps of Hudson's Bay, the Algonkins were never tired of gathering around the winter fire and repeating the story of Manibozho or Michabo, the Great Hare. With like unanimity their various branches, the Powhattans, of Virginia, the Lenni Lenape, of the Delaware, the warlike hordes of New England, the Ottawas of the far North, and the Western tribes, perhaps without exception, spoke of "this chimerical beast," as one of the old missionaries calls it, as their common ancestor, and the totem or clan that bore his name was looked up to with peculiar respect.

In many of the tales which the whites have preserved of Michabo he seems half a wizard, half a simpleton. He is full of pranks and wiles, but often at a loss for a meal of victuals; ever itching to try his arts magic on great beasts, and often meeting ludicrous failures therein; envious of the powers of others, and constantly striving to outdo them in what they did best; in short, little more than a malicious buffoon, delighting in practical jokes, and abusing his superhuman powers for selfish and ignoble ends. But this is

\* From a work in preparation on American Mythology.



a low, modern, and corrupt version of the character of Michabo, bearing no more resemblance to his real and ancient one than the language and acts of our Saviour and the Apostles in the coarse Mystery Plays of the Middle Ages do to those recorded by the Evangelist.

What he really was we must seek in the accounts of older travelers, in the invocations of the Jossakeeds or Prophets, and in the part assigned to him in the solemn mysteries of religion. In these we find him portrayed as the patron and founder of the Meda worship, the inventor of picture writing, the father and guardian of their nation, the ruler of the winds, even the maker and preserver of the world, and creator of the sun and moon. From a grain of sand brought from the bottom of the primeval ocean he fashioned the habitable land and set it floating on the waters. Under the name Michabo Ovisaketchak, the Great Hare who created the Earth, he was originally the highest divinity recognized by them, "powerful and beneficent" beyond all others, maker of the heavens and "the world." He was founder of the medicine hunt, in which, after appropriate ceremonies and incantations, the Indian sleeps, and Michabo appears to him in a dream, and tells him where he may readily kill game. He himself was a mighty hunter of old; one of his footsteps measured Eight leagues; the Great Lakes were the beaver dams he built; and when the cataracts impeded his progress he tore them away with his hands. Attentively watching the spider spread its web to trap unwary flies, he devised the art of knitting nets to catch fish, and the signs and charms he tested and handed down to his descendants are of marvelous efficacy in the chase. Sometimes he was said to dwell in the skies with his brother the snow, or like many great spirits to have built his wigwam in the far North on some floe of ice in the Arctic Ocean; while the Chippewas localized his birth-place and former home to the island Michilimakinac, at the outlet of Lake Superior. But in the oldest account of the missionaries he was alleged to reside toward the East, and in the holy formulas of the Meda craft, when the winds are invoked to the Medicine lodge, the East is summoned in his name, the door opens in that direction, and there, at the edge of the earth, where the sun rises, on the shore of the infinite ocean that surrounds the land, he has his house, and sends the luminaries forth on their daily journeys.\*

It is passing strange that such an insignificant creature as the rabbit should have received this

apotheosis. No explanation of it in the least satisfactory has ever been offered. Some have pointed it out as a senseless, meaningless brute worship. It leads to the suspicion that there may lurk here one of those confusions of words which have so often led to confusion of ideas in theology. Manibozho, Nanibojon, Missibizi, Michabo, Messon, all variations of the same name, in different dialects, rendered according to different orthographies, scrutinize them close as we may, they all seem composed, according to well ascertained laws of Algonkin euphony, from the words corresponding to *great* and *hare* or *rabbit*, or the first two perhaps from *spirit* and *hare*, (*michi*, *great*, *nabos*, *hare*, *manito nabos*, spirit *hare*, Chippewa dialect), and so they have been invariably translated even by the Indians themselves. But looking more narrowly at the second member of the word, it is clearly capable of another and very different interpretation—of an interpretation which discloses at once the origin and secret meaning of the whole story of Michabo, in the light of which it appears no longer the incoherent fable of savages, but a true myth, instinct with nature, pregnant with matter no wise inferior to those which fascinate in the chants of the *Rig Veda*, or the weird pages of the *Edda*.

I have elsewhere emphasized with what might have seemed superfluous force, how prominent in primitive Mythology is the East, the source of the morning, the day-spring on high, the cardinal point which determines and controls all others. But I did not lay as much stress on it as others have. "The whole theology and philosophy of the ancient world," says Max Müller, "centered in the Dawn, the mother of the bright gods, of the sun in his various aspects, of the morn, the day, the spring; herself the brilliant image and visage of immortality."\* Now it appears on attentively examining the Algonkin root *wab* that it gives rise to words of very diverse meanings; that like many others in all languages, while presenting but one form it represents ideas of wholly unlike origin and application; that in fact there are two distinct roots having this sound. One is the initial syllable of the word translated *Hare* or *Rabbit*, but the other means *White*, and from it are derived the words for the East, the Dawn, the Light, the Day, and the Morning;† Beyond a doubt this is the

\* *Science of Language*, Second Series, 518.

\* For these particulars see the *Rel. de la Nouv. France*, 1667, 12; 1670, 98. Charlevoix, *Journal Historique*, p. 344. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, v., 420, sq. These are the best authorities. I may add Henry, *Travels*, p. 212, sq., as another of value.

† Dialectic forms in Algonkin for white are *wabi*, *wape*, *wabish*, *oppai*; for morning, *wapan*, *wapauch*, *opah*; for east, *wapa*, *waubun*, *waubamo*; for dawn, *wapa*, *waubun*; for day *wompan*, *oppa*; for light, *oppung*; and many others similar. In the Abnaki dialect *wabighen*, it is white, is the customary idiom to express the breaking of the day (Vetromile, *The Abnaki and their History*, p. 27). The loss in composition of the vowel sound represented by the English w, and in the French writers by the figure 8, is supported by frequent analogy.

compound in the names Michabo and Manibozho, which therefore mean the Great Light, the Spirit of Light, of the Dawn, or the East, and, in the literal sense of the word, the Great White One, as indeed he has sometimes been called.

In this sense, all the ancient and authentic Myths concerning him are plain and full of meaning. They divide themselves into two distinct cycles. In the one, Michabo is the Spirit of Light, who dispels the darkness; in the other, as chief of the cardinal points, he is lord of the winds, prince of the powers of the air, whose voice is the thunder, whose weapon the lightning, the supreme figure in the encounter of the air currents, in the unending conflict which the Dakotas described as being waged by the waters and the winds.

In the first, he is grandson of the Moon, his father is the West Wind, and his mother, a maiden, dies in giving him birth at the moment of conception. For the Moon is the goddess of Night, the Dawn is her daughter who brings forth the Morning and perishes herself in the act, and the West, the Spirit of Darkness as the East is of Light, precedes and as it were begets the latter, as the evening does the morning. Straightway, however, continues the legend, the son sought the unnatural father to revenge the death of his mother, and then commenced a long and desperate struggle. "It began on the mountains. The West was forced to give ground. "Manibozho drove him across rivers and over "mountains and lakes, until at last he came "to the brink of this world. 'Hold,' cried "he, 'my son, you know my power, and that "it is impossible to kill me.' "What is this but the diurnal combat of light and darkness carried on from what time "the "jocund morn stands tiptoe on the misty "mountain tops," across the wide world to the sunset, the struggle that knows no end, for both the opponents are immortal? In the second, and evidently to the native mind more important cycle of legends, he was represented as one of four brothers, the North, the South, the East, and the West, all born at a birth, whose mother died in ushering them into the world! for hardly has the kindling orient served to fix the cardinal points than it is lost and dies in the advancing day. Yet it is clear that he was something more than a personification of the East or the East wind, for it is repeatedly said that it was he who assigned their duties to all the winds, to that of the East as well as the others. This is a blending of his two characters. Here too his life is a battle. No longer with his father, indeed, but with his brother Chokanipok, the flint stone, whom he broke in pieces and scattered over the land, changing his entrails into fruitful vines. The conflict was long and terrible. The

face of nature was desolated as by a tornado, and the gigantic boulders and loose rocks found on the prairies\* are the missiles hurled by the mighty combatants.† Or else his foe was the glittering Prince of Serpents, whose abode was the lake; or the shining Manito, whose home was guarded by fiery serpents and a deep sea; or the great King of Fishes; all symbols of the atmospheric waters, all figurative descriptions of the wars of the elements. In these affrays the thunder and lightning are at his command, and with them he destroys his enemies. For this reason the Chippewa pictography represents him brandishing a rattlesnake, the symbol of the electric flash,‡ and sometimes called him the Northwest Wind, which in the region they inhabit brings the thunder-storms.

As ruler of the winds he was like Quetzalcoatl, father and protector of all species of birds, their symbols.§ He was patron of hunters, for their course is guided by the cardinal points. Therefore when the medicine hunt had been successful the prescribed sign of gratitude to him was to scatter a handful of the animal's blood toward each of these.|| As daylight brings vision, and to see is to know, it was no fable that gave him as the author of their arts, their wisdom, and their insitutions.

In effect, his story is a world-wide truth veiled under a thin garb of fancy; it is but a variation of that narrative which every race has to tell out of gratitude to that beneficent Father who everywhere had cared for his children. Michabo, giver of life and light, creator and preserver, is no apotheosis of a prudent chieftain, still less the fabrication of an idle fancy or a designing priestcraft, but in origin, deeds and name, the not unworthy personification of the purest conceptions they possessed concerning the Father of All.

To him at early dawn the Indian stretched forth his hands in prayer, and to the sky or the sun as his homes he first pointed the pipe in his ceremonies, rites often misinterpreted by travelers as indicative of sun worship. As later observers tell us, this day the Algonkin Prophet builds the Medicine lodge to face the sunrise, and in the name of Michabo, who there has his home, summons the Spirits of the four quarters of the world and Gizhigooke, the day maker, to come to his fire and disclose the hidden things of the distant and the future. So the earliest explorers relate that when they asked the native priest who it was they invoked, what demon or familiar, the invariable reply was, "the Kichi-

\* Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches*, i, 135-142.

† *Ibid.*, ii, 214. *Indian Tribes*, i, 317.

‡ *Narrative of John Tanner*, 351.

§ Schoolcraft, *Algic Res.* i, 216.

|| *Narrative of John Tanner*, 354.

"gouai, the genii of Light, those who make the day."\*

Our authorities on Iroquois traditions, though numerous enough, are not so satisfactory. The best, perhaps, is Father Brebeuf, a Jesuit missionary who resided among the Hurons, in 1626. Their culture myth, which he has recorded is strikingly similar to that of the Algonkins. Two brothers appear in it, Joskeha and Tawiscava, names which find their meaning in the Oneida dialect as the White One and the Dark One.† They are twins born of a virgin mother, who died in giving them life. Their grandmother was the Moon, called by the Hurons *Atauesic*, a word which signifies literally, *she bathes herself*, and which, in the opinion of Father Bruyas, a most competent authority, is derived from the word for water.‡

The brothers quarreled, and finally came to blows, the former using the horns of a stag, the latter the wild rose. He of the weaker weapon was very naturally discomfited and sorely wounded. Fleeing for life, the blood gushed from him at every step, and as it fell turned into flint stones. The victor returned to his grandmother and established his lodge in the far East, on the borders of the great ocean whence the sun comes. In time he became the father of mankind and special guardian of the Iroquois. The earth was at first arid and sterile, but he destroyed the gigantic frog which had swallowed all the waters, and guided the torrents into smooth streams and lakes.§ The woods he stocked with game, and having learned from the great tortoise who supports the world how to make fire, taught his children, the Indians, this indispensable art. He it was who watched and watered their crops, and indeed without his aid, says the old missionary, quite out of patience with such puerilities, "they think they could not boil a pot." Sometimes they spoke of him as the sun, but this only figuratively.||

\* Compare the *Rel. de la Nouv. France* 1634, 14. and 1636 46, with Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, v., 419.

† The names *Iskeha* and *Tawiscara* I venture to identify with the Oneida *owiske* or *owiska*, white, and *tawiscalas* (*tyokaras*, *teuhgarlars*, Mohawk), dark, or darkness. The prefix *i* to *owiske* is the impersonal third person singular; the suffix *ha* gives a future sense; so that *i-owiske-ha* or *owiskeha* means "it is going to become white." Brebeuf translates *gaon, vieuu, agaotha, il va devenir vieuu*. (*Rel. Nouv. France*, 1636, p. 99). But "it is going to become white" meant to the Iroquois that the dawn was about to appear, just as *wauubighen*, it is white, did to the Abnakis (*Vetromille, u. a.*), and as *kau ma wook*, it is white, does in Eskimo (Richardson, *Vocab. of Labrador Eskimo*). Therefore *Iskeha* is clearly the impersonation of the light.

‡ Bruyas, *Racées Verborum Iroquoarum*, 30, 81.

§ This offers an instance of the uniformity which obtained in the symbolism of the red race. The Aztecs adored the goddess of water under the figure of a frog carved from an emerald; or she was in human form and held in her hand the leaf of a water lily ornamented with frogs. (Brasseur [de Bourbourg], *Hist. des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*, 1, 324).

|| *Rel. de la Nouv. France*, 1636, 101. |

From other writers of early date we learn that the essential outlines of this myth were received by the Tuscaroras and the Mohawks, and as the proper names of the two brothers are in the Oneida dialect, we cannot err in considering this the national legend of the Iroquois stock. There is strong likelihood that the Taronhiawagon, *He who comes from the Sky*, of the Onondagas, who was their supreme God, who spoke to them in dreams, and in whose honor the chief festival of their calendar was celebrated about the winter solstice, was in fact *Iskeha* under another name.\* As to the legend of the Good and Bad Minds given by Cusic, the native historian of the Tuscaroras, and the latter and wholly spurious myth of Hiawatha, first made public by Mr. Clark in his *History of Onondaga* (1849), and which, in the graceful poem of Longfellow, is now familiar to the world, they are but pale and incorrect reflections of the early native traditions. So strong is the resemblance *Iskeha* bears to Michabo, that what has been said in explanation of the latter will be sufficient for both. Yet I do not imagine that the one was copied or borrowed from the other. We cannot be too cautious in adopting such a conclusion. The two nations were remote in everything but geographical position. I call to mind another similar myth. In it a mother is also said to have brought forth twins or a pair of twins, and to have paid for them with her life. Again the one is described as the bright, the other as the dark twin; again it is said that they struggled one with the other for the mastery. Scholars likewise have interpreted the Mother to mean the Dawn, the twins either Light and Darkness, or the Four Winds. Yet this is not Algonkin theology; nor is it at all related to that of the Iroquois. It is the story of Sarama in the *Rig Veda*, and was written in Sanscrit, under the shadow of the Himalayas, centuries before Homer.

\* \* \* \* \*

### III.—CAPT. HENRY SEWALL.

To the Editor of the *Historical Magazine*:

I send you for publication, if you deem them of sufficient interest to warrant their insertion, copies of three letters written from Ticonderoga, in the summer of 1777, by Henry Sewall, then a member of the Continental Army, to his parents. The original letters, from which I have made these copies, were found in a parcel of old letters, among a quantity of paper stock at one of the tin and hardware stores in this city; and I regret exceedingly that these were all that have been thus rescued. How many letters and documents of as much or more value to the antiquarian and historian than these I have copied, doubtless find their way into the paper mill!

For the facts contained in the following sketch of Capt. Sewall, I am indebted to Hon. James W. North, who has long

\* *Rel. de la Nouv. France*, 1671, 17.

been engaged upon, and is soon to publish, a history of this city.

Henry Sewall was born at "old York," Maine, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1752. At the age of twenty-three, he enlisted as a private soldier in a company which went to Cambridge in May, 1775. He was promoted through the various grades to that of Captain, which rank he sustained during the war. He was in the battle of Hubbardston, and in one of the skirmishes previous to the surrender of Burgoyne. He went with the Northern troops when ordered South, after that event, and joined the main army under Washington at White Marsh; wintered at Valley Forge in 1778; and passed the remainder of the war in New Jersey and the highlands of New York. During the last years of the war he was Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Heath of Massachusetts. He came to Fort Western and settled in Hallowell in 1783, engaging in trade. He was Register of Deeds of Kennebec County, for many years; Clerk of the District Court of Maine; Major-General of the Eighth Division of the Militia of Maine; and died on the fourth of September, 1845, aged ninety-three years.

S. L. BOARDMAN.

AUGUSTA, ME., June, 1867.

Way 2, 16  
Pd by Mr Barn.

TYCONDEROGA, 4<sup>th</sup> June 1777

HON<sup>D</sup> PARENTS,

I rec<sup>d</sup> your kind favor by Col<sup>o</sup> Littlefield, since my Arrival at this place. I wrote to you from Worcester, from which time and place I shall now endeavor to give you a detail of my long & tedious March, viz<sup>t</sup>.

We left Worcester, Sunday morning, May 4<sup>th</sup>, & after surmounting much Difficulty in getting Teams to carry our Baggage—arriv'd at Hadley (joining to Northampton) Wednesday 7<sup>th</sup> where we receiv'd Orders to march by the way of Albany.—drew 7 days Allowance, & after much Difficulty in obtaining Waggon, proceeded, through Northampton towards Albany—under the Disadvantages of as Bad a Road as ever nature Form'd, together with incessant Rains, &c—however—arriv'd at Albany, Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> where was Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates & 2 Continental Reg<sup>ts</sup> suppressing the Tories, &c. After applying for Cloathing, Camp Equipage, &c (the former Article to no purpose) we were order'd off by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates, to escort 20 odd pieces of Cannon from Albany to Ticonderoga. Set off Friday 16<sup>th</sup> (together with Capt. Wheelwright's party who joyn'd us at Boston)—by Land,—made but slow Progress, as we were oblig'd to go no faster than the Cannon went by Water, & against stream too. were oblig'd to mount a Guard over them every night. & turn out a fatigue Party to weigh them at every Carrying place, & load on land Carriages,—& then to disload them, & embark them on board the Batteaus again, when the tide would admit of Water Carriage.

This fatigue we had to do at Half moon, Still-water, Saratoga, Fort miller, Fort Edward, Fort George, & Ty Landing.

Going over some Rapids above Fort Miller, we had the misfortune to drown one of the Batteau men,—& wound 2 others. The Case was this. viz<sup>t</sup>. They let the Batteau take a shear

across the Stream, & it being shoal Water, one jump'd out to help her along, the tide being so rapid it sweep'd the Batteau round, carry'd one man down Stream & drown'd him, grounded the Batteau & heal'd her down so far that the Cannon roll'd to the other side & squat another man. a third lifted to that degree, to help the other, that tis tho' he'll not recover. I myself happen'd to come by Water from fort Miller to fort Edward, & came over the same Rapid's, just before them, with little Difficulty. We got the Cannon again with some Difficulty. Neither the man that was drown'd, nor the man that lifted, belong'd to our Party. he that was jam'd with the Batteau, belong'd to Capt. Wheelwright's party, & is in a likely way to recover.—However,—

When we arriv'd at Fort George, we found Capt. Donnell & the men whom he had inlisted together with Capt. Jenkins Comp<sup>y</sup> of our Regiment'd there. But Major Fernald, pursuan to his orders from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gates, insisted upon all the men belongs to his Detachment's going to Ticonderoga, to Escort the Cannon over the Lake. We arrived at this place Friday 30<sup>th</sup> May, where we now are & cannot get to Fort George to join our Comp<sup>y</sup>. The Reg<sup>t</sup> is here, except those 3 Companies at Fort George, and 1 at Skeensborough. We are station'd at present on Ty side Gen<sup>l</sup> Poor has the Command of the whole at present. It is much pleasanter this year than last,—& the Troops are very healthy. But I can't help mentioning the *Neglect* of our Great & Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly, in the fulfilment of their Engagements, to us, Continental Soldiers.—At Albany we could have had Cloathing, if we would consent to have it stop'd out of our Wages.—& were told by the Gen<sup>l</sup> [Gates] that there was a plenty at Ty.—Now there is no Cloathing here, except a few Oznabrig Shirts & Breeches, & then cannot be drawn without a Stoppage from the mens Wages,—Not a pair of Shoes or Stocking on the Ground. Rum 10 shillings L. M. pr Quart—Sugar 2/6 pr pound.—Cheese & Butter 2/6

From your affectionate & dutiful Son

HENRY SEWALL.

To  
M<sup>r</sup> HENRY SEWALL,  
York  
Massachusetts Bay

TYCONDEROGA, Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> June 1777  
HON<sup>D</sup> PARENTS,

Although I wrote yesterday by the Boston Post, yet I take the freedom to write again by another Opp<sup>y</sup>—which I presume you'll not tak amis.

I am, through Divine Goodness in tolerable Health and Strength, & the Voice of Health I heard through this Encampment.

We are employ'd in making a Bridge over to M<sup>t</sup> Independence, by sinking Peers of Wood & Stone—besides other Fatigue,—building additional Redoubts &c.

Capt Donnel, is here from Fort George, trying to get his Company together, either here, or at Fort George. The Reg<sup>t</sup> is scatter'd amazingly, & can't tell when we shall be so happy as to be together.

Col<sup>o</sup> Francis Regiment (in which are many Eastern Officers with whom I am acquainted) is station'd in the Fort at Ty. & in our Brigade.

I have some Money, which I should be glad to send home, but am loth to trust it with any one.

I can't forbear mentioning again, the Impositions on our Soldiers—Notwithstanding the fair Promises of our Gen<sup>l</sup> Court, &c. I have known Rum sold for a Dollar a pint, Sugar & Cheese 1/2 a Dollar per pound &c.—& moreover, we can't get a Shoe, Shirt, or Stocking or any Species of Cloothing that was promis'd to the men yearly;—there being none in the Public Stores, Except a few Oznabrig Shirts, & them rais'd 5 per cent, lately, & order'd to be stop'd from the Soldiers Wages,—& moreover the Paymasters have Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler's positive Orders to make a monthly Stopage of 1 Dollar & 1/2 from every Capt, 1 Dollar from every Subaltern, and 4/ from every non Com<sup>d</sup> Officer & Soldier to pay for Camp Kettles &, *which things are & ought to be allow'd them* Our men enjoy Health, thro' mercy,—but are miserably Cloathed—oblig'd to go on Duty, & even on Scouting Parties, without Shoes. These things, unless speedily remedied, will I fear, produce a Mutiny in our Army, and give the Enemy cause to say, that the Americans cannot stand it long, as they can't cloath, or equip their Men.

I don't mean to discourage the Service, by these things, but only mean to State Facts, that you at home may not think that the Soldiers don't earn their Money, or that the Officers are making Estates, by the Service.

Besides, Cloothing that was sent from Boston to Bennington, for our States Troops, was order'd by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates to Albany, & there deliver'd to Southern Troops,—& we must be contented with the *refuse* of said Cloothing,—which will be sent here prehaps, towards Fall.—And the new French Arms sent chiefly by the way of Springfield, & center to the Southward.

The first division of Troops who arriv'd here from Boston came without Blankets, & are still destitute of Blankets, & some of Arms, there being neither of them Articles in the Store.

Without swelling the Catalogue of our Grievances to any greater Bulk, I beg leave to subscribe myself your Affectionate Son

HENRY SEWALL.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates we hear is not to have the Command here, as was expected,—Gen<sup>l</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Clair is to have the immediate Command of this Post, under the direction of Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler, who is to be at Albany. We have had one or two Deserters not belonging to our Reg<sup>t</sup> punished here since my arrival. One sat on the Gallows with a Rope round his neck, one hour, & then rec<sup>d</sup> 100 lashes at the Post. All deserters are put in Irons hand & foot as soon as they are taken,—& dealt with in every Respect, very severely.

To

M<sup>r</sup> HENRY SEWALL  
York  
massachusetts Bay.

TICONDEROGA, Wednesday 18<sup>th</sup> June 1777

HON<sup>d</sup> PARENTS,

Whenever an Opp<sup>y</sup> presents, I take pleasure in transmitting the Occurrences of this Camp.

Yesterday, about 10 o'Clock, A. M. this Encampment was Alarm<sup>d</sup> by a Party of Savages, who fir'd upon our out-Sentries, killed 2 (one of whom they Scalp'd) & carry'd off 2 Prisoners.—on their retreat from their bloody Executions, they were attacked by a small Scouting Party, commanded by a Lieut. who stood them 3 or 4 fires, when being wounded & overpower'd by Numbers, made his best Retreat to this Garrison with 3 or 4 of his men:—the rest being scattered by the Disorder of the Attack.—last night our Guard-Boat found 7 of s<sup>d</sup> Party on a Point 4 or 5 miles down the Lake,—one of whom was dead:—the rest cannot at present be accounted for—3 are certainly kill'd—one of whom I have seen.—They belong'd to the N. Hampshire Forces.

Maj. Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler arriv'd here this Day from Albany—& has the Command

I must Defer sending money till a better Opp<sup>y</sup> offers

This place is much pleasanter than it was last Year. We can get Greens plenty.—There are several Continental & Regimental Gardens here.—My Garden seeds, together with a number other necessary Articles I left at Fort George;—& can't get them here

From your youthful Son  
HENRY SEWALL.

To

M<sup>r</sup> HENRY SEWALL  
York  
Massachusetts State.

p<sup>r</sup> favor  
of the  
Bearer. }

#### IV.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

By GEORGE H. MOORE.

##### 4.—NOTES ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MINISTRY AND POOR IN NEW YORK—THE COLONIAL MINISTRY ACTS—THE VESTRY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—THE MINISTER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—TRINITY CHURCH AND ITS FIRST RESIDENT RECTOR.

But although called as a dissenter, by a dissenting vestry in 1695, Mr. Vesey does not appear to have been settled at this time. Nearly two years elapsed before the matter was adjusted, and still a third went by before he became the actual incumbent of the living provided for the Minister of the City of New York and assigned to the resident Rector of Trinity Church. No further action was taken by the dissenting Church Wardens and Vestrymen, who appear to have been discouraged, if not intimidated by the peremptory action of the Governor against their sympathetic Assembly, and at the next election a new set of men appear in office, who were evidently in the interest of that party, if indeed they were not themselves "the Mannagers of the Affaires of the Church of England in the City of New-York."\* It was at this time that the Dutch Church were favored with a liberal charter from Governor Fletcher. That Church had long desired to obtain an act of incorporation, and had moved in the matter before, without success. The original petition of the Minister, Elders and Deacons (or what remains of it) is in the *Colonial MSS.*, xl., 121. The order in Council of 9th. January, 1696, is endorsed on the petition. The Charter is dated May 11, 1696. For his condescension in this matter, Governor Fletcher accepted a considerable present of plate. *Col. Hist.* IV. 463. It was found expedient, if not necessary to obtain a confirmation of this Charter—which was accomplished by an act of assembly 12 December, 1753, confirmed by the King, 25 February, 1755.

On the 14th January, 1696, Col. Stephen Van Cortlandt and William Pinhorne were elected *Churchwardens* and Capt. Ebenezer Wilson, Capt. Lawrence Reade, Capt. William Morris, Mr. Samuel Burte, Mr. James Evetts, Mr. John Crooke, Mr. Giles Gaudineau, Mr. John Van Cortlandt, Mr. Dirck Vanderburgh and Mr. Nathaniel Marston, *Vestrymen*. At the meeting of

Justices and Vestrymen, on the 22d January, 1696, they unanimously agreed to levy and collect a tax "for y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of a good sufficient "Protestant Minister," in accordance with the act of 1693. As provision had already been made for raising one hundred pounds for the maintenance of the poor, by virtue of another act of the General Assembly,\* no poor tax was levied by this board for the year 1696. A committee was charged with the duty of going through all the Wards of the City and making "an Estimate of the Estates of all and every the Inhabitants and Residenters within the said City, and make a Role thereof, and return the same to y<sup>e</sup> Clerke of the Vestry, on or before the second Tuesday of February" following. They were likewise to "Desire of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen what sum of Money will be Needfull to be Raised for y<sup>e</sup> Year ensuing for y<sup>e</sup> Purposes aforesaid."

The Board then adjourned until the second Tuesday in February, but they do not appear to have met until Friday, the 21st February, 1696, when "by Majority of Votes" it was agreed that "the sum of One Hundred Pounds Current "Money of New-Yorke" should be raised for the Maintenance of the Minister for one year. The estimates of the Committee of Assessment were brought in, examined and approved; and the Justices were ordered to issue warrants for the collection of the tax, in pursuance of which the Constables were to proceed, complete their work and make returns on or before the 25th day of April. The following is a copy of the assessment.

By Vertue of an Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly Entituled an Act for the Settling a Ministry & Raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New Yorke, &c. wee have made an Assessment of y<sup>e</sup> Estates Real and Personal of all & Every the Freeholders Inhabitants & Residenters within the said City for y<sup>e</sup> Raising of one hundred pounds att y<sup>e</sup> Rate of one halfe penny <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> pound for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Minister for one year to Officiate & have y<sup>e</sup> Care of Souls within the said City. Pursuant to the said Act. Viz't. February y<sup>e</sup> 21st, 1695 [1696].

East Ward	8420	15	11	08
South Ward	16421	34	05	11
Dock Ward	12129	25	05	02½
West Ward	6172	12	17	02
North Ward	5353	11	03	

\* Humphreys states, in his *History of the Venerable Society*, referring to the Ministry Act of 1693, that "it was some time before there was a Vestry composed of men of such principles, as would choose a Church of England minister. About the year 1697, there was such a Vestry."

\* An Act to enable the City and County of New-York, to relieve the Poor, and defray their necessary and publick charge. Passed the 8d. of July, 1695.

Bowry Precinct	2644	05	10	02
Harlem Precinct	929	01	18	08½

WILL MERRETT  
 ROB<sup>t</sup> DARKINS  
 JAMES EVETTS  
 SAM<sup>ll</sup> BURTE  
 GILES GAUDINEAU  
 WILL MORRIS  
 EBENEZER WILLSON  
 LAW<sup>s</sup> READE  
 JOHN CROOKE  
 NATHANIEL MARSTON

As we have said before, the Church of England was little known in the Province at this time—its adherents being very few in number, principally those connected with the administration of the government. The English garrison had a Chaplain allowed upon the establishment. The old Church in the Fort continued to be used by the Dutch inhabitants for their service in the old way. After the Dutch service, the Chaplain read service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the Governor and the garrison in the same place. This was all the footing that the Church of England had in the Province prior to the Act of 1693. *Doc. Hist. III. 265.* Domine Selyns, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, October 28th, 1682, says "We and the English inhabitants use the same church. They perform their services at the conclusion of ours, by reading the Common Prayer. They have a clerk, but no minister, except one who marries and baptizes in private houses, but does not preach." *Murphy's Memoir of Selyns: p. 94.*

In 1693, Governor Fletcher finding the Old Church (King's Chapel) in the Fort "ready to fall down to the danger of many lives thought it convenient to pull it down." He had previously persuaded the Dutch Church to erect a new edifice for themselves out of the Fort, which they did in 1693. *Doc. Hist. III. 265.* Domine Selyns' letter to the Classis, 12th October, 1692, quoted by Mr. Murphy in his memoir of Selyns, p. 119, makes it 1692. "In this year of troubles, there has been built, outside of the fort, a new Dutch Church, of stone, and larger than the old one." At the meeting of the Legislature, 12 Sept. the Governor addressed the Assembly on the subject and said "if you will give something towards the rebuilding of it, we will all join in soe good a worke. If his Maty were not engaged in an expensive warr, I should not doubt to have orders to rebuild it at his own charge."

In October, 1694, the Governor, with advice of the Council, presented to the Assembly a letter from their Majesties on the subject with a request that they would provide for rebuilding the Chapel accordingly. The House very promptly

furnished him with their opinion "that his Excellency send his Orders to the several Officers in each respective County throughout the Province, for a free Contribution," for the object proposed.

The Governor and Council responded (22 Oct.) that the message was not to entreat the advice of the Assembly in what manner his Excellency should proceed in effecting his Majesty's pleasure, but to know of the Assembly what they will contribute by establishing some fund for that purpose, "it being the opinion of the Board that the most loyall and proper way for all their Majesties subjects freely to contribute, is by Act of Assembly." The Assembly concluded to provide for raising Six Hundred Pounds, of which Four Hundred and Fifty were to be employed for the rebuilding the Chapel.

Direk Van Burg's petition to be paid for building the Chapel, etc. 14 March, 1696, is in *Doc. Hist. III. 246.*

In April, 1696, the Governor again recommended the subject to the attention of the Assembly, urging provision for the completion of the work. The Assembly declined to proceed until the Accounts and Debts of the Government were laid before them, but promised "upon the perfect knowledge of the State of the Debts of the Government, the building of the Chapel will be also then taken into consideration." From the statement of the joint Committee of the Council and Representatives, it appears that the sum of £450 had been paid "To the building the Chapel."

But the efforts to promote the interests of the Church of England and to utilize the tax provided by the Ministry Act took another shape. It had already been settled that the Chaplain of the Forces was not entitled to the maintenance provided by the Act, and measures were now taken to organize a new English Church.

On the 19th March, 1696, ten members of the Church of England (some of whom were at this time Vestrymen of the City of New York) petitioned the Governor and Council for license to purchase a small piece of land without the north gate of the City of New York, between the King's Garden and the burying ground, on which to erect a Church for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England. Leave was granted and on the 23d July following they were further empowered to collect funds to carry on and finish the Church which they had begun to erect and build. *Doc. Hist. III., 247-48.*

These are the earliest documents of the history of Trinity Church—the first formal tokens of the existence of the congregation which was the germ of that great Corporation since known as Trinity Church. The records of the Corpora-

tion do not preserve the proceedings of "the Mannagers of the Affairs of the Church of England in the City of New Yorke" prior to the 28th June, 1697—so that nothing is to be learned from that source concerning their history before the charter. Their petition for a grant of incorporation and the maintenance provided for the Minister by the Act of 1693 is extant among the Colonial Manuscripts at Albany (Vol. xli., 64,) though badly damaged by time. It is dated May 6, 1697, and printed in *Doc. Hist. III.*, 248. Their prayer was granted, and the Royal Charter of May 6, 1697 was duly drawn and executed under the great seal of the Province. It has been frequently reprinted, and its terms are familiar to all who have given any attention to the history of Trinity Church. The most extraordinary feature in it is the assignment of the benefit of the Ministry Act of 1693 to the Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church created by the Charter :

"And our Royal Pleasure is and we by these presents do declare that the said Rector of the said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protestant Minister according to the true intent and meaning of the said Act of Assembly made in the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne entitled an Act for the settling of a ministry, &c., and as such We do further of our like speciall grace certaine Knowledge and meer motion give grant Ratifye endow appropriate and confirm unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New Yorke and his successors for ever the aforesaid yearly maintenance of one hundred pounds directed by the said Act of Assembly to be yearly laid assessed and paid unto the said sufficient Protestant minister for his yearly maintenance, to have and to hold the said yearly maintenance of one hundred pounds aforesaid unto him the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New Yorke and his Sccessors to the sole and only proper use benefit and behoofe of him the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New Yorke and his Successors forever. And We doe by these presents strictly charge require and command the Church Wardens and Vestrymen yearly constituted elected and appointed by the aforesaid Act of Assembly made as aforesaid that they faithfully truly and without fraud annually and once in every year forever levey assess and collect the said yearly maintenance of one hundred pounds current money aforesaid according to the rules directions and clauses in the said Act of Assembly mentioned and under the pains and penalties therein contained and that the said Church Wardens mentioned in the aforesaid Act of Assembly do annually in four quarterly payments pay the

"said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds leveyed assessed and collected as aforesaid unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church and to his successors for ever as of right they ought to do without any delay, lett, hindrance refusall disturbance or molestation whatsoever as they and every of them will answer the contrary under the pains and penalties in the said Act of Assembly ordained. And We further declare that upon any neglect or refusall of the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen (appointed by the said Act) of their levying assessing collecting and paying the said yearly maintenance of one hundred pounds as aforesaid that it shall and may be lawful for the said Rector or incumbent of the said Parish for the time being to prosecute the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen in an action of debt in any of the Courts of Record within our said province wherein no Essoine, protection or wager of law shall be allowed anything contained in the said Act to the contrary hereof in any wayes notwithstanding."

There can be no doubt that these provisions of the instrument were illegal, and probably the charter itself was altogether void. It was an arbitrary exercise of an assumed prerogative, which was absolutely in defiance of the laws of England as well as the Province, and could not have been maintained for an instant in the Courts, had it been brought to the test. Sensible of its worthlessness, those who profited by its provisions sought and obtained a legal act of incorporation, a few years afterwards, which was the true Charter of Trinity Church—the Act of Assembly of 1704. This act carries in itself the evidence that due legal incorporation had been previously wanting, and that Trinity Church was up to that time incapable of taking a legal title. Various fictions have been invented from time to time, in connection with the suits against the Church, by both parties; but they have little or no historical importance at this time.

Lord Cornbury's own account of the motive for the act of 1704 is explicit enough. Writing to the Lords of Trade, June 30th, 1704, a letter to accompany the recent acts of the Assembly, which he transmitted, he says:

"The reason for my ascending to the first of these Acts [An Act granting sundry privileges and powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New Yorke, of the Communion of the Church of England as by law established,] is because the Rector and Vestry of Trinity Church have a charter from Coll: Fletcher, when he was Gov<sup>r</sup> here, and they have been told that *Charter is defective*, so they applied to me for one that might be more sufficient; I told them *I did not perceive that my Commission I have any power to grant*



"*Charters of incorporation*, and that I would not venture to do it without such a power, some time afterwards they came to me again, and desired I would give them leave to offer a Bill to the General Assembly to be passed into an Act for settling the Church, I told them I did consent to it, because by that means the Queen would have the matter fairly before her, and I most humbly intreat Your Lord<sup>sh</sup> favourable representation of that Act to Her Majesty that it may be confirmed." *Col. Hist. IV. 1114.*

On the 2d November, 1696, a meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the City of New York was held, all the members being present excepting Mr. Samuel Burte. At this meeting they made and recorded the following important proceeding:

"Wee y<sup>e</sup> Church Wardens & Vestry men Elected by Virtue of y<sup>e</sup> said Act having read a Certificate under the hands of the Reverend Mr Samuel Myles, Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England in Boston in New England, and Mr Gyles Dyer and Mr Benjamin Mountfort, Church Wardens of y<sup>e</sup> said Church of the Learning & Education, of the Pious, Sober, & Religious behaviour and conversation of Mr William Veazy and of his often being a Communicant in the Receiving y<sup>e</sup> most holy Sacrament in the said Church, have called the said Mr William Veazy to officiate, and have y<sup>e</sup> care of Souls in this City of New Yorke. And y<sup>e</sup> said Mr William Veazy being sent for, and acquainted with the Proceedings of this board, did return them his hearty thanks for their great favor & affections shewed unto him, & did Assure them that he readily Accepted of their Call & would with all Convenient Expedition Repair to England, and Apply himselfe to the Bishop of London in Order to be Ordained according to the Liturgy of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England, and would return to his Church here by the first Convenient Opportunity."

This is the earliest record of Mr. Vesey's adhesion to the Church of England.\* It is but just to infer that his course was dictated by honorable sentiments. There were not wanting in his lifetime those who could impugn his motives of action, and the violence of party charged him with inconsistency, a base regard for temporal interest, and want of fidelity to the principles to which he was supposed to be pledged by his birth and training among the Independents of New England: but a generous spirit cannot fail to

sympathize in his emancipation from narrow prejudices and to applaud as judicious a conformity so amply vindicated by the success of his prolonged subsequent ministry.

Three days after he had accepted this second call to the Ministry of the City of New York, on the 5th November, 1696, the Justices and Vestrymen held another meeting, at which they adopted the following important resolution:

"Whereas there is Ninety Five Pounds in the hands of y<sup>e</sup> Church Wardens, Raised by Virtue of an Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Ministry; and Whereas Mr. William Veazy lately called to y<sup>e</sup> Ministry of this City is not yet Ordained According to the Liturgy of the Church of England, but hath Assured the Church Wardens and Vestrymen that he will Repair to London with all Convenient Expedition, and Apply himselfe to y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of London for his Ordination, and Return hither by the first opportunity; whereupon itt is Considered by this Board, that such Parte of y<sup>e</sup> said Money that lyes in the Church Wardens hands, & the s<sup>d</sup> Mr. William Veazy shall have Occasion for, be lent to him, for the Defraying his Charges in the said Voyage for y<sup>e</sup> Procuring of his said Ordination, & y<sup>e</sup> he give his bond for the same."

It is a significant fact which appears from the record that "Jacobus V. Cortlandt and Brandt Schuyler, Esq's two of y<sup>e</sup> Justices Dissent from the said Order." The dissent however of these stubborn Dutchmen was of little importance, and at a subsequent meeting on the 9th of November, 1696, at which they were not present, it was duly

"Ordered, that the Justices and Vestrymen doe direct a Warrant to the Church Wardens for to pay to Mr. William Veazy, (called to officiate as Minister of this City) the sum of Ninety five Pounds, Curr<sup>t</sup> Money of New Yorke; itt being Money now, in their hands Raised by virtue of an Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Minister, and itt being to be lent to the said Mr. William Veazy towards the Defraying his Expenses in his Voyage for England for y<sup>e</sup> Procuring his Ordination according to y<sup>e</sup> Liturgy of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England and that he give Bond for the same."

The election of Churchwardens and Vestrymen for the year 1697 continued the power in the hands of the Church of England party, there being no change among the Vestrymen. Capt. Thomas Wenham and Robert Lutting were elected Churchwardens, who not long after were constituted and appointed by the Charter the first Churchwardens of the Corporation and Parish of Trinity Church. Seven of the ten vestrymen were also named among the first Vestrymen of Trinity Church.

\* Domine Selyns, in a letter to the Classis, 30th September 1696, mentions two English Churches as follows: "For the two English churches in this city which have been formed, since our new church was built,—one of our churches being in the fort and the other in the city, and both of them very neat, curious and all of stone,—there are two Episcopal Clergymen who by arrangement preach in our church after my morning and evening service, and live with us in all friendship." *Murphy's Memoir*, p. 126.

There was no meeting of the board until the 18th of November, when after providing for a Poor tax of Two Hundred and fifty Pounds—the records show that

“The Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citty having proposed y<sup>e</sup> Raising of One Hundred Pounds pursuant to y<sup>e</sup> Act of Assembly for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Minister for Trinity Church, for this Citty, for this present year. It is y<sup>e</sup> opinion of y<sup>e</sup> Justices & Vestrymen that they do not proceed to y<sup>e</sup> levying of that sum till they hear of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers Induction.”

We have no particulars concerning Mr. Vesey's voyage or stay in England, excepting those of his official appointments. Merton College, Oxford, bestowed on him, by diploma, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, July 8th, 1697. The license of the Bishop of London to Mr. Vesey—“Gulielmo Vesey, Clerico . . . ad peragendum Officium Parochi in Ecclesia de New York in partibus Occidentalibus,” etc. is dated on the 2d of August, 1697. *Original MS. Also N. Y. Wills: II. 100-104.* On the same day, in accordance with the Act of Uniformity, he subscribed the acknowledgment or declaration of his conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established, in order to be admitted to the ministerial function in the City of New York. He was made a Deacon and Presbyter of the Church of England on the same day—August 2, 1697. The certificates of the Bishop of London are recorded in the *N. Y. Wills: II. 100-104.*

Returning to New York, he arrived in December, 1697. The Churchwardens and Vestrymen were speedily convened, and at their meeting on Friday the 24th day of December, 1697—all the members being present, the following proceedings are recorded.

Att a meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Church  
Citty of } Wardens and Vestrymen of y<sup>e</sup>  
New Yorke } said Citty on Fryday the 24th  
day of Decem<sup>r</sup>. 1697.

Present:

*Church-Wardens:*

THOMAS WENHAM,  
ROBERT LURTING,

*Vestry-Men:*

EBENEZER WILLSON, JOHN CROOKE,  
WILLIAM MORRIS, SAMUEL BURTE,  
NATHANIEL MARSTON, DIRECK VANDERSBURGH,  
JAMES EVETTS, GILES GAUDINEAU.  
JOHN CORTLANDT,

Mr. William Vesey being arrived here lately

from London delivered to this Board two letters, from the Right Reverend father in God Henry Ld. Bishop of London w<sup>h</sup> contained as followeth (vizt):

Aug<sup>t</sup>. 10th, 1697.

Gentlemen,

Your choice was very welcome to me, and I hope I have Answered all that you Expected from me; for I doe Assure you itt has and ever shall be my Constant Care to Serve you to y<sup>e</sup> utmost of my power, Neither shall any choice be more Acceptable to me than what you make y<sup>e</sup> selves. I thank you with all my heart that you have Pitched upon a Person whom I take to bee soe Every way fitted for y<sup>e</sup> service. I pray God to Direct him in all the performances of his duty to y<sup>e</sup> Edification and Comfort of you all. And I pray you to be assured that Nothing shall be wanting on my parte to answer all that lies in my power to doe for you: that itt will be therefore your fault if any parte of my Service be deficient to y<sup>e</sup> best of my Ability. As to your Bells I will use my utmost Endeavour to procure them for you; though you cannot but know that the great Searcity of Money here with us att Present will make itt Impossible to Accomplish such a Worke suddenly. In the meantime I should be glad to know whether you have considered what Defect you are able to make up of yourselves, and whether there are Carpenters with you skillful enough to hang them up, I pray God to reward you for your pious care you have already taken which shall want no Encouragement from the utmost care of

Gent<sup>l</sup>

Your most assured friend and faithful Servant.

H: LONDON.

To

*The Vestry and Church Wardens  
of the Church att New Yorke.*

London, August 16th, 1697.

Gentlemen,

I doe most heartily thank you for your choice you have made of Mr. Vesey to be your Minister; for I take him to be a man every way capacitated to doe you Service by his Ministry, and therefore I have most gladly Conferr'd holy orders upon him, and Now Recommend him back to your favorable Reception Praying to God that the Exercise of his function amongst you may powerfully work to the Salvation of every one of you, and of all that hear him. And I beseech you to believe that I am most sincerely purposed to omit no occasion of doing you all the service that lyes in my way and power Nor

can you oblige me more than laying your commands for that purpose, upon

Gentlemen  
Your most assured Friend  
and hearty Servant

II: LONDON.

*To the Gentlemen of New Yorke  
The Church Wardens & Vestry of  
the Church there established*

The before Letters being read, and the great Character and Recommendation his Lordship is please to give of Mr. William Vezey, the Board are of opinion that a fitter Person cannot be had to officiate, and have the care of Souls within this City than the said William Vezey; and therefore pursuant to the directions of an Act of Genl. Assembly of this province entitled An Act for the settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, this Board doe unanimously Call\* the said Mr. William Vezey to officiate and have the care of Souls within this City of New-Yorke & the said William Vezey personally came before this Board and informed them he was ready to execute the Function he was called to when he shall be Inducted into the same.

Whereupon itt is ordered that this board doe forthwith present the<sup>d</sup> William Vezey & Petition his Excellency for his Induction to the said Ministry accordingly.

THO. WENHAM,  
ROBT. LURTING,  
EBENEZER WILLSON,  
JAMES EVETTS,  
GILES GAUDINEAU,  
NATHLL. MARSTON,

WILL: MORRIS,  
DIRECK VANDERBURGH,  
SAM<sup>LL</sup> BURTT,  
JOHAN: CORTLANDT,  
JNO. CROOKE.

To his Excellency BENJAMIN FLETCHER,  
Capt. Gen<sup>l</sup> & Governour in Chiefe of his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s  
Province of New Yorke, &c

The humble Petition of y<sup>e</sup> Church-  
Wardens and Vestry Men of y<sup>e</sup>  
Citty of New Yorke

*Most humbly Sheweth:*

That by an Act of Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly of this Province, entitled an Act for ye settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New Yorke &c: Itt is Directed that there shall be Called, Inducted and Established a Good Sufficent Protestant Minister to Officiate and have y<sup>e</sup> Care of Souls within the said Citty, & whereas Mr William Vezey was formerly by us called to the said Benefice but could not be Inducted thereto for want of being ordained in Priest's Orders, which after a troublesome Voyage by him made to England, & great

Charge to your Excellencies Petitioners he hath Obtained; and is now returned hither, who wee have again called to y<sup>e</sup> said Ministry, and most humbly pray your Excellency will be most favourably Pleased with all Convenient Expedition to induct him to y<sup>e</sup> same, in Order he may Exercise his function accordingly.

WILLIAM MORRIS,	THOMAS WENHAM,
JOHN CORTLANDT,	ROBT. LURTING,
DIRECK VANDERBURGH,	EBENEZER WILLSON,
SAMUEL BURTE,	JAMES EVETTS,
GILES GAUDINEAU,	JOHN CROOKE,
	NATHANIEL MARSTON.

Fletcher was not slow to move on his part, and on the next day (Christmas) 25 December, 1697, Mr. Vezey was duly inducted into his parish of Trinity Church. The documents are recorded in *N. Y. Wills, No. 5, pp. 262-3*. We print them in the order observed by the clerk. It is said that the ceremony of induction was performed in the Dutch Church in Garden street, a fact to which these documents bear testimony in the names of two of the Dutch clergy as subscribing witnesses.

Benjaminus Fletcher Provinciae Novi Eboraci in America Strategus et Imperator ac Ejusdem Vice Thalassiarcha & universis & Singulis Rectoribus Vicarijs Capellarijs Curatis Clericis & ministris quibuscunque in et per totam pdic<sup>t</sup> Provinciam ubilibet constitutis ac etiam Thomae Wenham & Roberto Lurting Templi Trinitatis in Civitate Novi Eboraci pro hoc tempore Aedilibus Salutem Cum dilectum in Christo Gulielmum Vezey Clericum ad rectoriam sive Eccam proalem Novi Eboraci in America Templi Trinitatis in dict provincia jam vacantem praesentatum rectorem ejusdem rectoriae sive Eccae Proalis in et de eadem Institui Vobis conjunctim & divisim committo & firmiter injungendo mando quatenus eundem Gulielmum Vezey Clericum seu procuratorem suum legitimum ejus nomine &— in reale actualem & corporalem possessionem ipsius rectoriae sive Eccae Proalis Novi Ebor pdic<sup>t</sup> jurumque & pertinentium suorum universorum conferatis inducatibus inducive faciatis & defendatis inductum et quid in praemissis feceritis me aut alium quandam judicem in hoc parte competentem quemcunque debito (cum ad id congrue fueritis requisiti) certificatis seu — certificet illo vestrum qui praesen hoc meum mandatum fuerit — Dat sub sigillo praerogativo dict Provinciae 25<sup>o</sup> Die Decembris Anno Domini 1697<sup>o</sup>. David Jamison J<sup>r</sup> D: Sec<sup>ry</sup>.

25<sup>o</sup> Decembris 1697<sup>o</sup>

Virtute infra scripti mandati in praesentia reverendi Domini Henrici Selyns Eccae Belgicae

\* It will be observed that this was the *third* time Mr. Vezey was actually called under the Act of 1693, by the City Vestry.

in Civitate Novi Eboraci ministri & reverendi Domini Johis Peter Nucella Verbi Dei ministri infra nominati Thomas Wenham & Robertus Lurting Trinitatis Templi infra dicti Ediles contulerunt & induxerunt infra dictum reverendum Gulielmum Vesey Clericum in Templum Trinitatis infranominatum more & consuetudine solitis et in omnia jura & pertinentia ejusdem 25<sup>o</sup> Decembris Anno Domini 1697<sup>o</sup> in Cujus rei testimonium praesentibus signavimus die & anno supra dictis Henricus Selyus minister Neo Eboracensis Belgicus Joannes Petrus Nucella Thomas Wenham Robert Lurting.

The new edifice for Trinity Church, to the erection of which both the French and Dutch churches contributed, (*Col. Hist. IV. 463.*) had been "built and covered" before the grant of the charter, but it was not completed and ready for occupation until the spring of 1698. It was first opened for public worship on Sunday, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1698. After the reading of the morning and evening service, Mr. Vesey declared before his congregation, his unfeigned assent, and consent, to all, and everything contained in and prescribed in and by the book, entitled the Book of Common Prayer. He also read the certificate of the Bishop of London of his declaration of Conformity. *Certificate of Gov. Fletcher, 25 March, 1698. N. Y. Wills: II. 100-104.*

The youthful Rector's entry upon these important duties was also signalized by his marriage about this time. "A License of marriage was granted unto Mr. William Vesey, of the one party, and Mrs. Mary Reade, of the other party, the first of March, 1697/8." *Wills, No. 5, 274.* It is not difficult to credit the tradition, which declares that this wealthy widow, with her connections, had taken a deep interest in the concerns of Trinity Church; and on the day it was first opened for public worship, that she appeared in it as a bride.

#### V.—THE THREE CASTLES OF THE MOHAWK INDIANS.

By J. R. SIMMS, AUTHOR of *The History of Schoharie County, etc.*

##### FRIEND DAWSON:

I propose, with your approbation, to say something about the settlements of the Indians once in possession of the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, more especially of those known in history as "Castles." The term Castle evidently came into use with the advent of very early European adventurers to this country; but when the term, which was synonymous in common parlance with

that of Fort, was first applied to an American Indian village, or by whom, may never be known; though we think it highly probable it came from some sprig of royalty, or a former resident of some French or English Castle. The name attached to the principal town of a Nation, in which was located some central place for defence; where representatives of the different Tribes making up the Nation assembled for consultation and concert of action, on warlike and other important occasions. Those Castles were comparatively frail, and untenable against fire-arms, until the whites, as allies, aided in their construction with the European axe and saw, sledge and drill.

All the SIX NATIONS, constituting the great Indian Confederacy of New York, in the latter part of its history, (for it consisted of only five for a great length of time,) it is believed had their Castles, as the Oneida Castle, the Onondaga Castle, etc. THE MOHAWK NATION, the most Eastern one of the *Grand Confederacy*, dwelt principally in the Mohawk valley. Many families of them lived isolated, as suited their stoic and solitary habits, in localities favorable for hunting and fishing; while others were congregated in villages of greater or less importance. One of those villages was located in the present town of Florida, on the Eastern bank of the Schoharie, at its confluence with the Mohawk. This became known as the Lower Mohawk Castle.

It seems a pity that there has not been more pains taken to preserve local Indian names, and especially those of the several places at which their Castles were situated. We have not only robbed a once noble and happy race of the human family of their honest patrimony—theirs by birthright and theirs by long possession—but we have cheated posterity out of many, very many, of the euphonic and singularly significant names of their watercourses, mountains, valleys, and natural curiosities, once sacred to them; and which should now be cherished among our household gods. But such, alas! is the destiny of human events when the strong overpower the weak. By what name the settlement under consideration was known before the first white man entered it, cannot positively be determined; yet I believe it to have been TI-ON-ON-DE-RO-GA.\*

\* This is the manner in which this word is spelled in the *Colonial History of New York*, v., 960; and the same orthography is adopted by Mr. Munsell, in his *History of Albany*, i., 355, where he speaks of the effort made by the Indians, through Sir William Johnson, in 1773, to recover from the Common Council of Albany a thousand acres of the Tiononderoga Patent of lands, which the Indians claimed they never had had a just consideration for, when conveyed by Governor Dongan, in a charter, to the city of Albany, in July, 1686.

A design of the locality of this Patent, made 1712, is given in the *Documentary History of New York*, iii., 902, at which place the name is spelled TIENONDEROGA.

James Macauley, who, in 1829, published a *History of New*

Many streams in New York are called Creeks, that would have been called Rivers had they but had a New England paternity; and of the number is the Schoharie, which is as large again as are many rivers in the Eastern States, being more than One hundred and fifty feet wide at its mouth. It is not only the largest tributary to the Mohawk, but it is also its greatest competitor in the distance it courses. It is usually called a Creek at its outlet to distinguish it from the Mohawk; and probably always will be.

About two miles up the Schoharie from the Mohawk, the Eastern shore terminates with a bold bluff to the stream, which originated the significant Indian name *Ca-daugh-ri-ta*, meaning the *Steep Bank*, or *Perpendicular Wall*. The aboriginal name still attaches to this locality.

The Schoharie Tribe of Indians belonged to the Mohawk Nation, the last occupied of whose Castles was in the present town of Fulton, Schoharie county.

For a long period of time, intercourse was constantly kept up between the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys by two different routes—one from Tiononderoga, whence a foot-path led up the Schoharie above Cadaughrita, and thence, taking a South-westerly course, passed through the present towns of Glen and Charleston, and again entering the Schoharie valley in its sinuous course near Sloansville; the other, from the Central Mohawk, or Lower Canajoharie, Castle, situated twenty miles up the Mohawk from Tiononderoga Castle (to be noticed hereafter), went by a South-easterly course through the towns of Canajoharie, Root, and Charleston, uniting with the first near Sloansville.

The former path led directly past two Indian landmarks worthy of especial notice. About two miles up the Schoharie from Cadaughrita, once stood a majestic white Oak tree, upon the trunk of which was painted a canoe filled with warriors, on which account it was called THE WARRIOR TREE. The painting was no doubt done by an Indian artist. It stood not far from where the path left the neighborhood of the Creek for a more Westerly course through the then dense forest; but whether at first painted

as a guide upon the war-path, or to commemorate some event, tradition does not tell us. For several generations the figures were repainted and kept vivid, down to the time of the Revolution, when the Indians left for Canada.

A Patent for twenty-five thousand, four hundred acres of land granted in 1735, to William Corry and others, commenced its boundaries at this tree. It is also mentioned in a conveyance from Goldsbroow Banyar and Richard Shucksburgh to Francis Salts, and by Salts to Cornelius Putman in 1768. The tree is thus spoken of in one of the land titles referred to: "A large "White Oak tree, marked with three notches on "four sides, standing on the South side of the old "foot path or Indian trail from *Fort Hunter* to "*Schoharie*, and on which tree was formerly "painted a *Canoe* with *Warriors* in it, about "which tree were several other trees standing "marked as witnesses." The cuttings upon those trees were no doubt all done by surveyors. A friend who was born near this tree, and who once owned lands of which this tree was a corner bound, writes us that between forty and fifty years ago the tree had all disappeared except a few roots. Over twenty years ago I conversed with an old gentleman who remembered when a boy to have seen this patriarchal tree standing; and traces of the canoe were still visible upon it.

The other Indian monument was a large MOUND OF STONES, standing near Sloansville, which was reared long before the white settlers came into its neighborhood. A title to the lands upon which it was situated was called the *Stone Heap Patent*.

Tradition says that at this place two hunters of the Mohawk Nation had a quarrel; that one killed the other; and that the friends of the murdered man, to commemorate the event, erected a pile of stones upon his grave. A custom of the Nation required every warrior, afterwards passing it, to place an additional stone upon the heap, until in the lapse of generations it became one of very imposing dimensions. Not many years ago the land upon which it stood was owned by a man who cared little for the red man's altars; and he converted this long accumulating record of homicide into a stone wall or line fence. Such were the altars required to be erected at an early period in the history of human events among God's chosen people. (See *Exodus*, xx. 25.)

It is believed that the Indian trails from Tiononderoga and Canajoharie to Schoharie came together near the celebrated Stone Heap. The route pursued by Sir John Johnson and his army, in going from the Schoharie settlements to the Mohawk valley, in October, 1780, led past both of those Indian monuments.

York, in three volumes, wrote this word I-CAN-DE-RA-GO, but upon what authority is unknown.

I had several interviews with Mr. Macauley, at his residence in Frankfort, N. Y., in 1845, and a few succeeding years. At one of our meetings I inquired if he could give me the signification of the Indian word, cited above. He replied that he could not, but that he had learned, I think from an educated Indian, the meaning of several aboriginal names, after the publication of his work, one of which he remembered to have been *Os-ew-gatch-ie*, which signified *coming* or *going round the hill*.

Oswegatchie is a local name in the Easterly part of the town of Palatine, not far from where the brave Colonel Brown fell, in October, 1780. The curve in the hill made by the bend in the Mohawk, where the former approaches it so abruptly at the Nose, gives the key to the name.

For the greater security of the natives at Ticonderoga, or the Lower Mohawk Castle, and to foster and encourage white settlements in the neighborhood, a stronger defence than that of the Indians, was erected, of hewn timber, at a little distance from theirs, by Capt. John Scott, an English officer, about the year 1710, and called Fort Hunter, in honor of Robert Hunter, then Governor of the Colony; and, very soon after, under the patronage of Queen Anne, a small church was erected of stone near the Fort, to convert the children of the forest to the Episcopal faith. A stone parsonage built at that early day is still standing, perhaps one third of a mile to the Eastward of the Creek, near which stream stood the little Indian Church, called from the time of its erection until it was demolished, nearly a century later, QUEEN ANNE'S CHAPEL.

This, it is believed, was the first church edifice erected in the Colony for the especial benefit of the Indians. Colden says it was endowed, by the munificence of Queen Anne, "with furniture and a valuable set of plate for the communion table." Who knows whether this suit of service is still in existence? This mission was for a long period under the management of an Episcopal Society in the Mother Country, for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which Society supported a missionary among the Mohawk Indians, who resided at this place. It would be interesting if we could name the different ministers at this station, and give the result of their labors.\*

The pulpit was provided with a sounding-board—a circular ceiling suspended a few feet over the head of the speaker in nearly every primitive house of worship in the land, intended to catch and send down upon the audience more effectively the voice of the speaker.

As in many early churches, the audience of the Chapel were seated upon movable benches. At a later period in its history, two pews were finished opposite to the pulpit for the especial use of the families of Sir Wm. Johnson and the minister, the floor of which was somewhat elevated. Johnson's pew was furnished with a wooden canopy, and both were probably thus finished at his private expense. The chapel was provided with a nice little bell, no doubt the first one ever heard in the colony west of Schenectada, and which is now in use in the Academy in Johnstown.

Those unlettered sons of the forest were no doubt improved in their English education and manners; but how much they were spiritually

benefited by those missionary labors, eternity can only determine. There can be little doubt, however, that the novelty of the church worship and the dulcet tones of its bell—for the Indian was ever in ecstasy at the sound of a bell—filled the little Chapel on every favorable occasion for worship, not a few often attending who dwelt at the Upper Castles, twenty and thirty miles distant.

The Chapel was torn down about the year 1820, to give place to the Erie Canal, then being constructed, and the question is often asked—"Why was not this edifice spared, as a little dividence would have saved it?" When the Canal was built, it was looked upon by timid men as a visionary project, and by a class of opposing politicians as a vast undertaking, calculated forever to impoverish the State. And although it was begun at the close of a three years war with England, still its friends were confident that it would not only place the State in an enviable position, but would in the end defray the expense of its construction. But rigid economy in every manner possible was adopted to lessen the cost; and to this system of economy it took for a key to the loss of the Chapel.

Here was a bridge across the Schoharie, one of the first of any note constructed in the Mohawk valley; which stream was to be used as a canal feeder, with necessary guard-locks upon each shore to lock boats through, to protect its banks in a freshet; and to save the expense of building a bridge at the time, as I infer, the bed of the Canal was located sufficiently near the Creek bridge, to make that for years subserve Canal purposes, which was done by changing the towing path from the North to the South shore, across it. To gain this desirable result the Indian Chapel was demolished. To use the Creek as a feeder, a dam was constructed across it a few rods below the Canal; and on enlarging it nearly twenty-five years ago, it was carried over the stream in an aqueduct, several rods below the dam. Thus the reader will perceive that the necessity for destroying the Chapel was at the time a justifiable one. In these days of reckless and profligate expenditure, when millions are considered of less importance than thousands were then, it seems necessary to make this explanation to antiquaries. For more than twenty years, and until the Canal had realized the expectations of its friends, the old bridge was in use; but soon after its necessity was obviated, a Spring freshet swept it away, and it has never been rebuilt. While it was in use, however, passenger packets were running; and during high water many a thrilling incident occurred, several canal boats having parted their tow-lines, and in some instances boats were swept

\* In an early number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we shall endeavor to gratify our friend and correspondent, by giving not only the list which he has spoken of but some other particulars concerning this mission, which have evidently escaped his notice.—H. B. D.

over the dam into the Mohawk. Some of those accidents were attended with loss of property and loss of life.

From the time Fort Hunter was erected down to the Revolution, the place was known among the natives as the LOWER CASTLE, and among the whites, who began about that time to settle upon both sides of the river, as FORT HUNTER. For a Century before it became known, except as Tiononderoga or the Lower Mohawk Castle, this was a place of no little importance in the primitive history of the Colony. Here, at times, must have been assembled, in numbers, painted and feathered, the athletic Chiefs not only of the Mohawk Nation, but representatives of the entire Confederacy; and here must have been planned some of their most important enterprises. And after the whites settled at Schenectada, which place was for a long time upon the outskirts of Civilization, they cultivated the friendship of the Mohawks, secured their trade, and came to consider them as a barrier between themselves and their Canadian foes, which they proved to be, except when the place was so completely surprised in February, 1689.

As a military post, Fort Hunter was rejuvenated by Mars, early in the War for Independence. The timber of the old fort having become decayed, it was demolished, and the Chapel inclosed as a substitute in strong palisades, with block-house corners; mounting cannon; and was very properly suffered to retain its original English name, which still attaches to its little hamlet and Post-office.

Public whipping and confinement in stocks, an English mode of punishment for petty crimes, was in vogue in the States, some thirty or forty years after the Revolution; and not far from the Chapel, at Fort Hunter, says tradition, stood a Whipping-post and Stocks.

In the palmy days of the Mohawk Nation, Fort Hunter was a place of much importance. Speaking of Indian customs, says Colden, "An officer of the Regular troops told me" [*probably Captain Scott*] "that while he was Commandant of Fort Hunter, the Mohawks on one occasion" [*that of a war dance*] "told him, that they (the Indians) expected the usual military honors as they passed the Garrison. The men presented their pieces as the Indians passed, and the drum beat a march; and with less respect, the officer said, they would have been dissatisfied. The Indians passed in single row, one after another, with great gravity and profound silence; and every one of them, as he passed the officer, took his gun from his shoulder, and fired into the ground near the officer's feet. They marched in this manner three or four miles from their Castle. The women, on these occasions, follow them with their old clothes;

"and they send back by them their finery in which they marched from the Castle."

Spafford, in his *Gazeteer*, speaking of the Indian Mission at Fort Hunter, after expressing his doubts about their being benefited by "theological mysteries," says: "There are yet extant most marvelous accounts of the reception of the Gospel, and of the wonderful success of the first Missionaries in converting the Mohawk Indians to Christianity, in the days of Queen Anne! We have their Country, and the bells and churches, and the Church has the missionary farm."

After Sir William Johnson became the British Agent for the Indian Confederacy, and established his residence at Mount or Fort Johnson, on the opposite side of the river, and only two or three miles distant from Fort Hunter, as we may suppose, he was not only often there; but he manifested so real and so abiding an interest in the welfare of the natives, and especially at this Castle, that they placed implicit confidence in his integrity, and looked to him as children to a parent to right their public wrongs, and settle many of their private difficulties, which his remarkably playful and equitable temperament enabled him, satisfactorily, to do for nearly a quarter of a Century. In his correspondence, to distinguish this from the others, he often called it the Mohawk Castle. But time has wrought its wonderful changes here as elsewhere. The Agent and all his confiding forest children now sleep with their fathers, and the pleasant places of earth that have known them will know them no more forever. The last war-dance of the manly and vigorous Mohawk has long since transpired; and the echoes of his last warwhoop and terrific yell have forever died away among the hills that hem in Tiononderoga.

J. R. S.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y., May 20, 1867.

## VI.—A CHINESE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, 26th June, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq<sup>r</sup>,  
Morrisania,  
New York.

DEAR SIR:

In the absence of the Secretary of State I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant, inquiring as to the genuineness of a statement in regard to a translation of a Historical sketch of the United States by Seu-Ki-Yu, a Chinese writer, and in reply to inform you that such a translation was communicated to this Department from the Legation of the United States in China. I inclose a correct copy thereof and a copy of a dispatch which was addressed to Mr Burlingame on the subject, to which is prefixed an explanatory statement.

Very truly yours,

F. W. SEWARD,  
Assistant Secretary.

## [INCLOSURES.]

## 1.—EXPLANATORY STATEMENT.

It appears that Seu-Ki-Yu was, from 1844 to 1850, Governor of Fuh-Kien. During that time he wrote and published, in the Chinese language, a work on Universal Geography, giving an account of the establishment of America by Washington. For this publication, so favorable to the Western Powers, some of which were then in collision with China, and so favorable especially to the United States, Seu-Ki-Yu was dismissed from office by the Emperor Hien-Fung, on his accession to the throne of China in 1850.

His work and his sacrifices for the truth of history were made known to the Government at Washington by the late Charge of the United States at Peking, Mr. Williams. Through the efforts of the legation, the Imperial Government reversed its sentence of proscription against Seu-Ki-Yu, and recalled him into its employment as a member of the Foreign Office of the Government.

The Secretary of State presented him with a portrait of Washington.

## 2.—LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MR. BURLINGAME, U. S. MINISTER TO CHINA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, January 21, 1867.

SIR: Mr. S. Welles Williams, in a dispatch, No. 16, and in an unofficial letter of the 22d of February last, invited my attention to the fact that his Excellency Seu-Ki-Yu, a distinguished Chinese statesman, then recently appointed to the Foreign Office, had in various ways manifested a liberal and friendly appreciation of the importance of amicable relations between the United States and other Western Powers and China, and that he had written an eulogy upon the life and character of George Washington, which reflects great credit upon the author. When these facts became known to me they afforded me the liveliest satisfaction, and I thought it might be agreeable to his Excellency to possess a faithful portrait of the subject of his eulogy. I have accordingly caused an exact copy\* to be made by one of our most skillful artists of the original likeness, painted by Gilbert Stuart from life. This copy, suitably framed, will be forwarded to your address by the first convenient opportunity, for presentation by you in such a manner as may seem most appropriate, to his Excellency, Seu-Ki-Yu, as a mark of the high appreciation entertained of the wisdom and virtue which have justly entitled him to the exalted station which he has attained.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

WM. H. SEWARD.

ANSON BURLINGAME, Esq.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.†

BY SEU-KI-YU, GOVERNOR OF FUH-KIEN.

*Translated from the original Chinese, at the United States Legation at Peking, and communicated to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE by the Department of State of the United States.*

America is a vast country. Owing to its merchant ships carrying a variegated flag, it is usually known at Canton as the Hwa-ki-kwoh, or Flowery Flag Nation.‡ It is bounded on the north by the English territory, and on the south by Mexico and Texas; its eastern border lies along the Great Western ocean, while its western is on the vast ocean, a distance of about ten

thousand *li*\* lying between them. From north to south the distance is between five thousand and six thousand *li* in the widest parts, and from three thousand to four thousand *li* in the narrowest. The Apalachian range winds along its eastern coast, and the great Rocky Mountains enclose its western borders, between which lies a vast level region many thousands of miles in extent.

\* The Mississippi is the chief of its rivers. Its sources are very remote, and after running more than a myriad *li* in serpentine course, it joins the Missouri river, and the great united river flows on south to the sea. The other celebrated rivers are the Columbia, Mobile, Apalachicola, and Delaware. Great lakes lie on the northern border towards the west. They are divided from each other by four streams, and are called Iroquois, or St. Clair, Huron, Superior, and Michigan. To the east lie two others, Erie and Ontario, which are joined to each other. These together form the boundary between the United States and the British possessions.

It was the English people who first discovered and took North America, and drove out the aborigines. The fertile and eligible lands were settled by emigrants moved over there from the three (British) islands, who thus occupied them. These emigrants hastened over with a force like that of the torrent running down the gully. Poor people from France, Holland, Denmark and Sweden also sailed over to join them, and as they all daily opened up new clearings, the country continually grew rich in its cultivated lands. High English officers held it for their sovereign, and as cities and towns sprung up all along the coasts, their revenues were collected for his benefit. Commerce constantly increased in extent and amount, so that thus the inhabitants rapidly became rich and powerful.

During the reign of Kembang (A. D. 1736–1796) the English and French were at war for several years, during which the former exacted the duties throughout all their possessions, increasing the taxes more than previously. By the old tariff, for instance, the duty on tea was levied when it was sold; but the English now required that another tax should be paid by the buyer.

The people of America would not stand this, and in the year 1776 their gentry and leading men assembled together in order to consult with the (English) Governor how to arrange this matter; but he drove them from his presence, dispersed the assembly, and demanded that the tax be collected all the more strictly. The people thereupon rose in their wrath, threw all the tea in the ships into the sea, and then

\* The copy was made by Henry C. Pratt, Esq<sup>r</sup>, of Boston Mass.

† It is also called Collected Nations of America, United League Nations, Confederate Countries of America, and United all States, (&c., these different Chinese names have been used.)

‡ This flag is an oblong banner, with red and white stripes alternating; in the right-hand corner is a small square of a black color, wherein are drawn many white spots arranged in a form resembling the Constellation of the Dipper.

\* This is a vague expression for a vast distance; three *li* are usually reckoned to equal an English mile.—Translator's Note.



consulted together how they could raise troops to expel the British.

There was at this time a man named Washington, a native of another colony, born in 1732, who had lost his father at the age of ten, but had been admirably trained by his mother. While a boy he showed a great spirit and aptitude for literary and martial pursuits, and his love for brave and adventurous deeds exceeded those of ordinary men. He had held a military commission under the English, and during the war with France, when the French leagued with the Indians, and made an irruption into the southern provinces, he led on a body of troops and drove them back; but the English general would not report this expeditious operation, so that his worthy deeds were not recorded (for his promotion).

The people of the land now wished to have him to be their leader, but he went home on plea of sickness and shut himself up. When they had actually raised the standard of rebellion, however, they compelled him to become their general.

Though neither troops nor depots, neither arms nor ammunition, stores nor forage, existed at this time, Washington so inspirited everybody by his own patriotism, and urged them on by his own energy, that the proper boards and departments were soon arranged, and he was thereby enabled to (bring up his forces) invest the capital. The British general had intrenched some marines outside the city, when a storm suddenly dispersed his ships. Washington improved the conjuncture by vigorously attacking the city, and succeeded in taking it.

The English then gathered a great army, and renewed the engagement. He lost the battle completely, and his men were so disheartened and terrified that they began to disperse. But his great heart maintained its composure, and he so rallied and reassured his army that they renewed the contest, and victory finally turned in their favor. Thus the bloody strife went on for eight years. Sometimes victorious and sometimes vanquished, Washington's determination and energy never quailed, while the English general began to grow old.

The King of France also sent a general across the sea to strengthen the tottering States. He joined his forces with those of Washington, and gave battle to the British army. The rulers of Spain and Holland likewise hampered their military operations, and advised them to conclude a peace. The English at last could no longer act freely, and ended the strife in the year 1783, by making a treaty with Washington. According to the stipulations, the boundary line was so drawn that they had the desolate and cold region on the north, while the fertile and

genial southern portions were confirmed to him.

Washington, having thus established the States, gave up his military command for the purpose of returning to his farm, but the people would not permit him thus to retire, and obliged him to become their ruler. He, however, proposed a plan to them as follows: "It is very selfish for him who gets the power in the State to hand it down to his posterity. In filling the post of the shepherd of the people, it will be most suitable to select a virtuous man."

Each of the old colonies was thereupon formed into a separate State, having its own Governor to direct its affairs, with a Lieutenant Governor to assist him,\* each of whom held office for four years.† At the general meeting of the people of his State, if they regarded him as worthy, he is permitted to hold his post during another term of four years,‡ but if not, then the Lieutenant Governor takes his place. If, however, the latter does not obtain the approbation of the people, another man is chosen to the dignity when his time has expired. When the head men of the villages and towns are proposed for office, their names and surnames are written on tickets and thrown into a box. When everybody has done so the box is opened, and it is then known who is elected by his having the most votes, and he takes the office. Whether he has been an official or is a commoner, no examination is required as to his qualifications; and when an officer vacates his place he becomes in all respects one of the common people again.

From among all the Governors of the separate States one supreme Governor (or President) is chosen, to whom belongs the right to make treaties and carry on war, and whose orders each State is bound to obey. The manner of his election is the same as that for a Governor of a State. He holds his office four years, or, if re-elected, for eight. Since the days of Washington (who died in 1799) the country has existed sixty years; there have been nine Presidents, and the present incumbent (Tyler) was elected from Virginia.

When Washington made peace with the British he dismissed all the troops, and directed the attention of the country entirely to agriculture and commerce. He also issued a mandate saying: "If hereafter a President should covetously plot how he can seize the forts or lands of another kingdom, or harass and extort the people's wealth, or raise troops to gratify his personal quarrels, let all the people put him to death." He accordingly retained only twenty

\* Sometimes the Lieutenant Governor is a single officer; in other cases several persons aid the Governor.

† They are also changed biennially and sometimes annually.

‡ When he has held the office for eight years he cannot be re-elected.

national war vessels, and limited the army to 10,000 men.

The area of the country is very great, and every one exerts himself to increase its fertility and riches. The several States have all one object, and act together in entire harmony; the other nations of the world have therefore maintained amicable relations with the United States, and have never presumed to despise or encroach on them. During the sixty years that have elapsed since peace with England there has been no internal war, and their trade has increased so that the number of American merchantmen resorting to Canton yearly is second only to those of Great Britain.

It appears from the above that Washington was a very remarkable man. In devising plans he was more daring than Chin Shing or Hain Kwang. In winning a country he was braver than Tson Tsan or Sin Pi. Wielding his four-foot falchion, he enlarged the frontier myriads of miles, and yet he refused to usurp regal dignity, or even to transmit it to posterity; but, on the contrary, first proposed the plan of electing men to office. Where in the world can be found a mode more equitable? It is the same idea in fact, that has been handed down to us (the Chinese) from three reigns of San, Shun and Yu. In ruling the State he honored and fostered good usages, and did not exalt military merit, a principle totally unlike what is found in other kingdoms. I have seen his portrait. His mien and countenance are grand and impressive in the highest degree. Oh, who is there that does not call him a hero?\*

## VII.—“WOMAN’S RIGHTS” IN MASSACHUSETTS.†

*To the Editors of the Commercial Advertiser:*

It is a great mistake to suppose that this phase of modern progress is of very recent origin in America, or that the “fears of the wise” concerning the emancipation of women are new inventions. Who can forget the perils which the infant Colony of Massachusetts so narrowly escaped by suppressing the exercises of “that mas-terpiece of woman’s wit,” Mistress Anne Hutch-

inson? And what student of our history can fail to remember the stern decision by which the first General Synod in America—the Assembly of all the Churches, called with the consent of the Magistrates, and confident in the power of the sword which they carried to enforce its decrees—condemned the public exercising of women’s gifts (as was then the custom in Boston, though in a private house) as “disorderly and without rule?” At that time, no less than fifty or sixty persons were in the habit of attending constantly every week, upon this one woman, who, in a prophetic way, would take upon her to resolve questions of doctrine and expound Scripture. Her melancholy fate was doubtless a stringent example and warning to the ambitious women of that day and generation, and not without its effects upon those who came after. At any rate, we find no development in that direction for a long time afterward. And when the great revolution in opinions came, which shook the ancient foundations of slavery in Massachusetts, and the great doctrine of the rights of man came to be preached there, a faint trace of women’s rights is to be found, though its expression was very summarily treated. Still, we believe it *gives to Massachusetts the honor of the first recorded attempt to vindicate woman’s right to vote*. Why the accredited champions of the historic fame of the old Bay State have not claimed it long ago, is a question which we leave them to answer. The evidence is far more direct and conclusive than that which they used to think sufficient to prove their early devotion to the doctrines of abolition; and it gives us great pleasure to be able to state, as we do upon sufficient authority, that in the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780, it was formally proposed on two separate occasions, to strike out the word “male” in the clauses determining the qualifications of the Electors. It is true that the proposition to “expunge” was voted down—but if anything better can be shown for any other State we should like to see it.

New Jersey has made some claim, but we have seen no evidence to show that the framers of her first Constitution *intended* to give the elective franchise to women; and it is a curious circumstance, that although under the provisions of that instrument a woman possessing the other qualifications might exercise the right of suffrage, and some subsequent legislation in that State continued to recognize it; it was summarily cut off, in 1820, by an Act of the Legislature, which repealed that provision of the Constitution; and in 1844, the Convention which framed the new Constitution took good care to keep it out, in spite of Petition and Remonstrance.

“Speakings of guns, &c.” we may as well add here the notice of another unsuccessful proposi-

\* Ching Shing and Hang Kwang were two patriotic generals, who endeavored to overthrow the Tsin dynasty, (B. C. 208,) and restore the feudal system, and establish their own prince in his stead. Tson Tsan and Sin Pi were rival chieftains, (A. D. 220,) the first of whom destroyed the great Han dynasty, and the second, after surviving all his own efforts to uphold it, founded a small State himself in the west of China. The four-foot falchion is an allusion to the celebrated sword of Sin Pan, the founder of the Han dynasty, (B. C. 202,) with which he clove in twain a huge serpent that crossed his path. The three monarchs, Yan, Shun and Yu, were among the earliest Chinese rulers, (B. C. 2357–2205,) and were chosen to fill the throne on account of their virtues.

† From the *Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 1867.

tion in the Massachusetts Convention of 1780. One of the "literary and classical" members actually proposed to expunge the word "Massachusetts," and to substitute the word "Oceana" in its stead. Harrington's *Oceana* was in those days regarded as one of the boasts of English literature, and had been pronounced by Hume to be "the only valuable model of a Commonwealth that has yet been offered to the public." Whether the *dilettanti* of the Convention were seduced in their sacrilegious folly by Hume's opinion, does not appear; but "Massachusetts" was triumphantly retained in John Adams's model, which the majority thought good enough for them; and the word "Oceana" was voted down as promptly as "womanhood suffrage," or an equally heretical proposition submitted a few days later, to strike out the words "wise and "pious" before "Ancestors," in that part of the Constitution which commemorates the merits of the founders of Harvard College.

We trust that we shall not be accused of profaning the sacred temple of the history of Massachusetts, in "publishing the above before submitting it to some of our friends in Boston."

G. H. M.

#### VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

##### 51.—THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.\*

I.—Hon. Harrison Gray Otis to Hon. Samuel Ward.

Boston, October 26, 1818.

DEAR SIR:

It has occurred to me that justice to the States, represented in the late Hartford Convention seems to require that the private journal of their proceedings, should be deposited in some place to which access may be had by any person disposed to give them publicity. You need not be informed of the disposition of a numerous class to impute to that Convention, projects which would not bear the light, and to produce if possible a general opinion that the things which are seen afford no clue to the unholy mysteries of our Conclave. While as individuals we regard these efforts with unconcern, we ought not perhaps to be indifferent to the effects of an erroneous public opinion on this subject, upon the present age and upon posterity, if the mere unvarnished Journal is sufficient for its correction.

Mr. Cabot, Mr. Prescott and other members in this vicinity concur in these sentiments, and if you should be content that we may make such a

disposition of that Journal as may be thought best for the object here expressed, I request of you the favour to signify your acquiescence by a line to Mr. Cabot with all convenient dispatch.

Respectfully

H. G. OTIS.

[Addressed]

Free H. G. OTIS.  
Hon: SAMUEL WARD,

II.—Mr. Ivers to Mr. Ward.

PROVIDENCE, Novem: 2<sup>d</sup> 1818.

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed letter for your Hon<sup>d</sup> Father, I was requested to forward by a private conveyance, if one offered, otherwise by mail—will you have the goodness to cause it to be delivered, as soon as convenient.

I am with great regard

Your obedient friend

THO: P. IVES.\*

III.—Mr. Ward to Hon. George Cabot.†

7<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1818.

[DEAR SIR:]

I received on the 5<sup>th</sup> Inst. a letter from the Hon. H. G. Otis, which informs me it is your opinion and that of the other Gentlemen in the vicinity of Boston who were members of the Hartford Convention that the private Journal of their proceedings should be deposited in some place to which access may be had by any person disposed to give them publicity.—I have the honor to inform you that this proposal entirely meets my approbation.

##### 52.—JEFFERSON DAVIS TO R. BARNWELL RHETT, JR.‡

WARREN COUNTY, Missi., Nov. 10, 1860.

Hon. R. B. RHETT, Jr.,

Dear Sir:—I had the honor to receive, last night, yours of the 27<sup>th</sup> ulto., and hasten to reply to the inquiries propounded. Reports of the election leave little doubt that the event you anticipated has occurred, that electors have been chosen securing the election of Lincoln, and I will answer on that supposition.

My home is so isolated that I have had no intercourse with those who might have aided me in forming an opinion as to the effect produced on the mind of our people by the result of the

\* Mr. Ives was a partner of the old House of Messrs. Brown & Ives, of Providence, R. I.; and his Letter was evidently addressed to one of the Sons of Col. Samuel Ward, of New York.—H. T. D.

† The following is a copy of the Letter written to Hon. George Cabot (as desired) by Samuel Ward, from the original draft.—H. T. D.

‡ From the original in the office of *The Evening Press*, Hartford, Connecticut.

\* From the Ward Papers, through H. T. Drowne, Esq., of New York.

recent election, and the impressions which I communicate are founded upon antecedent expressions.

1. I doubt not that the Gov'r of Missi. has convoked the Legislature to assemble within the present month, to decide upon the course which the State should adopt in the present emergency. Whether the Legislature will direct the call of a convention, of the State, or appoint delegates to a convention of such Southern States as may be willing to consult together for the adoption of a Southern plan of action, is doubtful.

2. If a convention, of the State, were assembled, the proposition to secede from the Union, independently of support from neighboring States, would probably fail.

3. If South Carolina should first secede, and she alone should take such action, the position of Missi. would not probably be changed by that fact. A powerful obstacle to the separate action of Missi. is the want of a port; from which follows the consequence that her trade being still conducted through the ports of the Union, her revenue would be diverted from her own support to that of a foreign government; and being geographically unconnected with South Carolina, an alliance with her would not vary that state of case. [sic.]

4. The propriety of separate secession by So. Ca. depends so much upon collateral questions that I find it difficult to respond to your last enquiry, for the want of knowledge which would enable me to estimate the value of the elements involved in the issue, though exterior to your state. Georgia is necessary to connect you with Alabama and thus to make effectual the co operation of Missi. If Georgia would be lost by immediate action, but could be gained by delay, it seems clear to me that you should wait. If the secession of So. Ca. should be followed by an attempt to coerce her back into the Union, that act of usurpation, folly and wickedness would enlist every true Southern man for her defence. If it were attempted to blockade her ports and destroy her trade, a like result would be produced, and the commercial world would probably be added to her allies. It is therefore probable that neither of those measures would be adopted by any administration, but that federal ships would be sent to collect the duties on imports outside of the bar; that the commercial nations would feel little interest in that; and the Southern States would have little power to counteract it.

The planting states have a common interest of such magnitude, that their union, sooner or later, for the protection of that interest is certain. United they will have ample power for their own protection, and their exports will make for them allies of all commercial and manufacturing powers.

The new states have a heterogeneous population, and will be slower and less unanimous than those in which there is less of the northern element in the body politic, but interest controls the policy of states, and finally all the planting communities must reach the same conclusion. My opinion is, therefore, as it has been, in favor of seeking to bring those states into coöperation before asking for a popular decision upon a new policy and relation to the nations of the earth. If So. Ca. should resolve to secede before that co-operation can be obtained, to go out leaving Georgia and Alabama and Louisiana in the Union, and without any reason to suppose they will follow her; there appears to me to be no advantage in waiting until the govt. has passed into hostile hands and men have become familiarized to that injurious and offensive perversion of the general government from the ends for which it was established. I have written with the freedom and carelessness of private correspondence, and regret that I could not give more precise information.

Very respectfully,

Yrs, etc.,

JEFFN DAVIS.

#### 53.—JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.\*

PARIS, 4<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1782.

MY DEAREST FRIEND—

Your proposal of coming to Europe has long & tenderly affected me. The dangers & inconveniences are such & an European life would so disagreeable to you, that I have Suffered a great deal of anxiety in reflecting upon it. But upon the whole I think it will be most for the happiness of my family, & most for the honor of my Country that I should come home. I have therefore written this day to Congress a resignation of all my Employments, and as soon as I shall receive their acceptance of it, I will embark for America, which will be in the Spring or beginning of Summer—†

Our Son† is now on his journey from Petersburg thro' Sweden, Denmark & Germany, and, if it please God he come safe, he shall come with me & I pray we may all meet once more, You & I, never to Separate again—

I am most tenderly

Yrs.

JOHN ADAMS.

MRS. ABIGAIL ADAMS.

\* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffman, Esqr., of New York.

† Mr. Adams arrived in Boston June 17, 1786, after an absence of nine years.

‡ John Quincy Adams.

54.—GEN. WADE HAMPTON, OF S. C., to R. G. HARPER, ESQ.\*

ANNAPOLIS, KEATING'S, Sunday Even'g,  
27 Feby 1803.

SIR,—The object of this letter is not to bring into view, the treatment I have lately experienced from you, nor the causes which I may think ought to have forbid it—It is merely intended to enquire of you, the footing upon which I stand, with respect to you, the demands against you. These consist of a balance on the original debt to J. B. Bond, and of different sums lent you. I have no evidence for the latter, but your recollection, nor any security, but your honor. They all originated in a confidence, that whenever you might have it in your power, you would not fail to be just towards a man, who had no motive for these advances, but a disposition to render you a kindness. How far the expectation has been fulfilled, *your own feelings*, and not my opinion, shall determine. But the moment has now arrived, when it ought not to be thought unreasonable in me, to ask how the account stands?—Upon giving me the acknowledgment I ask, should you wish to review the transaction upon which you have thought proper to institute your suit, the papers are all in my possession, and shall be submitted to that inspection, to which they have ever been open. I will add to them every explanation, and information, it is in my power to give. After w<sup>ch</sup> should you be of opinion the suit ought to go on, I will join you in placing it, in any liberal shape, to avoid unnecessary trouble, & insure a Prompt decision.

I am Sir,  
Yr hble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
W. HAMPTON.

R. G. HARPER, Esq.

## IX.—THE BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.

By PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL.

A person would form a very imperfect idea of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill without a knowledge of the times and circumstances connected with it. Of these I will give as correct an account as I can.

Rowan County took an active part in the Revolution, but it will be remembered that large districts of what was then Rowan were not so friendly to the cause of Liberty as might have been desired. We know but little about that part of it now called Davidson County, except

the lower portion called "The Flat Swamp;" which was the place of Colonel Bryant's retreat when driven out of the Fork of the Yadkin, as will be more fully noticed in the proper place.

This latter, for a considerable distance up the river, was originally settled by a mixed population from every direction, having no general trait of National character;—there were about as many Tories as Whigs among them; and a third party that, through cowardice, stood neutral. Following Hunting Creek up to the Brushy Mountains, you would have found the inhabitants nearly all Tories throughout the mountains to the Catawba River. For the first few years of the war, they took no active part in it; but some of them caused considerable annoyance to the Whigs by their robberies, especially by horse-stealing. Having committed depredations in this way, they would fly to the mountains, and were there concealed; but the Whigs of the Fork, assisted by their friends South of the South-Yadkin, and furnished with a sufficient force for protection, would pursue the rogues, often recover their property, and punish the offenders by Lynch law.

But as the seat of war seemed to be changing from North to South, the Tories became more active. In the beginning of the year 1780, they began to collect in companies, but the Whigs would always scatter them before they joined large bodies. In May, 1780, when Charleston surrendered to the British army, and Lord Cornwallis was full of hope that he would redeem his pledge made to his friends before he left England, (which was that if they would give him four regiments of Regulars, he would march triumphant from one end of the Continent to the other,) and he had marched up as far as Camden, many of the South Carolinians joining his standard, and the news had spread through all the upper country; then all the Tories were in motion. The encampment near Lincolnton was founded the latter part of that Spring, or the beginning of the Summer; for when taken in June, it was found to be an old camp. Their object was to be ready to join Cornwallis on his march; and a considerable body of men soon collected. The Tories were in motion in every direction. The Whigs, using all the means in their power to keep them down, succeeded in distressing them before they collected in large numbers; and the Whigs often ventured out in one direction in the evening, and before day the next morning would be called upon to go in another. But they were always ready and willing to go, never lying down at night without placing their arms so that they could lay their hands on them at any moment.

Colonel Bryant, a citizen of the Fork of the Yadkin, a man of some talents, had considerable

\* From the collection of Mr. C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.

influence with the Tories of his vicinity; and he was not idle, but was afraid to come out publicly. He, however, caused it to be reported that the war would soon end; and that all the land belonging to the Rebels would be confiscated, and the King's friends would be the owners.

This drew off many of the neutral party: horse-stealing increased: horses were in greater demand; but, as the Brushy Mountains were not a safe retreat, they fled to Lincolnton, and there found a market for their horses and protection for their persons; as was evident from the fact that several horses, stolen in the Fork of the Yadkin, were recovered at the battle of Ramsour's Mill. Lynch-law was often enforced, and offenders joined the camp in Lincoln, till a formidable body in all had been collected. This caused no little uneasiness to the Whigs, who resolved to attack them, and break up their encampment. This was in the latter part of June, 1780, and it appears to have been a crisis in the Revolution. If the men, for this purpose, were to be taken from the Fork and vicinity, as many from there were out on other expeditions, Bryant was to be dreaded behind them. They scarcely knew how to raise a sufficient force, but they determined upon it.

About this time, news was received that General Gates was on his way with a Northern army to assist them: this greatly encouraged them to persevere; for by breaking up that encampment, they would prevent it from causing any embarrassment to General Gates or giving any assistance to Cornwallis.

They, therefore, collected all the men they could in Rowan, and perhaps some from Mecklenburg. All were under the command of General Rutherford. Having crossed the Catawba, they were joined by Captains Bowman and Dobson from Burke; and General Rutherford now finding himself at the head of a considerable body of men, moved towards the enemy's camp; about three hundred mounted infantry, many of them officers, formed the advance guard, while the infantry followed on under the officer in command. The advance party, after a march of fifteen miles, having reached the enemy's camp, reconnoitred it without being discovered. Some difference of opinion now arose as to the best course to be pursued. Colonel Locke, and perhaps some others, thought that they had better wait till the infantry arrived; Captains Falls and Armstrong, Colonel Brevard, and perhaps some others, among them Major James Rutherford, thought that they ought to avail themselves of the advantage of attacking by surprise. After some discussion the latter opinion prevailed. The first step was to send an express to General Rutherford, to hasten on with the infantry, for they intended an immediate attack.

The Spartan number, three hundred,\* with something of the Spartan spirit, now divided into two equal bodies; the first was to advance and fire, then retreat, and form in the rear of the second, in the mean time to load as they retired; the second division was to advance and fire, retreat and in like manner, form in the rear, and load; thus to draw the enemy on, till Rutherford came up with the main body of the army.

This was the plan of attack, with the clear understanding that each was to watch the other's motions, and act in concert. The arrangement being thus made and understood, the attack was made about sun-rise, while the Tories were engaged in preparing their breakfast; and so complete was the surprise that they found themselves falling by the balls of their enemies almost as soon as they discovered them.

The first division, after firing, retreated, opening to the right and left from the centre, for the second to advance, fire, and retreat in the same way. The enemy, notwithstanding their surprise, attempted to form a line; but a Whig of more courage than prudence, rode up, seized their colors and rode off with them unhurt amidst a shower of balls. Having now no rallying point, their consternation increased; and the quick succession of destructive fires, kept up by the assailants, rendered their confusion complete. The Whigs not only stood their ground, but advanced, after a few rounds, upon the enemy's camp; and in a short time obtained a complete victory, taking possession of the camp before General Rutherford arrived with the main body of the army. The general engagement lasted only about fifteen minutes. The place had the appearance of a camp long occupied: they were well supplied with provisions, arms, &c.; and at the lowest account were about one thousand two hundred strong, some say one thousand seven hundred, while the Whigs in action were three hundred in number. The loss of the latter was mostly in officers, who distinguished themselves in so signal a manner, that they were selected by their enemies, who had some expert riflemen. Captain Dobson and Captain Bowman, of Burke, were both killed.

Capt. Falls from the lower, and Capt. John Sloan from the upper, end of Iredell, and Capt. Wm. Knox from the Eastern part of it, fell that day; also Capt. Armstrong from the region of Third Creek in Rowan. Capt. Hugh Torrence and Capt. Smith, of Mecklenburg, Capt. David Caldwell, and Capt. John Reed were unhurt. Capt. James Houston was wounded: William Wilson had a horse shot under him and was wounded the second fire: several inferior officers were killed. Thirteen men from

\* One account says 450.

the vicinity of Statesville, lay dead there after the battle; and many more died of their wounds the next day. Joseph Wasson, from Snow Creek, received five balls, one of which he carried forty years to a day, when it came out of itself; being unable to stand, he lay upon his side and loaded and fired his musket several times.

The loss of the Tories was great in men, and all their camp equipments. A number of horses were taken, some of which had been stolen in the Forks of the Yadkin. And to return to the region, the people there were much distressed at this time; for Colonel Bryant, thinking this a favorable time while so many men were absent, to assemble his friends, who were ready to march at an hour's notice, gave the word and formed his camp a few miles from Riddle's ferry, on the Big Yadkin.

He soon found himself at the head of a large body of Tories that flocked to his standard from every direction, particularly his friends in the Fork.

What increased still more the distress of the Whigs in that region was a false report from the army in Lincoln, that it had been totally defeated; that Captain Armstrong was killed, and his whole company either slain or made prisoners. This news soon reached Bryant's camp, and encouraged the Tories, some of whom threatened to rob and kill every rebel in or near the Forks, in three days. But the Whigs at home, not willing to believe such reports concerning their army, sent messengers from several neighborhoods to learn the truth; and by them intelligence of Bryant's movements reached Rutherford's army, and all the men from that quarter were dismissed to return and defend their families and property.

They left the camp the morning after the battle, and those on horseback reached home that night. The next morning was the time appointed by Captains Caldwell, Nicholas, and Sam'l Reed, to meet at some place in the Fork to oppose Bryant. Those who had returned from Lincoln after a short rest, went to meet their friends; and a camp was formed two or three miles East of Anderson's Bridge on Hunting Creek, known ever since by the name of Liberty Hill: it was five or six miles from Bryant's camp. When this encampment commenced they were not one hundred in number; but men continued to collect during the day, and in the evening they were joined by a company of Light Horse, from the Mountains, commanded by Captain Doak. At night they numbered between two hundred and three hundred, and had taken about twenty prisoners on their way to join Bryant's camp.

They were in constant expectation that he would attack them, and made every effort to

give him a warm reception, and convince him how much it would cost him to gratify his friends in their thirst for plunder. In the mean time he received a true account of the fate of his friends in Lincoln, and seeing the army assembling at Liberty Hill, he became alarmed; and, while the Whigs were preparing to receive him, to their great surprise, he broke up his camp and fled across the Yadkin;—finding the people of the "Flat Swamp" more friendly to his cause than the Scotch Irish, the other side of the river. These latter, mingled with a few Marylanders, as brave as themselves, strove to see who would perform the noblest deeds for their country. Unlike other ambition, this strengthened the bonds of friendship between them.

Thus was the power of the Tories broken in Lincoln and in the Forks of the Yadkin. Bryant, after spending a short time in the Flat Swamp, retired to the Eastern part of the State; and Captain Samuel Reed's company, with a few others, as an army of observation, was sufficient to keep order in the Forks.

The Tories in Lincoln, having been so roughly handled at the Battle of Ramsour's Mill, what of them escaped, retired to the Western part of the country, and remained there till Ferguson arrived to their assistance, whose fate is well known.

It will be seen from the above that the Whigs of Rowan and Mecklenburg were greatly relieved from the embarrassment of the Tories, and now had an opportunity to aid their friends in other parts of the country: this they did promptly. They were in service on the Pedee, at Wilmington, at King's Mountain, at the Cowpens, at Guilford Court House, and many other places of minor importance.

We might say that the Battle at Ramsour's Mill was the first of a series of misfortunes to the British arms in Upper Carolina. Gates's defeat was the only action of importance in their favor.

The Ramsour battle was about the twentieth of June; that at King's Mountain in October; at the Cowpens in January; at Guilford Court House in March; all more or less favorable to the cause of the Americans.

We will mention one or two traditionary anecdotes connected with the battle of which we have an account above.—Capt. Reed was ordered to take his men and flank the Tories: in doing so he had to cross a bottom and a branch, and pass through some underbrush. As he emerged in view of the enemy, a man rushed out towards him, and got behind a tree, watching an opportunity to shoot him. But being a good marksman Reed kept his eye on the tree, and seeing the shoulder of the Tory not entirely cov-

ered by it, he took a rifle from one of his men, and shot him through the part exposed. After the close of the battle he went among the wounded, and finding one shot through the shoulder, on inquiry as to the way he received his wound, he found him to be the man he had shot, and dressed the wound for him.

In one case a Whig and a Tory were each behind a tree watching to shoot each other, when the Whig employed this stratagem to get his enemy to fire. He put his hat on the end of his ramrod and projected it beyond the tree. The Tory supposing that a *head* was there as well as a *hat*, fired a ball through it; when the Whig taking the advantage of him put a ball through his body before he could reload.

The Tories were headed by Col. John Moore, Maj. Welsh, and Captains Keener, Williams, and Warlick; the latter and a Whig by the name of Winstons, were neighbors, and rivals at shooting matches: both good marksmen. They met, and one said to the other, "The time has come," alluding to some understanding they had before between them. Their guns were unloaded, and each took a tree for shelter. The Whig succeeded in loading first and looked around his tree just as the Tory shut his pan. Knowing that his opponent would look around *his tree* before pointing his gun, the Whig aimed his; and the moment the other put his head behind his tree, shot a ball through it.

Traces of the battle may be seen now at the battle ground, about three-quarters of a mile from the Town of Lincolnton, on a ridge, situated between Clark's Creek and one of its tributaries; some of the graves are yet visible; and the pine trees still standing there, it is said, bear the marks of the musket balls.

In their confusion and retreat some of the Tories, attempting to escape across the mill dam by a narrow bridge, pushed each other off and were drowned: some, too, rushed into the pond and were mired in the mud and never escaped.

The Whigs did not pursue them for fear the smallness of their numbers would be discovered. In all, the battle lasted about two hours, and was brought to a close by a flag of truce sent out by a Tory of the name of Blackburn. There was no General officer in command at this battle. Col. Francis Locke was present but did not take the command for fear of being tried by Court-martial for exceeding his orders.

The above is for the most part in the words of the different narrators, from whom the traditions have been taken down.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

## X.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

### 20.—"HARLEM, FIFTY OR SIXTY YEARS AGO."

*Editor of The Historical Magazine:*

Sixty years ago, I was only a boy; yet I think I can comply with your request to tell you something of "HARLEM, AS IT WAS FIFTY OR "SIXTY YEARS AGO," with some degree of accuracy. I will try to do so, with the understanding that if my friend and neighbor, Riker, shall hereafter find me in error, he and you will attribute it less to a desire on my part to misrepresent, than to a failure of my memory—for, to be candid, I am not what I once was.

Entering Harlem by what was known as "THE "OLD HARLEM ROAD," after passing through what has always been famous as McGowan's Pass—now on the line of One hundred and seventh-street, midway between the Fifth and Sixth avenues—when just beyond what is now One hundred and eighth-street, on the flat land, one branch of the road diverged to the Westward, while the other turned, almost due East, toward the River.

I remember there was a small house, with a kitchen in the rear, forming an L, on the property of Lawrence Benson, on the right side of the road, just *below* the forks, but I do not remember who occupied it; and I remember, also, that a single brook was crossed by the Westernmost branch, just *above* the forks to which I have referred.

The first of these two branches is what you, thirty years ago, when you went to the Manhattanville school and caught gold-fish in the pond by David Mollenaer's, was wont to call "HARLEM LANE"—we called it, "Sixty years ago," "THE OLD ROAD TO KINGSBRIDGE"—the last was "THE OLD ROAD TO HARLEM," along which you will now, "in faith," travel by my side.

As I said, this "Old Road" left the line of the road leading through the Pass, just above what is now One hundred and eighth-street; and running to the Eastward, on the line of what is now One hundred and ninth-street, when immediately West from the Fifth-avenue, it crossed a pretty wide stream, probably that noted MARITJIE DAVIT'S VLY, of which you have told me. Immediately after crossing that stream, the road turned to the left; and in nearly a straight course it ran thence, about Northeasterly, to Harlem, crossing the present Fourth-avenue just above what is now One hundred and fifteenth-street, and striking the village on what is now One hundred and twentieth-street, not far Westward from the Third-avenue.

I remember that on the right hand, below the forks of the two roads, was the estate of Lawrence Benson—a fine property of Sixty-four acres; on



the left hand, above and below the forks, were a hundred acres belonging to Valentine Nutter; immediately in front of the forks, was a parcel of nearly Seventeen acres, bounded on the West by the Kingsbridge Road, on the East by the brook, and belonging to James Beekman; beyond the brook, on the road to Harlem, on the left of the road, were lands of the heirs of Henry Rankin, of John Combs, and, extending quite to the village, of Sampson A. Benson; while on the right of the road, extending all the way to Harlem, was the extensive unimproved property of the heirs of Peter Benson. Just at the entrance to the village, above the line of the property of these heirs, near what is now One hundred and sixteenth-street, on the traveler's right hand, was a small lot, running back to what was known as "THE MIDDLE ROAD," and containing a dwelling and several other buildings; and still further, on the same side of "THE OLD ROAD," was a triangular lot, owned by Luke Kipp.

At this spot "THE OLD HARLEM ROAD," along which I have led you, approached very nearly to another road, which, running diagonally and in a straight line across the present street-blocks, from the Mill-pond—near what is now the junction of Fourth-avenue and One hundred and seventh-street—to what is now One hundred and twentieth-street, not far Westward from the Third-avenue, was known as "THE MIDDLE ROAD," or "THE OLD BRIDGE ROAD." It did not intersect the latter, however, although there was a communication between the two, at this place;\* but after it had made a *detour* to the West, (between the vacant property of Sampson A. Benson, already referred to, on the left, and the house-lots, on the right, of John O. Zuell, Joseph Mott, and Mr. Waldron,) it returned, and taking nearly a Northeasterly course, it ran in a straight line to the river, between what is now One hundred and twenty-fifth and One hundred and twenty-sixth-streets, a short distance Eastward from the First-avenue—crossing in its course "THE MIDDLE ROAD," already referred to.

As I have said, "THE OLD HARLEM ROAD" intersected "THE MIDDLE ROAD" on the line of what is now One hundred and twentieth-street, not far to the Westward of Third-avenue; and here may be said to have been the heart of the ancient village of HARLEM. To the left, running North-westerly, or diagonally across the present blocks, at about a right angle from the line of "THE OLD ROAD," was another road running over toward Kingsbridge, and joining "THE OLD KINGSBRIDGE ROAD," or "HARLEM LANE," at what is now One hundred and thirty-first-

street, a short distance Westward from the Eighth-avenue.

Still further to the Eastward was "THE MIDDLE ROAD," running up to Coles' Bridge, which is now at the head of the Third-avenue; and in front, extending to the river, as I have already stated, was "THE OLD HARLEM ROAD," along which I have brought you.

From this central spot, let me recall my recollections, a moment, as we face the East river, looking down "THE OLD ROAD," toward the Manor of Morrisania, in Westchester County.

Immediately behind us, in "THE OLD ROAD," stood the Engine-house; and on the left, at the lower angle of the Kingsbridge road and "THE MIDDLE ROAD," facing the East, was a large house with a kitchen in the rear. It stood on the Sampson A. Benson property; while at the line of that property, beyond the house, was another, with the gable to the street. Still further Westward, also on the Southerly side of the Kingsbridge road, extending a long distance back, was the Benjamin Vreedenberg property, on which stood an old house, with its gable toward the road and its long piazza on the Eastern front; and farther yet, on the same side of the road, stretching over the flats toward Manhattanville, and including "SNAKE HILL"—now Mount Morris—and the hill through which is cut the Fourth-avenue, was another portion of the Sampson A. Benson property. On the Easterly side of this Kingsbridge road, at its junction with "THE OLD" and "THE MIDDLE ROADS," was the fine property of the Reformed Dutch Church, then occupied by John Randel, Jr., the distinguished Civil Engineer, and others; adjoining which, on the Easterly side of the Kingsbridge road, was the property of John Adriance—Five acres in extent—and beyond the last, extending, to the Eastward, as far as the River, were Thirty-eight acres, belonging to the heirs of John Sickles.

"THE MIDDLE ROAD," *below the point where I now stand*, had run successively between properties, on the West, of the heirs of Peter Benson, a person whose name I do not now remember, Luke Kipp, John O. Zuell, Joseph Mott, and Mr. Waldron, and on the East, of Benjamin P. Benson, Richard Riker, John J. Jackson, Joseph Mott, a man named Pyne, Luke Kipp, J. Hopper, H. Brady, and another whose name I do not remember. *Above the place where I stand*, it was cut through the Church lot, on which, on its Westerly side, was Mr. Randel, already referred to, and on its easterly, were Messrs. Brady, Bogardus, and Conklin. Beyond the Church lot, on the Westerly side of the road, were properties of John Adriance (a small corner of the large property which fronted on the Kingsbridge road), William Kenyon (on which were a house and barn), Coen-

\* This communication was between the lots of Luke Kipp and John O. Zuell, which were thus made equivalent to corner lots.

radt Roberts (a lot of an acre, on which stood a house and other buildings), John R. Raube, (another lot of an acre, on which were a house and several other buildings), the heirs of John Sickles (the large property of Thirty-eight acres, already mentioned, which fronted also on the Kingsbridge Road), and, on the river, a marshy spot, of Two acres and three-quarters, belonging to John B. Coles. On the Easterly side of the road, beyond the Church lot, were a triangular lot, occupied by some one whose name is not recollected, and lots occupied by C. Mudge, Mr. Garvey, Mr. Raub, the Estate of John Sickles (before referred to), Isaac Adriance (a plot of Three acres and a third, extending Eastward to the river), and John B. Coles (a portion of the low ground, on the river, to which reference has been made). At the extremity of this "MIDDLE ROAD" was COLES' BRIDGE, what you have crossed in your youth and known as "THE HARLEM BRIDGE."

"THE OLD HARLEM ROAD," over which we entered the village, and on which we are yet supposed to be standing, extended to the Harlem River, as I have already stated, between the points where its waters washed what are now One hundred and twenty-fifth and One hundred and twenty-sixth streets (just East from the line of the First-avenue); and, at its foot, in the olden time, it was said, was a ferry to Morrisania, on the opposite side of the river.

On the upper side of this road, at the period of which I write, at the intersection of "THE MIDDLE ROAD," as I have mentioned, was the Dutch Church lot, on which, just below the line of the Third-avenue, stood the Parsonage and the Church school.

Adjoining the Church lot, on the same side of the road, was a lot belonging to John S. Adriance, containing Three and a quarter acres; and below the latter were Five square parcels belonging respectively to the heirs of John P. Waldron (containing Three acres and a half), William Brady (containing Four acres), Eliphalet Williams (containing Three acres), and Benjamin S. Judah—the latter on the bank of the river, and containing an acre and two-thirds, and a pier extending some distance, over the shallow water, into the river. In the rear of the last mentioned lot, also on the bank of the river, was the Village burying-ground; and extending up from the river, on the rear of the burying-ground and the lots belonging to Messrs. Williams, Brady, and Waldron—a long, narrow, Seven-acre-lot, with a large pond on its Western end, and containing a large square house and other buildings, the whole approached through a lane which ran up from "THE OLD ROAD," between the lot of Mr. Williams and the burying-ground and lot of Mr. Judah—was the home of Nathaniel G. Ingraham, the same in which my neighbor and friend,

Judge Daniel P. Ingraham, the son of the former, still lives.

On the lower side of "THE OLD ROAD," adjoining, on the South, the property of John F. Jackson, and extending in the rear of the small lots, on the Easterly side of "THE MIDDLE ROAD," of Messrs. Mott, Pyne, Luke Kipp, J. Hopper, and H. Brady, already referred to; and of similar small lots, on the Southerly side of "THE OLD ROAD," occupied by Messrs. Bross\* and Vermilyea, were nearly Forty-six acres belonging to the heirs of John P. Waldron. This property fronted on "THE OLD ROAD," below the intersection of that and "THE MIDDLE ROAD;" and it ran, Eastward, nearly to the river, a lot belonging to James Roosevelt only lying between it and the water.

Adjoining the property of the heirs of John P. Waldron, last referred to, were several small parcels—the first, a long, narrow lot, belonging to Philip Milledollar, who, also, owned Thirty-two acres, in the rear, which extended to the river; the second (containing about an acre and a half), belonging to the heirs of John Sickles; and the third (also containing about an acre and a half), belonging to the heirs of John P. Waldron. Adjoining the last named lot was a farm lane, leading to large-sized parcels, in the rear, of John G. Bogert, Philip Milledollar, and the heirs of Jacob Bradford; and next to this lane, on the road, was a fine, square lot of nearly Three acres, belonging to Thomas Dunning. On the East of the latter was another road, extending a short distance to the Southward, and terminating at the land of James Bogert—a large rear lot, traversed by a brook and a range of marshy ground, fronting on the river, and extending to the Southward as far as the lands of Milledollar, Bogert, and Bradford, already referred to. On "THE OLD ROAD," separated from Thomas Dunning's lot by the short road last mentioned, was the Reformed Dutch Church of the village—a small wooden structure, with a modest steeple *facing to the West, and with its side to "THE OLD ROAD"*—and in the *front* of this Church, between it and the large lot of James Bogert, just described, and separated from it by a roadway, was a lot owned by Benjamin Bailey. Another roadway separated the Church lot from the last of the range of lots on the South side of "THE OLD ROAD"—that on the bank of the river—"which belonged to Benjamin Bailey; and here, having traversed the entire village, my duty may be said to have ended.

I need not tell you, what you know so well, that the river front, along the entire range of lands, from those of Lawrence Benson, above Coles's Bridge, including those of John B. Coles,

\* You must remember this Mr. Bross, as he kept a store in Manhattanville, while you were a boy and lived there.—J. E. Jr.

Isaac Adriance, the heirs of John Sickles, Nathaniel G. Ingraham, the village Grave-yard, Benjamin S. Judah, Benjamin Bailey, James Bogert, the heirs of Jacob Bradford, Philip Milledollar, and James Roosevelt, was, at the time of which I write, quite marshy; and some portions are in their original state, to this day.

I am not sure that I can say anything more which will interest your readers at this time; when I shall again feel like writing, I will try and give you a description of the fortifications on Harlem heights, as they were when I was a half century younger than I am now.

Your friend,  
J. R., JR.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER,  
June, 1867.

## XI.—RECORDS OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM.—CONTINUED.

### IN COMMON COUNCIL.

*Resolved.* That permission is hereby given to Henry B. Dawson, Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to make copies of and to publish in that work, from time to time, such portions of the ancient Records of this Corporation and such of its papers on file as, in his opinion, shall serve to illustrate the early history of this State and City, and the character and habits of the inhabitants, provided the same shall be done under the direction and supervision of the Clerk of the Common Council; and that the said Records shall not be removed from the Clerk's Office.

Adopted by the Board of Aldermen, December 6, 1866.

Adopted by the Board of Councilmen, December 10, 1866.

Approved by His Honor the Mayor, December 18, 1866.

D. T. VALENTINE,

*Clerk of the Common Council.*

[Original, not paged; Translation, 122-126.]

On Monday, the 24th February, 1653, at the City Hall, Present, A. Van Hattem, Martin Criegier, Burgomasters, Paulus Leendertse, Wilhelm: Beeckman, Allard Anthony, M. Van Gheel, Pieter Wolfertsen, Schepens; and C. Van Tienhoven, Schout.

JAN BARENTZE,\* Carpenter, Plaintiff, *vs.* ISBRANT DIRCKSE GOETHART,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of G. 117.3. for wages earned.

The Defendant acknowledges the debt to be honest and engages within a month from this date to pay the same, wherewith both parties are satisfied.

\* JAN BARENTSEN, a house-carpenter. He married Meyntle Willems, and died at this place prior to July, 1661, at which date his widow had returned to Amsterdam.—H. B. D.

† Vide I., 362, ante.

CARSTEN CLASEN,\* Plaintiff, *vs.* ISBRANT DIRCKSE GOETHART, Defendant.

The Plaintiff in default.†

PIETER LUYCKESEN,‡ Plaintiff *vs.* ISBRANT DIRCKSE GOETHART, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of Twenty Beavers, according to an obligation and the verdict of Their Mightinesses the Director General, dated the second of September, 1652.

The Burgomasters and Schepens refer the matter to the judgment of the Director and Councillors before mentioned.

HENDRICK EGBERTSEN,§ Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERRITSEN,|| Defendant.

[123] The Defendant in default a second time.¶

DIRCK TEUNISEN,\*\* Plaintiff, *vs.* PIETER KOCK,†† Defendant.

The Defendant in default.

By the Burgomasters and Schepens, authority is hereby given to THOMAS HALL‡‡ and EGBERT WOUTERSEN§§ to arbitrate the difference and dispute betwixt Abram Planck and Dirck Teunisen, the Norwegian, respecting the produce of the land and the lime, as far as possible, or, in case of failure to do so, to report their views in writing to the Court.||||

\* Vide I., 362, ante.

† This is evidently the action which was referred to in the Minutes of the Board, on the seventeenth of February. (I. 362).—H. B. D.

‡ PIETER LUYCKASSEN, Captain of the ship *Abraham's Sacrifice*, and subsequently of the *Sint Jacob*.—H. B. D.

§ Vide I., 362, ante.

¶ Vide I., 360, ante.

|| Vide I., 362, ante.

\*\* Vide I., 359, ante.

†† PIETER LAURENSEN KOCK, occupied the premises on the corner of Broadway and Battery Place, extending to the bank of the river. He was a Small Burgher of the date of 1637; married Annetje Dircks, on the thirteenth of June, 1657; had one child, Gallas, who was baptized on the twenty-first of September, 1659; and died soon after—his widow being referred to, under date of April, 1661.—H. B. D.

‡‡ THOMAS HALL, resided on a hill near the Vly (*Pearl-street*) the present line of Beekman-street.

He was an Englishman by birth; and was one of a party who attempted to seize the Dutch settlements on the Delaware. In 1635; ran away from that service; took refuge with the Dutch; and, having been kindly treated, he settled as a farm servant in the employ of Jacob Van Curier, in New Amsterdam. He was engaged in raising and trading in Tobacco, near Turtle-bay, as early as 1639; purchased his homestead in 1654; and was classed as Farmer, although he was also engaged in Trade.

He was one of the Eight Men, in 1648-4; one of the Nine Men, in 1647; and a Firewarden of the town, in 1648. He was an active politician; opposed to the Director-general; and possessed considerable influence.

He married Anna Mitfort, widow of William Quick, on the seventeenth of November, 1741; and died, without children, in 1670.—H. B. D.

§§ EGBERT WOUTERSEN was an early settler in the Colony, and owned the property at the corner of what are now New and Beaver streets.

He was a Small Burgher of the date of 1657; was married to the widow, Engeltje Jans Van Beestede, on the first of September, 1641; and died about 1680.—H. B. D.

|||| For particulars concerning this action see *Register of Burgomasters and Schepens*, I., 362, ante, and the Notes thereon.—H. B. D.

PIETER KOCK, Plaintiff, *vs.* ANNETIE CROMMELIN VAN VORST,\* Defendant.

In matter of matrimony, Jacob Stoffelse,† the Father-in-law of the Defendant, appeared before the Court, and certain writings were presented by the parties and duly examined; and the parties having been admonished, it is the opinion of the Burgomasters and Schepens that the parties should be at peace.

A copy of the points shall be given to them; and it is unanimously ordered that the Father-in-law of the Defendant shall appear at the next Court-day; and that, at that time, both the parties shall bring in whatever they may have further to present.

GUYSBERT VANDER DONCK,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* WILLEM JANSEN,§ Defendant.  
Defendant in default.

[124] THOMAS SPYSER,|| Plaintiff, *vs.* MARTIN JANSEN,¶ Defendant.  
Defendant in default.

SYBOUT CLASEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* HERMAN SMEERMAN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff appeared before the Court, and offered, agreeably to the Order of the Court at the last Court-day, to make oath on his own behalf concerning the subject of his complaint; but, in consequence of the absence of Albert Jansen,\*\* who assisted him in doing the work, the Trial is postponed until the next Court-day, when both parties must appear and each for himself substantiate his claim by his oath, in order that they may thus obtain what are their rights.††

\* ANNETJE CROMMELIN VAN VORST was the daughter of Cornelis Van Vorst and Vrontje Ides, his wife, the latter of whom, on the death of her husband, was married to Jacob Stoffelse, of whom see the next Note.—H. B. D.

† JACOB STOFFELSE was an early settler in the Colony, having been one of the Company's Commissaries of Stores as early as 1638.

From 1633 until 1639, he was an Overseer of Laborers—in the latter year he was styled "Overseer of Negroes"—in 1641, one of the Twelve Men; in 1644-5, one of the Eight Men; and in the latter year, one of the Colonial Council.

He lived at Ahasimus; and was married to Vrontje Ides, the widow of Cornelis Van Vorst, whose children seem to have caused their Father-in-law a great deal of trouble.—H. B. D.

‡ Concerning this person, I have no information whatever.

§ WILLIAM JANSEN, the ferryman between Bergen and Manhattan, was married to Leentje Martens, on the eighteenth of December, 1654.

There were two persons bearing this name—William Jansen van't Ieverlant and William Jansen van Rotterdam—but we have no means of knowing to which of these this record refers.—H. B. D.

|| THOMAS SPICER was a resident and magistrate of Gravesend, L. I.—H. B. D.

¶ MARTIN JANSEN was a resident and magistrate of Amersfort (*Flatlands*), L. I.—H. B. D.

\*\* ALBERT JANSEN, a Carpenter by trade, lived on the West side of Smith (*William*) street, North from Garden (*Exchange Place*).

He was a Small Burgher of the date of 1657. He married his second wife, Elke Noven, in September, 1652; and died about 1660.—H. B. D.

†† This action was commenced on the opening of the College of Burgomasters and Schepens, [February 10, 1658]

JACOBUS SCHELLINGER,\* Plaintiff, *vs.* WILLEM KOURTAEI,† Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of G. 106.15.12, for goods delivered, for which the Defendant had promised to deliver Tobacco.

The Defendant acknowledges the debt to be honest.

The Burgomasters and Schepens condemn the Defendant to pay the demand within Six weeks from this date.

CASPER STEEINMETS,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* JUDITH VERLETHS,§ Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the immediate payment of a balance of G. 71. 4. 8, for wages on account of services rendered by his wife to the Defendant.

The Defendant brings in an account of Gs. 75. borrowed by the Plaintiff's wife and of Gs. 15. in Seawant; and he claims that she has also received, agreeably to his statement, goods to the amount of Gs. 128. 1. 8, so that the Plaintiff is indebted to the Defendant, Gs. 30.

The Burgomasters and Schepens decide that the parties shall furnish, each to the other, copies of their respective accounts; and that Casper Steeinmets and his wife shall personally appear at the next Court-day.

JERONYM. NIEULANT,|| Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER,¶ Defendant.

The Plaintiff in default.

HENDRICK D' SWEET,\*\* Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands the payment of Gs. 70. 10, for Wood for Staves, delivered for the Defendant, on the Strand.

and continued at the succeeding Session, when it was adjourned until this day in order that the Plaintiff might verify his claim. (i. 359, *ante*).—H. B. D.

\* JACOBUS SCHELLINGER was probably a son-in-law of Cornelis Melyns, of Staten Island, having married Cornelia Melyns, on the seventh of April, 1658, and been much concerned in the affairs on Staten Island.

Beyond the facts referred to, we know nothing of him.—H. B. D.

† I have failed in my efforts to learn anything whatever of this man.—H. B. D.

‡ CASPER STEEINMETS was one of the earliest magistrates of Bergen, N. J., of which settlement he was a resident.

He was a Small Burgher of New Amsterdam, of the date of 1657; and married for his second wife, Jannekin Gerrits, on the last day of March, 1652, by whom he had Johannes, —, Gerrit, Annetje, Christoffel, Caspar, and Ursalina.

He was quite an influential man among the early settlers of Bergen.—H. B. D.

§ Madame JUDITH VERLETT was a sister of Captain Nicholas Verlett, who was brother-in-law of Director-general Peter Stuyvesant. She was the wife of Nicholas Bayard, who was the son of Stuyvesant's sister.—H. B. D.

|| We have found nothing whatever concerning this person.—H. B. D.

¶ NICOLAES TERHAER was evidently a Cooper, and he seems, also, to have been a Tavern-keeper; but little is known of him besides the fact that he was forbidden to sell liquor because of certain irregularities.—H. B. D.

\*\* "HENDRICK D' SWEET"—*Henry the Swede*—beyond the fact that he was a resident of Flushing, L. I., we know nothing concerning this man.—H. B. D.

The Defendant denies that he has ever seen or received the beforementioned Wood.

The Plaintiff is ordered to substantiate his Declaration.

HENDRICK GERRITSEN,\* Plaintiff, *vs.* AUKEN JANSEN,† Defendant.

Both parties in default.

[126] JAN GERRITSEN,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERRITSEN, Defendant.

The Defendant in default.

WILLEM ALBERTSEN,§ Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff declares that he had counted and paid out to the Defendant, Gs. 105. 16, for which he has received, in Casks, Gs. 75. according to his account: and that there remains due to him a balance of Gs. 30. 16, the payment of which he demands.

The Defendant's account having been examined, it is found to agree within Gs. 1.17 of the monies received; but he claims, by his account, that he has delivered Gs. 90, in Casks.

Wherefore, the Burgomasters and Schepens appoint and authorize Jan Jansen and Thomas Frerick,|| both Coopers, to appraise the work done by the Defendant, according to current prices, and to get the parties to settle this dispute, or, in case of failure, to present, in writing, a Report of their opinion in the matter.

[Original, not paged; Translation, 127-134.]

On Monday, the 3d March, 1653, at the City Hall, Present,

Arent Van Hattem, Martin Crigier, Burgomasters; Paulus L. van der Grist, Allard Anthony, Willem Beeckman, M. van Gheel, and Pieter Wolfertsen, Schepens, with C. Van Tienhoven, Schout.

The Noble Schout, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, handed in to the College, the following written answers to their propositions.¶

"In the matter of the proposition of the Noble Burgomasters and Schepens of the City of New Amsterdam.

\* Vide l., 360, ante.

† Vide l., 359, ante.

‡ Vide l., 360, ante.

§ WILLEM ALBERTSEN, "the Boor," is referred to in *Council Minutes*, v., 55-60; but we have no further account of him.—H. B. D.

¶ We have no particulars concerning either of these persons, beyond the fact that Jansen was referred to, in the Records, from time to time, for several years previous to this date.—H. B. D.

¶ The "propositions" referred to are those embraced in the Address presented by the College of Burgomasters and Schepens to the Director-general and Council, on the eighteenth and twenty-sixth of February, (*Mss. Register of College*, l., 115-117; *Historical Magazine*, l., 361, 362.)—H. B. D.

"The Director-general and the Councillors of New Netherland give their consent that, as opportunity offers, a Weighing-house and a Weigh-scale shall be made and constructed;\* and that when the Weighing-house shall be ready, they shall prepare and enact Ordinances directing the Weights and Measures to be deposited there, after which time all the Weights and Measures in this Province shall be made to conform to the Weights and Measures of Amsterdam, in conformity with the Orders and Resolutions relating thereto, which have been heretofore Published and Proclaimed, copies of all which shall be delivered to the Burgomasters and Schepens, to the end that the Schout shall [ ] all the Weights and Measures in conformity therewith [128] and mark them, according to the standard that shall be fixed by the Burgomasters and Schepens.

"With regard to their propositions concerning Orphan-masters, however much the Director-general and the Councillors approve the carefulness of the Burgomasters and Schepens, it must be remembered that other appendages, for which the compassion and the early beginnings of this new-rising City have afforded but little opportunity, are required for this, before such an Orphan's Hall, after the form of that in Old Amsterdam, can be planned and accomplished. In the meantime, this measure is not necessary for ensuring obedience to the command of God concerning the widows and fatherless, since it is already required by the Director-general and the Councillors, that the Deacons, as the Guardians of Orphans, shall have the care of Orphans and Widows and may apply to the Burgomasters and Schepens, and, if necessary, through them, to the Director-general and Councillors; over these, and over such as shall become Widows and Orphans, and over their estates, particular Curators may be appointed, in which cases the Burgomasters and Schepens, or, if necessary, the Director-general and Councillors shall make such Orders and appoint such Curators as the necessity of the occasion may require, which Curators shall be responsible to the Burgomasters and Schepens; and that in case the Burgomasters and Schepens shall discover that [129] becoming attention has not been paid to the property and estate of the Widows and Orphans, they shall have the power of appointing Curators in the case and of calling the delinquents to account.

"Done in Session, at New Amsterdam, on the

\* On the tenth of August, 1654, the Director-general and Council adopted an Ordinance for the regulation of the Weigh-house; and on the twenty-seventh of April, 1658, another Ordinance was issued by the same authority, requiring all articles of more than Twenty-five pounds weight, to be weighed there.—H. B. D.

"26th of February, Anno, 1653, in New Netherland.

"Signed by order,  
"P. STUYVESANT"

MARTIN JANSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* THOMAS SPYSER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff absent, but he is excused on account of the bad weather.

THOMAS SPYSER being called to account for his absence at the last meeting says that he was not duly cited; and he was excused.\*

PIETER KOCK, Plaintiff, *vs.* ANNETIE VAN VORST, Defendant.

The Defendant absent; and, on account of the bad weather, is excused.†

WILLEM ALBERTSEN, Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff demands payment of what is his due, according to account and the verdict of the Arbitration submitted to the Burgomasters and Schepens.

The accounts of the parties having been examined by the Court, it is found that there remains due to the [130] Plaintiff, Thirty Guilders and Thirteen Stuyvers. Wherefore, by the Burgomasters and Schepens, the Defendant is condemned, within Six weeks from the date hereof, to pay the said Gs. 30. 13, which, according to the verdict of the arbitrators, is due to the Plaintiff, either in work or in money.‡

HENDRICK D'SWEET, Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff absent, but excused on account of bad weather.§

GERONYM NIEULANT, Plaintiff, *vs.* CLAES TERHAER, Defendant.

The Plaintiff, like the last, excusable for his absence.||

TEUNIS KRUDY,¶ Plaintiff, *vs.* ANDRIES KUYPER,\*\* Defendant.

Both parties absent.

JAN GERRITSSEN SMIT,\* Plaintiff, *vs.* KRIGIER INSCOB,† Defendant.

The Defendant absent.

JAN GERRITSSEN METSOENER,‡ Plaintiff, *vs.* HENDRICK GERRITSSEN, Defendant.

The Defendant absent for the third time.§

The Plaintiff demands judgement against the Defendant for wages due to him, to wit: For work done to the axle-tree of a mill, Sixteen Guilders, [131] of which Ten Guilders have been paid in the making of One suit and One pair of Leather Breeches. He has also earned Nineteen Guilders, in the raising the house of the Defendant.

The Burgomasters and Schepens condemn the Defendant, in consequence of his contumacy, to pay to the Plaintiff, within Four weeks from the date hereof, the sum of Twenty-five Guilders as demanded in the foregoing specification.

GYSBERT VANDER DONCK, Plaintiff, *vs.* WILLEM JANSEN, Defendant.

The Plaintiff requests that the Defendant may be ordered to enter upon and fulfil his work, according to Contract.

The Defendant excepts and requests a copy of the Contract.

The Burgomasters and Schepens decide that the Defendant shall have the privilege of a copy of the Contract; and they order him to appear on the next Court-day, to give in his answer, or, in default thereof, he shall be compelled to enter upon his work.||

SYBOUT CLASEN and ALBERT JANSEN appeared before the Court conformably to its Order of the date of the twenty-fourth of February; and each for himself, in the presence of the Court, solemnly testified that he had never been paid, nor ever had received any payment of, his demand against Harman Smeeman, as the heir of Volkert Eversen; and that it still remains due to him by right.

[132] In this matter, Harman Smeeman is condemned to pay the said demand in current funds, such as at that time was valid.¶

\* The Minutes of "the last meeting" (page 81, ante) indicate that Janzen was Defendant, and absent, and Spicer, Plaintiff, and present—the reverse of this entry. We give both as we find them; and leave it for others to determine which is correct and which erroneous.—H. B. D.

† Vide page 80, ante.

‡ Vide page 32, ante.

§ Vide page 31, ante.

|| Vide page 81, ante.

¶ TEUNIS KRUDY—probably intended for Tennis Kray, who is said to have been a tavern-keeper living on der Heere Graft [Broad-street] between what are now Stone and Bridge-streets. He was, also, it is said, a Measurer of Apples and Onions; and his wife was Superintendent of the Market. (VALENTINE'S History, 112, 118.)

\*\* ANDRIES KUYPER—Andries Pietersen, the Cooper—beyond the facts that he was married to Lambertje Morges, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1652; and in February, 1653, his son, Pieter, was christened in the old Dutch Church, we know nothing of him.—H. B. D.

\* JAN GERRITSSEN SMIT—Jan Gerritsen, the blacksmith—of whom we have found no particulars.—H. B. D.

† KRIGIER INSCOB. No particulars have been ascertained concerning this person.—H. B. D.

‡ JAN GERRITSSEN METSOENER—Jan Gerritsen, the mason—Since the writing of the Note under the Minutes of the Session of the sixth of February, we have ascertained, in addition to what was then stated, that Jan was, by trade, a Mason; that he was admitted to the Small Burghership on the fourteenth of April, 1657; and that, like many others of his business, he bought and sold property to a considerable extent.—H. B. D.

§ This action was instituted at the first Session of the Court, and evidently recorded erroneously, (l. 860,) although Hendrick was said to have been in Default. At the third Session he was again absent (page 81, ante); and again, to-day, as above stated.

|| It is interesting, because it shows the rules governing the Practice in this early Court.—H. B. D.

¶ Vide page 81, ante.

¶ Vide page 81, ante.

GULIAEN D'Wys, Plaintiff, *vs.* JOOST GODERIS, Defendant.

The Plaintiff states that he is aggrieved by the complaint made against him by the Defendant, on the last Court-day; and requests that the Defendant shall be obliged to find security for the costs and damages already had, and yet to be made; and that in case he shall fail to prove the charge, that he shall make reparation.

The Defendant replies that his witnesses have not yet given in their testimony; and that the Plaintiff's request cannot be entertained.

JOOST GODERIS, Plaintiff, *vs.* GYSBERT VANDER DONCK, Defendant.

The Plaintiff prays that the Defendant shall be compelled to make good his declaration by oath.

The Defendant having been further heard on the points of interrogation, resolves to confirm his declaration by oath.

JOOST GODERIS, Plaintiff, *vs.* JAN VINGE, Defendant.

The Plaintiff requests, as before, that the Defendant shall make his declaration under oath.

The Defendant refuses to make oath.

[133] JOOST GODERIS, Plaintiff, *vs.* HARMANUS HARTOOGH, Defendant.

The Defendant says that concerning such a trifling matter, he does not consider himself obligated to make oath; and, furthermore, he declares that Buys has made application to Goderis for *Lettre Represailles*.

JOOST GODERIS, Plaintiff, *vs.* ANTONY VAN HARDENBERGH, Defendant.

The Plaintiff prays that the Defendant shall be held to confirm what he has declared, under oath.

The Defendant having been heard, declares furthermore that Buys has made application to Goderis for a *Lettre Represailles*; and that he can make no oath concerning his declaration.

PIETER WERKHOVEN having been heard on the points of interrogation, before the Commission of the seventeenth of February, in the Court, answers on the FIRST point of interrogation, he has heard no such thing: on the SECOND point, as before: on the THIRD point, as before: on the FOURTH point, as before: on the FIFTH point, as before: on the SIXTH point, that he saw Bedloe run after Goderis; but he did not see the stabbing or wounding, which he declines to testify to, under oath.

[134] The points of interrogation on which the Burgomasters and Schepens, on the requisition of Joost Goderis, have ordered categorical answers to be given, to wit, with "Yes" or "No," by

Gysbert Vander Donck, Jan Vinge, Antony Hardenbergh, and Harmanus Hartoogh, on the morning of the fourth day of March, at Nine o'clock, at which time the aforesaid persons shall be held to testify under oath, after the manner of the Court.

#### *The First Point.*

Whether on the twenty-ninth of January, on Oyster-island, they did not hear Buys and Bedloe calling after Goderis: "You cuckhold and hom-beest, Allard Anthony has covered your wife."

#### *The Second Point.*

Whether Buys and Wys did not ask Goderis for a *Lettre Represailles*, to sleep with his wife, "for," said they, "Allard Anthony is in the habit of doing it."

Done in Session aforesaid, at the City Hall, this 3d March, 1653.

The before-mentioned persons, taking into consideration the above, propose that the costs for lost time and for other things, already made by this dispute and those which they may yet sustain, should be made good to them; and they demand sufficient security therefor; whereupon the Burgomasters and Schepens announce that they will look more closely into the matter.\*

## XII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

AN OLD AXE.—A few days since, Nathan Salisbury, Esq., living in East Scott, Courtland County, found a very peculiar axe. The circumstances are as follows: At an early day, when Mr. Salisbury, in company with others, was chopping and clearing the forest of his newly-acquired farm, they came upon a very large hemlock standing near the stream. After cutting the tree down, Mr. Salisbury discovered that what appeared to be the heart of the tree was really a separate tree from the one just fallen. On examination, this tree within a tree was found to have been girdled at some previous time, leaving a small portion uncut, so that the sap had continued to traverse the trunk until its growth had completely overgrown the girdling,

\* This series of actions, in which a party of the young rowdies of New Amsterdam and a poor man named Joost Goderis were parties, had engaged the attention of the Court from its first Session, until now; and it is refreshing to read of the dignity which the Court maintained in its dealings with the young rascals, whose connections were "the first families" in the Colony and gave countenance to their insolence.—H. B. D.

and another tree formed, growing to enormous dimensions.

A few days since, near the trunk of that tree, about twelve inches below the surface, was found this peculiar axe. It is about Ten inches in length by Three and one-fourth inches on the cut or edge. It is made of iron. Now, what is remarkable about this axe and tree is this—that the girdling or packing of the inner tree corresponds precisely with the axe found, and counting the concentric rings of the growth of the outer tree, is found the remarkable fact that the inner tree was girdled about One hundred years before the landing of the Pilgrims. Who was in that locality using an axe Three hundred and fifty-seven years ago?—*Boston Transcript*.

**SNOW IN BOSTON THE PAST SEASON.**—*To the Editor of the Transcript*.—I transmit to you my accustomed meteorological statement, which, although a little late this season, may not be uninteresting to many of your readers. It gives the number of snow storms that have occurred and the quantity of snow that has fallen in Boston during the past season; and it is believed to be as accurate an account as could have been kept. The first snow storm was on the 23d day of November, 1866, at which period sufficient snow fell to make the ground white; and the succeeding ones were as follows: November 25, ground white; December 16, 3 inches; 17th,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; 20th,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch; 27th, 1 inch; and 31st,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; January 1, 1867, 2 inches; 6th, 4 inches; 13th, ground white; 17th, 21 inches (toughest snow-storm experienced in Boston for many years); 21st, 6 inches; and 26th,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; February 4, ground white; 20th,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 21st,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches; and 23d,  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; March 3d and 4th, 5 inches; 7th, 4 inches; 10th, ground white; 12th, little snow; 16th and 17th, 12 inches; April 24, little snow. Total number storms, 25. Depth of snow, 5 feet  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

My figures, for the past Twenty-four years, are as follows:

Years.	Number Storms.	Depth of Snow.
1843-44	44	7 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
1844-45	36	3 "
1845-46	27	3 " 7 "
1846-47	32	2 " 8 "
1847-48	27	2 " 1 "
1848-49	27	3 " 1 "
1849-50	38	2 " 11 "
1850-51	28	3 " 1 "
1851-52	38	6 " $8\frac{1}{2}$ "
1852-53	20	3 " 2 "
1853-54	24	7 " $1\frac{1}{2}$ "
1854-55	35	3 " $7\frac{1}{2}$ "
1855-56	28	4 " 5 "
1856-57	32	6 " 2 "
1857-58	14	2 " 11 "
1858-59	28	4 " $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1859-60	24	3 " $2\frac{1}{2}$ "
1860-61	34	6 " $6\frac{1}{2}$ "
1861-62	35	5 " $1\frac{1}{2}$ "

Years.	Number Storms.	Depth of Snow.
1862-63	25	4 " $7\frac{1}{2}$ "
1863-64	26	2 " 5 "
1864-65	32	3 " $8\frac{1}{2}$ "
1865-66	25	3 " $\frac{1}{2}$ "
1866-67	25	5 " $9\frac{1}{4}$ "

The whole number of snow storms in Boston for the past Twenty-four years is Six hundred and ninety-two; depth of snow during the same period, One hundred feet, seven and three-eighths inches.

The average number of snow storms during the above period (Twenty-four years) was a fraction less than Twenty-nine; and the average depths of snow is about Four feet and one-half inch.

C. J. B. M.

BOSTON, June 19, 1867.

**THE CAPTURE OF THE "CHESAPEAKE."**—*To the Editor of the Tribune*.—I notice in Frank Moore's *Rebellion Record* (in a number lately issued), a report of the capture of the *Chesapeake* from the Southerners, who rose on the crew and took the steamer into Nova Scotia, by Capt. Nickels, which is entirely at variance with the reports of the same affair as given by the Navy Department. Would it not be well to call the attention of the country to the point that the facts presented by Capt. Nickels are studiously suppressed in the Governmental accounts of the affair, and to suggest to Government the propriety of giving authentic history, or none at all.

Yours, truly, E. B., Jr.

ST. DENIS HOTEL, June 17, 1867.

**LORD BYRON'S TOMB.**—A correspondent writes in corroboration of Mr. Doran's description of Hucknall Torkard Church, which contains the dilapidated tomb of Lord Byron, his mother, and daughter. The writer says that when the ecclesiastical dignitaries at Westminster refused sepulchre to Lord Byron in the ancient Abbey, and the poet's remains were removed to their present resting-place, Sir John Bowring gave an album to be kept as a record of the distinguished visitors to the Church of Hucknall Torkard. "It was there for many years in the keeping of the sexton, and had become valuable from the many interesting autographs which it contained, when the sexton died, and a dispute arose between his heir, the rector, and the churchwardens, as to the possession of the book. Ultimately it was understood that it had been decided that the rector was the legal custos, the churchwardens being its owners." Subsequently, however, the album disappeared altogether, though it does not appear how. Our correspondent adds: "It was said to have been sold clandestinely and conveyed to the United States." Perhaps the present possessor of the



album is not acquainted with its history; or, knowing it, would not set its value as a heirloom against the justice of restoring the album to its rightful place. For this reason we have given publicity to our correspondent's communication.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

**A SURVIVOR OF THE REVOLUTION.**—There lives in Noble County, Ohio, a survivor of the Revolution Army, John Gray. He was born at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, on the sixth of January, 1764, and is, consequently, in his One hundred and fourth year. His father fell at Yorktown, and the son, then quite a youth, immediately stepped into the ranks to take the place made vacant by the death of his father. Recently, on being asked why he enlisted so young, he replied, while the Revolution fire flashed in his eye: "How could I help it? Was "I not in the same county with Washington?" After serving with great gallantry to the close of the struggle for our independence, he was mustered out at Richmond, Virginia. He then returned to field labor, and the support of his widowed mother.

Mr. Gray has been married twice in Virginia and once in Ohio. One after another his family have passed to the tomb, and now, in his One hundred and fourth year, poor, aged, and infirm, he lives the last lone monument of the grandest generation the world has ever seen.

For Seventy-eight years he has been a faithful member of the Methodist Church. Mr. Gray is very poor. Owing to the neglect which so characterized the official records of the Revolutionary Army, no record of Mr. Gray's military services could be found. At length, however, Judge Bingham, of Ohio, having visited the old hero at his humble home, began to urge his case upon the attention of Congress, and during the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, a pension of Five hundred dollars was granted to the last survivor of the Revolution.

**HIGH PRICES IN OLD TIMES AND SUPPLIES FOR THE MINISTERS.**—Rev. Solomon Lombard was the first settled minister of Gorham, Me. His annual salary was £53 6s 8d. He was ordained on the twenty-sixth of December, 1750. One hundred and twenty dollars were raised to defray the "expenses" of the ordination. The following, from the records of the town, is the list of "supplies" for that occasion:

1 Barrel of flour.....	£14	7s	6d
8 Bushels of apples.....	2	8	0
2 Barrels of cider.....	9	0	0
2 Gallons of brandy.....	5	0	0
1 Bottle of vinegar.....	0	5	0
2 Cheeses, per lb.....	0	0	6
5½ Pounds of pork, per lb.....	0	0	7

6 Candles.....	20	1s	0d
1 Ounce of nutmegs.....	0	1	0
8 Fowls.....	1	16	0
29 Pounds of sugar.....	8	14	0
1 Teapot.....	1	10	0
4 Gallons of rum.....	5	4	0
2 Bushels of cranberries.....	2	0	0
1 Pound of tea.....	0	10	0
1 Pound of ginger.....	0	2	0
6 Gallons of molasses, per gal.....	0	2	8
4 Ounces of pepper.....	0	0	6

—*Boston Transcript*.

**THE WORCESTER LIGHT INFANTRY.**—Mr. Charles Tappan, of Brookline, writes the following reminiscences to the editor of the *Worcester Spy*:

I see that Gov. Lincoln claims to be the "sole survivor of the original associates" of the Worcester Light Infantry. I cannot allow that to pass without comment, for among my most vivid and most pleasant recollections is the first meeting of the young men of Worcester, to form an Independent Infantry Company, Sixty-five years ago. Little did I *then* think that our first ensign, just returned home from college, would ever become the commander-in-chief of the militia of Massachusetts. Well do I remember his fine appearance. He should have been our captain; and his youth only induced us to prefer Capt. Thaxter, who had not much of the military in him.

The Worcester Light Infantry was rather democratic than otherwise, and in order to induce "Federalists" to join the company, it was necessary to make Enoch Flagg Lieutenant. With our new uniforms and red horse hair streaming in the wind from our helmets, we quite took the shine out of Capt. Slater's Artillery, the only company in Worcester to do escort duty "Independent Day," before ours was formed. I can now see the valiant Captain with his rusty men and rusty guns, and his cue reaching to his gaiters. I can also see Captain Perry of the "militia," with his sword hanging behind him, and his men, "some in rags and some in tags," and some in shirt sleeves. But Worcester was a small place then and small things made people stare.

I wish I had known there was to be a "festival," for had I known it, no small matter would have prevented my appearing amongst the grandchildren of the brave men who marched to Paxton and back again in the rain.

**CONNECTICUT RELICS.**—At a recent meeting of the Colony Historical Society, at New Haven, Thomas R. Trowbridge presented to the society a musket, powder-horn and pouch, which had seen service in the old French war of 1765, and which was used by his grandfather, Rutherford Trowbridge, in resisting the British attack on New Haven. Henry Hotchkiss also presented a mus-

ket, which, with Twenty-four rounds of cartridge and the Hessian who carried them, was captured on that occasion by his grandfather, Jonah Hotchkiss, who was armed with only an empty musket. Mr. Hotchkiss also presented an iron mask—an instrument of torture used in the punishment of slaves.—*Transcript.*

**PROVINCIAL RECORDS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.**—Agreeably to a joint resolution of the Legislature, passed last June, Rev. Dr. Bouton, of Concord, was commissioned by the late Governor and Council, to edit and publish such of the early Provincial records and papers of New Hampshire as should be deemed expedient.

The Commissioner began his labors on the first of September last. We are informed that the first volume, containing the earliest Province papers, is now nearly ready for the press. Dr. Bouton estimates that the whole work will comprise about Seven volumes of Six hundred octavo pages each. He does not expect to be able to issue more than One volume a year, and to accomplish that, he suggests that the aid of a copyist will be required.

The materials for the work are found in the office of the Secretary of State, in the library of the New Hampshire Historical Society, among the Colonial records of Massachusetts, and the early records of Dover, Portsmouth, Hampton and Exeter. When completed it must be of great value to the State.

**THE DEATH OF GENERAL A. P. HILL.**—The special correspondent of the *New York Times*, who has been visiting the works around Petersburg, Virginia, gives the following account of the death of General A. P. Hill, in a letter dated the twenty-sixth of May:

"In connection with the defence of Fort Gregg, 'I must also mention a fact which I learn from General Mahone, in regard to the death of the distinguished Confederate corps commander, A. P. Hill. General Lee's headquarters were but a short distance in the rear of Gregg, in a house on the Boydton plankroad, between the fort and the town. At the time Fort Gregg was carried, Generals Hill and Mahone were in conversation with Lee at his headquarters. As the firing grew nearer and nearer, Lee, intently listening to the sounds, suddenly turned to Hill and said: 'How is this, General? Your troops are giving way.' Upon this, General Hill mounted his horse, dashed to the front, but while galloping down the road he suddenly came upon two men in blue uniforms. 'Throw down your arms!' shouted the General. But the men quickly sprang behind a tree, and, levelling their pieces, fired. Hill fell from his horse dead."

**WASHINGTON'S CHAIR.**—At the dedication of the Washington Hall, Philadelphia, on the first of October, 1816, an address was delivered by John B. Wallace, Esq., who received the keys of the building. After the address, Richard Dale, Esq., President of the Society, arose from his seat (the same which General Washington occupied when President of the Convention whose deliberations resulted in the Federal Constitution), and, advancing to the front of the stage, solemnly dedicated the hall to the purposes for which it was erected. What became of this chair which Washington occupied whilst President of the Convention, is not known.—*Sunday Dispatch.*

**INDEPENDENCE HALL.**—Philadelphians are generally under the impression that all the portraits that adorn the walls of Independence Hall are the property of the city. This is an error, as some of them belong to other parties. The large full length portrait of William Penn, painted by Inman, is the property of the "Society for Commemorating the Landing of William Penn."—*Ibid.*

**AN OLD SIGN.**—About Sixty years ago there was a tavern kept by one Hanna, on South street, opposite the old theatre, Philadelphia, which had for its signboard a picture representing the "Constitutional Convention of 1787," with portraits of the members of that body. This sign was painted by Matthew Pratt, father of the late Henry Pratt. Underneath the picture were these words: "These Thirty-eight great men have signed the powerful deed, that better times to us will very soon succeed." It is said that this sign, which was taken down in 1814, is yet in existence.—*Ibid.*

**GEN. HENRY DODGE**, first Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin, and afterwards for many years a member of the U. S. Senate, died in Burlington, on the nineteenth of June, aged eighty-five years. He was one of the pioneers in Western civilization. Accompanied by Daniel Boone, he was often in conflict with the savages. The celebrated chief Black Hawk became his prisoner. In 1834, he was successfully employed by General Jackson to make peace with the red men of the frontier, and in the ensuing year commanded an important expedition to the Rocky Mountains. For these services he received from Congress a sword, and the thanks of the nation.

**THE HISTORY OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.**—W. Bolton, Esq., Principal of the Ladies' Seminary in this village, is now preparing for the press a

new edition of his very interesting secular history of Westchester County. The old one being exhausted, he proposes, after a thorough sifting of his materials, to furnish the public with a full and complete history of the Empire County of the Empire State, embracing every town, and containing a full detail of all topics of local and general interest, together with complete pedigrees of all the families identified with the County. We understand there is to be no curtailment of the old edition of 1848, but, on the contrary, a large edition of new and valuable matter.

**EXTRAORDINARY DISCOVERY BELOW THE GREAT FALLS OF THE POTOMAC.**—The Washington *Evening Union* of the eighth of July has a lengthy communication from Thomas C. Raffinon, Fellow of the Royal Society of North Antiquaries, Copenhagen, giving a description of a discovery made by him recently of a Runic inscription on a rock near Georgetown, which, translated, reads as follows:

"Here rests Syasy, or Suasu, the fair haired, a person from the east of Iceland, the widow of Kjoldr, and sister of Thorgr, children of the same father, twenty-five years of age. May God make glad her soul. 1051."

Upon digging in the earth at the foot of the rock a few human teeth and a bone, which crumbled upon being exposed to the air, two Roman coins, and three bronze trinkets, were found.

Above the Runic inscription the name of "W. Langley, 1758," is carved. Mr. Raffinon considers the discovery of these things as unquestionable proof of the visits of the Icelandic voyagers to this continent, but it is still more remarkable, as confirming a statement made in an ancient manuscript which was dug out of the ruins of the ancient college at Skalholt, in Iceland, in which it is affirmed that, under the command of Herbardur, his countrymen sailed in a Southernly direction from Vineland, (or Martha's Vineyard,) where they wintered, and thence up a sea and various rivers, the ascent in one of which was stopped by a succession of falls, to which, from their shape and foamy appearance, they gave the name of Hvidsderk, or white shirt; and the MS. further states that in this neighborhood the illegitimate daughter of Snorri was killed by a small spear (or arrow) and buried near the spot where she fell.

It was the reading of this narrative which led Mr. Raffinon to explore the country around these falls, and his labors have been abundantly rewarded—if he has not been hoaxed.—*Richmond Examiner*.

### XIII.—NOTES.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF E. G. GENET TO THE EDITORS OF *The Albany Argus*, DATED AUGUST 3D, 1823.\*

The sense being thus altered would read so "that it was a story fabricated to answer political purposes hostile &c."

In reality, Gentlemen, it was so and it originated in this way.—I had sent all the French Naval Forces & Fleet to New York, amounting to more than 10,000 men—The Republicans had a meeting in the Park to make arrangements for my reception—the federalists and all the English interest opposed it—King ascended the hustings and said that he arrived from Philadelphia with John Jay and would prove that I was in variance with the President and had threatened to appeal to the people. He was laughed at by the multitude and in the evening he put in the paper a certificate signed by him & John Jay affirming the existence of the threatened appeal.—On my arrival the Committee who had come to address me mentioned with ridicule that certificate to me. I read it took the pen and sent to all the papers a military denial of the lie.—The certificate men did not like this mode of settling the matter which that step seemed to require and published that they had got their information from Col Hamilton—Hamilton hearing of it published that he had got it from Genl Knox—Knox said he had it from Govr Mifflin—Mifflin said he had it from Mr. Dallas—and Dallas settled the point as I have mentioned it—I have his affidavit and all the showings, and it is really astonishing that the story of the appeal should be reported as true by Marshal & other writers—  
"E G G"

### PUBLICATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Just published and to be sold by Powars and Willis, in Queen Street, **THE FALL OF BRITISH TYRANNY, OR AMERICAN LIBERTY TRIUMPHANT, THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.** A Tragi-Comedy in Five Acts, containing twenty-six scenes, among which are the following, viz:

A pleasing scene between Roger and Dick, two shepherds near Lexington.

Clarissa &c. A very moving scene on the death of Dr. Warren, &c. in a chamber near Boston the morning after the battle at Bunker's Hill.

A humorous scene between the Boatswain and a Sailor on board a man of war, near Norfolk in Virginia.

\* From the original draft, in the possession of his son, G. C. Genet, Esq., of New York.

Two very laughable scenes between the Boatswain, two Sailors and the Cook, exhibiting specimens of seafaring oratory and peculiar eloquence of those sons of Neptune, touching Tories, Convicts and black regulars; and between Lord Kidnapper and the Boatswain.

A very black scene between Lord Kidnapper and Major Cudgjo.

A religious scene between Lord Kidnapper, Chaplain and the Captain.

A scene, the Lord Mayor, &c, going to St. James's with the Address.

A droll scene, a council of war in Boston, between Lord Boston, Admiral Tombstone, Elbow Room, Mr. Caper, General Clinton and Earl Piercy.

A diverting scene between a Whig and a Tory  
A spirited scene between General Prescott and Colonel Allen.

A shocking scene, a dungeon, between Colonel Allen and an officer of the guard.

Two affecting scenes in Boston after the flight of the Regulars from Lexington, between Lord Boston, messenger and officers of the guard.

A patriotic scene in the camp at Cambridge between the Generals Washington, Lee and Putnam, &c, &c.

With a dedication, preface, address of the Goddess of Liberty to the Congress, dramatis personæ, prologue, epilogue and a song in praise of King Tammany, the American Saint.

A truly dramatic performance interspersed with wit, humour, burlesque and serious matter which cannot fail of affording abundant entertainment to readers of every description—

The whole comprised in seventy one pages octavo, and a good type. Allowance to those who buy a number.—*N. E. Chronicle*, Boston, Sept. 12, 1776.

*At the Post Office may be had, COMMON SENSE with the whole Appendix: the address to the Quakers: also the large additions, and a dialogue between the ghost of General Montgomery, just arrived from the Elysian Fields and an American delegate in a wood near Philadelphia: on the grand subject of American Independency.—like-wise a quantity of quills.—Independant Chronicle, Boston, October 17, 1776.*

**SOCIÉTÉ DES BIBLIOPHILES DE GUYENNE.**—A new society under the above name has recently been established in Bordeaux for the reprint or publication of a small number of copies, of works either scarce or unpublished and relating to the history of this Province or to the authors who belong to it.

\* \* \* \* \*

The first volume which is to be published (we are informed it is nearly ready) is the new edition of a book which is extremely interesting for the history of America (now the object of so much uneasiness). It is *La Reprise de la Floride* by Capt. Dominique de Courgues.

This curious narrative was several times reprinted: Virgin de la Popelinière inserted various extracts from it in the *Livre II* of his work entitled: *Les Trois Mondes* (Paris 1582, 4to); Basanier published in 1586, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, which was reprinted in 1835 in the *Revue Retrospective* in 1841. Mr. Ternaux Compans introduced it in his *Collections of Voyages, relations et memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la decouverte de l'Amerique*—in 1853 the text published by Basanier was reproduced in one of the volumes of the *Bibliothèque Elzevirienne*, edited by the bookseller Janet.

Let us mention also the English translation published at London by Rich<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt in 1587 (4to, 64 leaves), a Latin version illustrated with forty-two engravings is included in the celebrated collections issued by the Brothers de Bry at Frankfort and so well known of all the Bibliophiles under the title of *Grand et petits voyages*.

But all these editions, all these translations were tinted with a radical blemish; the text reproduced from defective MSS. without criticism was imperfect. The new Editor, M. Tamizy de Larroque, has collated the edition of Basanier with a MSS. preserved in the Castle of Vayres (an estate belonging to the family de Courgues) and Four other MSS. in the Paris Imperial Library; the two best were precisely left aside by previous publishers, who have paid no attention to one bearing No. 6124 and had, it appears, not known the existence of the other No. 2145.—*BERJEAU'S Book Worm*.

February, 1867.

**EARLY SETTLERS OF MAINE.**—The following extracts from *FORSTER'S Life of Sir John Eliot*, London, 1864, will interest the antiquaries and genealogists of Maine.

Captain *Richard BONYTHON* was, with Lewis, one of the patentees of Saco, 1630.

*Abraham JENNENS* of Plymouth was early interested at Pemaquid—see *THORNTON'S Ancient Pemaquid*, Maine Historical Collections—and here we have him in a new and very interesting light: indeed the whole narrative discloses a wholly new and valuable illustration of the political affiliations and sympathies of Old and New England and that each party had its *habitat* here more distinctly than at home—

It seems that Gorges was, at first, right, and that only in his later life did he prove recreant to the cause—  
J. W. T.

"A° 1625. The Lord Chamberlain, Pembroke, "was made to convey assurance to Pennington, "and also to Sir Fernando Gorges and the other "masters of the merchantmen, that peace was "really to be made with the Protestants and that "war would be declared against Spain and Mi- "lan; wherefore they all were peremptorily, "and without reply, to obey the directions given "them. At the same time Buckingham wrote to "tell Nicholas that he was to wait in the Roads, "for that the ships *would* be delivered up; and by "a letter of the same date he told Pennington "that there was then on its way to him an ex- "press warrant from the King who was 'extreme- "ly offended' with him, and whose orders, if he "now desired to make his peace, he must not fail "punctually to obey. Finally, the Royal War- "rant followed, formally requiring Pennington to "put his ship, the *Vanguard*, and all the other "seven ships, with their equipage, artillery and "ammunition, into the service of his dear brother "the Most Christian King; and, and in case of "backwardness or refusal on the part of the crews, "commanding him and others to use all means "possible to compel obedience, *even unto the "sinking of the ships*. 'See you fail not,' are the "closing words of the decisive document, 'as you "will answer to the contrary at the uttermost "peril.'

"Little more remains to be told. For the third "time Pennington took his *Vanguard* into the "French harbour; and with him went this time, "with a desperate reluctance, the seven merchant "ships. One of the latter, notwithstanding, com- "manded by Sir Fernando Gorges, who became "thereafter a marked object for Baggs' treacher- "ous hostility, broke through, and returned upon "learning that the promised assurance of peace "with the Protestants was false, and that the desti- "nation of the fleet was no other than Rochelle. "On the other hand, Pennington, for himself and "the rest, doggedly obeyed the letter of the "King's Warrant, and delivered up the ships, and "their stores, without their crews. Declaring "for the last time that he would rather be hanged "in England for disobedience than fight himself, "or see his seamen fight, against their brother "Protestants of France, he quietly looked on "while the crews of all the ships deserted; left "every ship including his own to be manned by "Frenchmen; and came back to set himself "right with his countrymen."—i. 328, 329.

"Of course there is a stab behind the back for "some one in this letter also. It concludes: "John Bonithon at Falmouth is still busy, I pray "discountenance his proceedings and let the "country perceive that neither his Lieutenant or "the castell have ought to do with the Duke's "Admiralty. I must abruptly conclude and "say you have long been my friend I must there-

"be your servant, JAMES BAGG. Saltrum, my "house, this 22d Sept. 1626'"

The "Lieutenant" and "Castle" is an allusion to Sir Fernando Gorges, already mentioned (*ante*, i. 329), and to be hereafter referred to.—ii. 26.

"Bagg had reported Elliott as a recusant as "early as the middle of October 1626, yet not un- "til the beginning of June in the following year "was he finally deposited in the Gate-house. On "the 23d of May the Duke's man exultingly in- "formed the Duke that Elliott was at length gone "with Coryton to London 'now or never to re- "ceive his reward;'\* and on the 27<sup>th</sup> of the fol- "lowing month, Buckingham, leaving his most "active enemy so lodged in a London prison, "sailed for Rochelle."

"While yet Buckingham paused before his "great venture, and Bagg had to wait another "month before reporting that his principal oppo- "nent was 'laid by the heels,' there was other "things beside his fortune that this 'envie' "grudged Eliot for his own. His movements "were watched, his footsteps were dogged every- "where; and upon arrival of Lord Warwick in "Plymouth, where Eliot then was, repeated re- "ports of espial as to both were made to the "Duke and his Secretary. Truly there was little "to tell. Eliot's friendship with Warwick was "as notorious and and little dignified as the "Duke's own intimacy with Warwick's brother "Lord Holland. But those were days when men "could not meet as friends, if hostile to Bucking- "ham, without being suspected as conspirators; "and Warwick's patriotic purpose of serving "against Spain, which the Government had not "dared to resist, had yet in no respect abated the "animosity provoked by his refusal of the loan. "Here was Bagg's welcome to an Earl who had "come from Plymouth in command of an expedi- "tion for the service of his country and was about "to sail with it as its Admiral.

"His Lordship's resting place," [at Plymouth] "he informs his most gracious Lord, 'is at the "house of one Jennens, Eliot's friend; and his "lopp" invited familiars, as soone as ever he put "foote ashore, was that patten of ingratitude "Eliot and malicious Corryton; w<sup>ch</sup> two are as- "sociated with a man noe less true to his friend, "Sir Fernando Gorges. All which seems to be "reputed to be his lordship's bosome friendes;

\* "MS. S. P. O. BAGG TO BUCKINGHAM, *from Plymouth*. "In the same letter he puffs off what he has been doing for the "Duke 'by myself and without ye help of Sr John Drake: let "him receive ye reward of his owne: myne deserves nothing "from your grace, for to you I am indebted by lieffe and what "I am.' There is also an allusion explaining one cause of the "delay in bringing Eliot before the Council table. 'I doubt "not but the commission for Eliot is amended.' He further "gratifies his mean nature by assuring his Excellence 'that "Eliot, Coryton and Sir Fernando Gorges were the only men "that gave service and visite to ye E. of Warwicke *who little "loves your grace*.'"—ii. 68.

"and the true reporters of his lordship's little affection to his magistries service, and greater to your graces enemies.' Expressing then his much disquiet at the doings interposed to the report of the Cornish Commissioners for the loan, he declares his belief that 'it will now be shortly sent, and then I hope his majesty will be pleased to make those that thus disaffectionately disserve him examples for tymes to come. I pteculer to your grace thus much because you may discearne the lo. of Warwick's wayes which breeds much wonder in these parts, that he elects and invites those to be his friends!' He closes with characteristic assurance that he will be watchful as a spy upon his master's enemies, and faithful as a servant in obedience to his master. 'I will look upon their ways; and by myne they or whose els y' obserue them shall know me to be y' grace his true and humble servant

"JAMES BAGG."

"That was the 20<sup>th</sup> of April. Six days later the same worthy wrote to his 'beloved friend' the Duke's Secretary, to tell him that the 'Earl of Warwick and Ellyott still comfort'; and 'in connection therewith 'that Sir Jo Drake's collector Mr Jeninges, the lord of Warwicke's servant, and Elliot's right hand, now shows 'himself and his regard to the duke.' To the duke himself he wrote, the same day, to inform him that 'y<sup>e</sup> Ea. of Warwick and his friend Elliot are still together and still walke in the way 'they entered.' Three weeks afterwards he sent another like report; with new scandal as 'to 'Sir Fernando Gorges' waies not straight to 'serve your grace,' and with intimation that he should himself be in waiting on his Grace's arrival at Portsmouth. On the 25<sup>th</sup> his Grace arrived; and, when three days had passed, Bagg's worthy and beloved friend at the Admiralty was made acquainted with what chiefly had been the subject of the conference."—ii. 65-67.

#### XIV.—QUERIES.

[Our readers are particularly invited to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by this Department of the Magazine, for the solution of any doubtful, *historical* question.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

WAR IN DISGUISE, OR THE FRAUDS OF THE NEUTRAL FLAGS.—I am in possession of a reprint, published by Riley, N. Y. (1806), of the above work. The American Preface attached to it advertises that a formal answer to the book will be issued:—I desire to know whether any such answer was published; and if so, when and by whom?

PHILO.

NEW YORK CITY.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS AND HIS WOODEN LEG.—A reader of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE wishes to be informed, through what circumstances or affliction, or by what accident, Gouverneur Morris lost his leg.

E.  
NEW YORK.

JOHN LANGDON.—The following advertisement appeared in a New England newspaper in the year 1776. Was the auctioneer a relative of John Langdon of New Hampshire?

"To THE PUBLIC in General; and all his *good friends* in special JOHN LANGDON in FLEET STREET, offers his service in the capacity of an Auctioneer. Puffing is not his Talent; but he begs leave to say this much: As he is determined to exert himself and use his utmost Endeavours to give Satisfaction to his employers; so he humbly hopes that in point of *Fidelity, Assiduity, and Dexterity*; they will find him to come not short of the FIRST THREE.

"N. B. Moderate Commissions will content him: and all Favours will be gratefully acknowledged."

"The First Three" probably refers to the mighty men of King David.

D.  
PHILADELPHIA.

THE TRAITOROUS CORRESPONDENCE OF HUTCHINSON AND OLIVER.—Is it positively known from whom Franklin got the private letters of Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Lieutenant-governor Oliver, showing a traitorous correspondence with Thomas Whately, the Private Secretary to Grenville, and which caused such excitement in England, and the bitter abuse of Franklin by Wedderburn? SPARKS shows that Dr. Hosack was wrong in his *Biographical Memoir of Dr. Williamson*, in assuming that the latter secured and carried them to Dr. Franklin. Nor did the duel between William Whately, the brother to Thomas, with John Temple, who is rumoured to have abstracted them, prove any thing. Temple always denied the charge. Franklin never told, although he declared: "I, alone, am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question."

EDWARDUS.

AUTHOR OF A POEM IN 1774.—In the *Massachusetts Spy* of September 22, 1774, is an able poem entitled, "AN ELEGY ON THE TIMES," of which the following is a portion:

"While peers enraptured hail the unmanly wrong  
"See Ribaldry, vile prostitute of shame,  
"Stretch the bribed hand and prompt the venal tongue,  
"To blast the laurels of a Franklin's fame,  
"But will the Sage—whose philosophic Soul  
"Controlled the lightning in its fierce career,  
"Heard unappalled the aerial thunders roll,  
"And taught the bolts of vengeance where to steer."

Can any of your readers inform me who was the author of this poem ?  
NEW YORK. LOGAN.

DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.—The controversy respecting General Joseph Reed having drawn Dr. Rush's name into the question, I would beg leave to ask what authority exists for the charge frequently made that Dr. Rush was the author of the anonymous letter against General Washington which was sent to Patrick Henry. C. H. J.  
PHILADELPHIA.

FIRST-BORN IN NEW-NETHERLAND.—Who were the first children, of either sex, born from Christian Parents, within the present bounds of the State of New York : where were they born ; and when ?  
DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

METHODIST HYMN-BOOK.—Can any of your "early American Methodist" readers inform me, through your columns, when the *first* edition of the hymn-book prepared by Coke and Asbury was published ; what was its exact title—including publisher's name and address—and *where* a copy may be seen ?  
A CLASS-LEADER.

ITHACA, N. Y.

INDIAN INTELLIGENCE.—I desire to know of an instance where a full-blooded Indian has shown any remarkable talent in any art or science ;—even shown excellence as an imitator, or calculator.  
SCHOOLMASTER.

CONNEMARA STOCKINGS.—Tom Moore mentions that when he was introduced to President Jefferson by Mr. Merry, the British Minister, he, as Mr. Merry had been, was struck with the homely costume of the President, especially with his Connemara Stockings. Allow me, Mr. Editor, to ask your Irish readers, what are Connemara Stockings ? I know what Brian O'Linn's breeches were composed of, but I am supremely ignorant anent CONNEMARA STOCKINGS. I.

NEW YORK CITY.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON.—The distinguished editor of the *Bay Colony Records*, Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, in an article on "The Old Corner Bookstore," which was published in *The Sunday Times* of this city, of the 14th inst., while speaking of the husband of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, says he was "subsequently the Governor of Rhode Island," and that he was "banished from the Massachusetts colony, on account of the peculiar theological views of his remarkable

"wife." I have entertained a different view concerning each of these subjects, but the Doctor's standing as an antiquary unsettles those opinions. Will THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE please inform me what the facts were, in these cases ? T.  
BOSTON, July 15, 1867.

SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.—On the first agitation, which culminated in our Independence, Sir Francis Bernard was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts ; and I require proof of his alleged insolence and insufferable arrogance : for he was not only charged with these by the colonists, but also with systematically misrepresenting them to the Government at home. In fact, he was held in aversion by almost all. And it is true that when he was recalled, he was subject to very rude treatment from some of the leading men in England, who were opposed to severe or hostile proceedings against the Colonies. Thus he was driven out of the Smyrna Coffee House, in London, by General Ogelthorpe, who told him that he was a dirty, factious scoundrel, and smelled cursed strong of the hangman, and had better leave the room as unworthy to mix with gentlemen, but he would give him the satisfaction of following him to the door had he any thing to reply.

Now, I am not so well versed in the history of our Revolution as I ought to be, but I challenge your Massachusetts readers to produce any thing but what would prove Sir Francis Bernard an indefatigable, faithful and just officer of the Crown. Let those readers consider what were his duties in connection with what was going on around him, and then answer my challenge by producing "chapter and verse" against him.

CAROLUS.

NEW YORK CITY.

## XV.—REPLIES.

POPHAM's "memory is truly consecrated by "one of the most magnificent monuments ever "erected !" EDWARD E. BOURNE. (*H. M.*, New Series, i., 234, 302.) Whether the monument was *desecrated* (profaned) or *consecrated* (hallowed) by association with so vile a memory, admits of as little dispute, as does the ridiculous use of the word "consecrated" by the Popham orator. The literal meaning of the word is to make, or cause to be, holy, or sacred ; and so it is written on grave stones, "Sacred," or dedicated "to the memory of," not that the "*memory*" of the dead is "consecrated" thereby, for there is nothing more proverbially false than Epitaphs, of which Popham's is a notable instance, with the additional misfortune of being

made a cause of laughter by his unhappy Eulogist. Cumberland's citations from Horace and Cicero are against him, so far as they are in point—The marble, not the memory, is consecrated. The marble does not consecrate, but is "consecrated" or dedicated.

He says the "original of our English word" [consecrate] "sometimes has the sense of perpetuation by giving the immortality of honor!" Here is an addition to philological learning. Will "CUMBERLAND" give us the "original" of "consecrate," and show how his definition or "sense" is derived?

By the way, Kennebec Colony was *not* the "initial enterprise" under the Corporation of 1606, for the other penal Colony, Virginia, had the wretched priority; it was *not* the first English Colony in New England, for Gosnold's had a priority of five years. The "great principles" connected with it were only to solve the question whether or not "mynes" were there, and if discovered, whether or not they could be profitably worked by the "enforced" labor of criminals, and thus incidentally ridding England of its social "scum." The idea of a penal colony succeeded in Virginia, but not in the North.

BOSTON.

? S E D I R D I U Q.

PRISON-SHIPS, (*H. M.*, x., 223.)—Our correspondent WALE BOGT asks if *ships* were ever employed by the Americans as prisons; and as no answer has been given, I beg to say that the Senate of New York, on Tuesday, the thirteenth of September, 1777, voted "That his Excellency the Governor be informed, that the Time of Service of Captain Schoonmaker's Company, who were engaged to guard the State Prisoners confined in the Gaol at Kingston, AND ON BOARD THE FLEET PRISON, will expire this Day; and that his Excellency be requested immediately to provide for the Continuance of a Guard for the purpose aforesaid, in such way as he shall think proper; and that this Senate will concur with the Honorable House of Assembly, in making the necessary Provision for defraying the Expence thereof." *Journal of the Senate*, Edit., 1777, 19.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

THE FIRST BOUND BOOK PRINTED BETWEEN SENECA LAKE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN, (*H. M.*, New Series, i., 194.)—My venerable friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., claims this title for *Poetical Essays*—12° Canandaigua 1812. But is not the press established by the Hon. and Rev. Gabriel Richard, at Detroit, entitled to the palm? If being so much further West should decide the

question between two books of the same date, Detroit can claim the honor for this volume, and I do not know but that she can go still further back.

Epîtres | et | Evangiles | pour | tous les Dimanches et Fêtes de | L'Année. | Nouvelle Edition. | Imprimée sur celle de Québec 1802 approuvée | par Mgr. P. Denaut Eveque de la Même | Ville. | Detroit. | Imprimé par T. Mettez. | 1812

Epistles | and | Gospels | for | all Sundays and Holidays | throughout the Year. | New Edition | Printed from the 6<sup>th</sup> Edition of Dublin 1794 | & first published by the English College at | Rhemes 1582. | Detroit. | Printed by T. Mettez. | 1812.

12° 396 pp.

As this has escaped Biblical Bibliographers, *quorum pars fui*, it may be well to make a note of it. J. G. S.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE OLD BULL'S-HEAD TAVERN, (*H. M.*, x., 320.)—Our correspondent CLEAVER enquired when this celebrated tavern was torn down and what is the present number of its site; and as no answer has yet appeared I beg to remark that when the Bowery theater was destroyed by fire, the third time, on Sunday morning, the eighteenth of February, 1838, this ancient building, then known as THE THEATER HALL and kept as a porter-house by Bradford Jones, with an oyster-cellar under it, kept by Levi T. Dame, and known as No. 50 Bowery, was gutted and portions of the walls overthrown.

It was subsequently repaired and re-occupied as a porter-house, a portion of the walls of the old house serving in the new structure; and it is now known as the Atlantic Garden, No. 50 Bowery. H. B. D.

HARLEM, May 18, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: At your request I correct the slight error in the note upon Doctor JOHANNES LA MONTAGNE, (*H. M.*, i., 36.)

His first wife was RACHEL DE FOREST, and his second AGNIETJE (*Agnes*) TEN WAERT, widow of ARENT CORSSSEN STAM. "By the latter he had "no children" *who survived infancy*.

Montagne bore a prominent part in the first settlement of Harlem and will be the subject of special notice in connection with the history of this place. Therefore excuse my present brevity and believe me,

Yours truly,

JAS. RIKER.



SLAVES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.—The following extract from the *Journals of the Senate of New York*, (Edit. 1777, pp. 77, 78.) Wednesday, the eleventh of March, 1778, will illustrate the subject enquired about by our correspondent WALE BOGT, (*H. M.*, I. x., 223.)

"A Petition of *David Betknep*, was read, setting forth, among other Things, 'That in the last 'Levy of Militia to go to Fort *Montgomery*, 'before it was taken, the Petitioner was drafted 'to go: That the Petitioner sent his Slave in 'his Stead, who faithfully performed his Duty, 'until the Day on which the Fort was taken, 'when the Petitioner went in order to relieve him: 'That the Petitioner made Application to the 'Commanding Officer of the Regiment to which 'his Slave belonged, to discharge him, as the 'Petitioner came to relieve him: which was 'refused, as being contrary to General Orders 'for any Man to leave the Fort: That the Petitioner exerted himself to save the Fort until 'Evening, when the Petitioner made his Escape; 'but his Slave was made Prisoner, and is since 'dead: and praying a Restitution adequate to 'the Value of his Servant lost, as aforesaid' 'Ordered, That the Petition lie on the Table for 'the perusal of the members.' H. B. D.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS (*H. M.*, i., 302.) Your correspondent BRATTLEBORO is informed that the author of this work, about whom he inquired, was JOHN CORRY.

There were Fifty or more editions of the work of which the first was printed in 1800.

84 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK. J. SABIN.

## XVI.—BOOKS.

### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse*. Edited by John Harvard Ellis Charlestown Abram E. Cutter 1867 Octavo, pp. lxxvi., 434. Price \$10.00

Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, the earliest writer of poetry among the females in America, was the daughter of Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, and wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet, of the same Colony. She was born in 1612-13; married at the age of Sixteen; emigrated to America in the spring of 1630; and died in August, 1672, leaving behind her a good name, both as a neighbor and a Christian.

She amused herself, during moments of leisure, by the exercise of her parts as a writer of both Prose and Verse; and in the early period in which she lived, in a community which was widely separated from the world of literature, the daughter of one Governor and the wife of

another—both of Massachusetts, and within the Boston "Ring," of that date—there need be no surprise that she was considered by those of New England, the world over, as "the Tenth Muse lately sprung up in America," and her works as "compiled with great variety of Wit and Learning, full of delight."

A collection of these Pieces, in 16mo, was published in London, in 1650; and a second Edition of the same, revised in such a manner as to suit the change in English politics produced by the Restoration of the Stuarts, also in 16mo, was published in Boston, in 1678. The third Edition, in Octavo, was printed, also in Boston, in 1758; and now, more than a Century later, in the Royal Octavo before us, the fourth appears in all the elegance of the finest modern typography.

In this Edition, the Second Edition has been strictly followed even to the spelling, punctuation, and typographical mistakes; and the paging is also preserved in Brackets, in the margin. Carefully prepared foot-notes mark the variations between the Two Editions; large additions have been made from a manuscript volume, now published for the first time; an elaborate Introduction increases the interest of the collection; and a very minute Index—that great friend of a busy man—closes the volume.

Of the Works of Mrs. Bradstreet, when brought to the test of a high standard of merit, very little can be said that is favorable. The greater portion of them is only a transposition into doggerel Verse of what Sir Walter Raleigh had previously written in better Prose; or what, in vastly better taste, the authoress had probably read, also in good Prose, in Plutarch's *Lives*, or Usher's *Annals*, or the Breeches Bible. Yet, when all the circumstances under which they were written shall be considered, they will be valued for their quaintness of expression and as a specimen of the first fruits of American literature.

It is seldom that a writer enjoys the favor of such an Editor as Mrs. Bradstreet has secured in Mr. Ellis; and it is still more rare to find one who discharges his duties with so much intelligence, industry, and great good judgment.

As a specimen of typography it is truly beautiful; and the wood-cut frontispiece, by Marsh, is a perfect gem. Mr. Cutter has earned the thanks of students as well as collectors by the issue of this volume; and we earnestly hope that his enterprise will be liberally rewarded.

The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies, all of the same size.

2.—*The Old Indian Chronicle*; being a collection of exceedingly rare Tracts, written and published in the time of King Philip's War, by persons residing in the Country. To which are now added an Introduction and Notes, by Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Samuel A. Drake, 1867. Small quarto, pp. xii., 833.

The veteran, SAMUEL G. DRAKE, more than Thirty years ago, published a small "eighteen-mo," containing *Two* tracts, but there was then no taste for such works and, therefore, "no Demand for them. The entire Edition, therefore, lay some Three years on hand, excepting what were gratuitously distributed;" and when, subsequently, *Three* other Tracts were thrown into his hands he printed them uniformly with the others and, having added other material, he gave to the whole the title of *The Indian Chronicle*, which it has since borne.

He has, since 1836, added still more tracts to the Five; and now, in the closing years of his well-spent but unrewarded life, he finishes the work which he began nearly Forty years ago, by sending to the press the volume before us—may we all, as we shall approach the end of our labors, be permitted to gather and put into book-form, as well and as satisfactorily as Mr. Drake has done, the results of labors which the present generation has not appreciated and which the next will receive only as a trust for those which shall follow it.

The volume before us contains Twelve pages of preliminary matter and One hundred and eighteen of Introduction; and these are followed by exact re-prints of *Seven* of the early Tracts referred to.

The Introduction referred to traces the origin of these Puritanic Wars against the Indians to other causes than a hankering for Territory; and the arrogance and avarice of the Puritan Fathers are assigned as the primary causes of what, subsequently, was so disastrous—he has also frankly admitted, what has long since been shown by Mr. Moore to have been true, that a thirst for man-stealing on the part of the Whites had a great deal to do with the matter. Considerable attention is also paid by him to the possible origin of the Indians—evidently losing sight of the fact that they were *men*, possessing the feelings of men, and having, like the Puritans and Pilgrims themselves, their origin in old grandmother Eve; and the progress and effect of the noble struggle of those Indians for the support of their "nationality"—"for the life of their Nation"—is told with great precision.

*The Present State of New-England*, published in 1675, *A Continuation of the State of New-England*, published in 1676, *A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England* and *A True Account of the most Considerable Occurrences that have happened in the Warre*, (the latter, probably, by the Apostle, Eliot,) both published in the same year, *The Warr in New-England visibly ended*, (probably by Richard Hutchinson,) published in 1677, *News from New England*, and *A Further Brief and True Narration of the late Wars risen in New-England*, both published in

1676, follow, with an ample supply of Illustrative Notes and the always necessary appendage of a good Index.

As these Tracts are original, contemporary authorities on the subject of which they treat, and have been re-produced with all the careful, pains-taking industry and skill of one of the most accomplished scholars in New-England, they ought to be welcomed, even in this degenerate age, by every one who is not already demoralized by the "yellow-covered literature" which is overflowing the land and destroying the virtues of the People: whether they shall meet so much success or not, our venerable friend has our earnest congratulations that another addition has thus been made to that monument by which, for a longer period than by brass or marble, his memory shall be kept fresh among those who shall come after us.

The volume is one of those dainty affairs, on laid, tinted paper, which collectors contend for; and although the printer has left no record of his name or locality, we strongly suspect that Joel Munsell of Albany is entitled to the credit of having printed it. At any rate, until one more entitled to the honor shall claim it, let Joel have it.

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8.—*A Golden Wedding and the Dinmore Genealogy, from about 1620 to 1865.* Augusta, [Me.]: 1867. Octavo, pp. 24.

In the days of the Pilgrim Fathers there seems to have lived in Scotland, "a wealthy farmer" named DINSMORE, one of whose sons, in a pet, is said to have left his home and settled in Ireland. A son of the latter emigrated to America and settled in Maine—one of those reprobates, it may be, of whom Mr. Poole has said so much.—This Dinmore suffered the penalty endured by other pioneers, and finally removed to Londonderry, in New Hampshire; but those of whom we write were *not* of him.

About 1745, another Irish-Scotchman, a nephew of the former and bearing the same name, also settled in Londonderry; and from him, through an intervening generation, sprang Mr. ARTHUR DINSMORE, of Anson, Maine, whose Golden Wedding is recorded in this tract.

The latter was married to PATTY HOUGHTON, on the tenth of September, 1815; has had Eleven children, Twenty-five grand-children, and Four great-grand-children; and still lives, we believe, to enjoy the reward of a well-spent life.

The *Genealogy* is by no means complete—indeed, it should be called a *Genealogy of Two* of the Seven children of the second emigrant, without alluding to the first, instead of a *Dinmore Genealogy from 1620 to 1865*.

Although this tract was printed for private circulation, only, no regard has been had, in its

preparation, to the beauties of modern typography: and it will not, therefore, stand the test to which such works are generally subjected.

4.—*History of the City of New York*. By Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. In Two volumes. New York: W. E. C. Clark. 1867. Octavo, pp. 592.

Miss Booth's *History of New York* has been so long before the public that we need say nothing of its general merits nor of the usefulness to which it is so well adapted.

In the edition before us the patient and industrious authoress has cancelled the latter portion of the previously issued volume and added more than a hundred pages of new matter, the latter relating to the events of the past Ten or Twelve years, in which New York has been so conspicuous. It is thus, undeniably, the most complete, as it was before the best, general history for popular use of the great city of New York.

It will not be expected that such a work will be without fault; but we know that such faults are not the result of any want of diligence nor of any intention to mislead. We wish we could say as much for every other, so called, History. We beg to invite the attention of the Authoress to the following, which she may consider of sufficient importance to be corrected in a new edition:

*Der Smit's Vly* was the name given to other portions of the present line of Pearl-street than the site of the Fly-market, to which she has confined it, (p. 74;) the first horse-mill seems to have been elsewhere than on South William-street and the first wind-mill elsewhere than on State-street, (p. 95;) it is very doubtful if Martin Crygier's tavern was opposite the Bowling-green, (p. 96;)—it is quite certain that the old "KING'S ARMS TAVERN" was not, as she supposes, (pp. 96, 327, 414;) the Fort was demolished in the summer of 1790, not in 1787—at any rate, the stone was not until then dug out of the ruins, (p. 99;) the view of New Amsterdam, on page 174, is of about the date 1650, not of 1674; the small size of the house-lots could not have justified the remark, on page 178, that, under the Dutch, "every house was surrounded by a garden," and, besides, every view of New Amsterdam contradicts the statement; *der Waal* was not built to protect the town "from the washing of the tides," as Miss Booth supposes, (p. 189,) but to shelter it from savage enemies—the protection from the tides to which she refers was *der Schaytjngs*; *der Strant* was not bounded by our State-street, as Miss Booth supposes, (p. 321,) but by what are now our Whitehall, Pearl and Broad streets and the East-river as it then was; "the Methodist denomination," referred to on page 399, was just as much so, and no more, than are the Ritualists of to-day and were the Puseyites of a few years

ago—all alike being only parties *WITHIN the Established Church*; the Declaration of Independence did not, as Miss Booth supposes, (p. 492,) "transform" New York, into any other body whatever, since her delegates did not assent to that Declaration, and her connection with the Crown was severed only when, on the ninth of July, her *Provincial Congress at White Plains*, directly resolved to do so; Colonel Roger Morris did not live at Morrisania, as stated on page 506, but on Manhattan island; "impregnable" is a very strong word to apply to the hills of North Castle, in Westchester County, (pp. 506, 507;) the narrative of the sufferings on the *Jersey*, (pp. 532, 540,) is somewhat too highly colored, if the Report of the Committee of Officers was worth anything; it is not very certain that "the mass of the people," as we understand the phrase, had any such sympathy with James Duane as is intimated on page 574, "the New Jail" and "the old Provost" were different names for the same building, not for two distinct buildings, as is intimated on page 580; "each State" was not "constituted an independent Sovereignty by the Articles of Confederation," as is said on page 586: they were necessarily such "Sovereignities," in common with every "State" in Christendom, in every age of the World; and they were so from the moment of the adoption of the Resolution of Independence, in 1776. If Miss Booth had read the original authorities for herself, instead of at second-hand, she would have spared her readers the infliction of pages 586 and 587, concerning the state of the country, under the Confederation; and we think she will find some other origin for the project for a Convention, than James Madison, if she will read the Journals of the Legislature of New York. We fancy, also, that "Washington's life in New York" can hardly be said to have been "simple and unostentatious," as it is described on page 596; and that Genet was superseded but not recalled, as is said on page 608; etc. We are not disposed to find fault with the worthy Authoress for these errors, if errors they are: we are very much more disposed to wonder that she has done so well, in so difficult an undertaking; and to thank her for her perseverance in what, we fear, will never afford a just compensation for her time and labor.

5.—*Address delivered Wednesday, 28th November, 1866, in Feller's Hall, Madam, township of Red Hook, Dutchess County, N. Y. by Brevet Maj.-Gen. J. Watts dePeyster (S. N. Y.) upon the occasion of the inauguration of a monument erected by "this immediate neighborhood, (Tweelt-Madam.) to her defenders who lost their lives in suppressing the Slaveholders' Rebellion and in sustaining the Government of the People, for the People, by the People."* New York: 1867. "Two hundred copies printed as Manuscript for Private Distribution, by order of 'the Soldiers' Monument Association,'" Octavo, pp. 130, lx., xx.

We have been favored with a copy of this very

rare pamphlet, by our friend, the Orator of the Day; and we have glanced over its pages with considerable interest and some amusement.

Its Title, copied above, tells of the occasion which led to the Address and of the Author of the Address; and as it was a "neighborhood" affair, participated in by the "neighbors" generally, to commemorate the public services and fidelity *unto death* of some of the sons, and brothers, and husbands, and fathers, of others who then lived in that "neighborhood,"—"her Defenders **WHO LOST THEIR LIVES,**" are the words of the inscription on the monument—we felt curious to see how the subject was handled and amused at the result.

Opening with an allusion to his personal interest in the neighborhood, the Orator followed his subject by glancing at the zeal with which the Town of Red-hook had sustained the Federal authorities during the War; and by citing, in grim burlesque, Beranger's lines on what was poetically assumed to be the Supremacy of American Law and on the very much diluted Sanctity of "*Man and his Rights,*" in our happy land. He told of the process, during Sixty-three years, by which "the infernal agencies" have been at work, in our Christian country, "to enlarge the Slave-power and to produce Secession;" of the ignorance of those to whom he spoke, who seem never to have read the papers and were therefore "without the remotest idea" of this tremendous and long-lived undertaking; and of their ignorance, also, of the "degradation" entailed by Slavery, notwithstanding the Orator himself was quite a good-sized boy when Slavery was abolished on the spot where he stood, and the effects of that defunct institution were sufficiently evident in their ignorance of current events during the preceding Sixty-three years, with which, a moment before, he had twitted his hearers.

John Brown was also glanced at, and his offence apologized for and considered as "judicial murder," as if the Law should not be as sacredly observed in Virginia as in New York; the colors of the Republic were shot at with *Eleven* distinct volleys of verse and as many more of rhetoric prose—fortunately, without hitting them;—and the insurrection was accompanied in its progress, by the Orator, mounted on a very high pair of stilts.

Very properly, on the fourteenth page, the Orator descended to *terra firma*, and recited, as was his duty, the profusion of strong arms which Red-hook sent to the field, in the earliest days of the struggle; but, on the seventeenth page, he wandered again from Red-hook to Big Bethel; and raked over the ruins of Fort Fisher in search of a "glory" which not even he has yet discovered. He talked profusely, also, of "principles"—*political* "principles"—as tested by arms and "found

"wanting;" as if such "principles" were governed by the same laws which give value to, or condemn, a breech-loader or a monitor: he told of the substitution of the Flag of the United States, on the Capitol at Richmond, for the State Flag of Virginia, as an evidence that the "States" no longer possess any "Rights" which the United States are bound to recognize: and he echoed the description everywhere given to "the Government," by the friends of authority—and never so often as by the Loyalists during the War of the American Revolution; of "the best Government on earth," which the thoughtless and the ignorant, forgetting that of which they care the least, are so fond of prating.

The Orator next examined the conduct of the War generally; and here, in his minute criticism of men and movements, without recourse to clap-trap and closing his eyes on Buncombe, he did well—indeed, in such an undertaking, when separated from those who are partizans and tied down to the naked, unquestionable Truth, he has very few equals.

In closing, the Monument and those whom it commemorated were briefly referred to; during the progress of which *Nineteen* separate and distinct handfuls of verses were thrown, unmercifully, at the deceased—enough, certainly, to have smothered them if they had not been dead already.

As a whole, this Address displays an untiring industry and a wide range of knowledge, in military affairs, in its Author; but it also displays among his faults, both prejudice and forgetfulness. There is, for instance, an undue, if not an indelicate, excess of panegyric on members of his own family, not one of whom, if we understand it correctly, came within the legitimate range of his subject; and to the memory of not one of them, legitimately, as a "Defender" of "this immediate neighborhood," was the monument erected. There is, also, an uncalled-for, if not indelicate, train of accusations against one of the great political parties of the Country and a similarly uncalled-for, if not indelicate, laudation of the other—*uncalled for*, because "this neighborhood," *as a neighborhood, regardless of party*, had sent out the men to the War, erected the monument to the memory of those of them who had "lost their lives" in the service, and assembled for the purpose of dedicating that structure; and *indelicate*, because in the beginning of the Address, the Town had been described by himself as largely Democratic in its political sympathies—if we do not mistake, also, his own father is of that particular political faith.

We are perfectly aware of the fashion of the day, among those who regard a Party success as more important than a support of the majesty of the Truth; yet we are acquainted with no one

who can better afford to be perfectly honest on political subjects, than the Author of this Address. If the unwavering Loyalty to "the best of Governments," for which his family has ever been so honorably distinguished, had not furnished a sufficient reason for the *faithful* execution of such an undertaking as this, the Patriotism of the staunch old Democratic Republican family of Livingston, to which he is allied, could have done so; and he, therefore, better than most men, could have risen among his neighbors and told them, usefully, what he intimates they do not know, of the conflict between the Two antagonistic *but not Partizan* elements, which has been unceasingly waged for the mastery, during very many more than "Sixty-three years," and, notwithstanding the recent Insurrection and its suppression, is still undetermined. He has preferred, however, to become a Partizan rather than to remain a Patriot; and because the Truth of History was respected by him, less than were the demands of his Party, we condemn him.

There is a "Supplement" to this Address, in which we find Chapter I. of a "contemplated" *History of the Campaigns of the great American War*; sketches of several of the Officers and men who went from Red-hook to the field; a Chapter on "The Battle of Gettysburg;" a history of the Clth. Regiment of New York Volunteers; a Chapter on "Negro Troops;" the "Annual Reports of the Ulster Guard, XXth. N. Y. S. M." for 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, and 1866; and "Reports of Killed and Wounded in action," of the same Regiment, for 1862, 1863, and 1864; and a second Supplementary sheet of Twenty pages contains Chapter II. of the proposed *History of the Campaigns of the great American War*, before referred to.

As a specimen of typography, it is beneath contempt when its character as a "private-print" is considered. There is no title-page, except on the cover; the type is battered and wretchedly composed; the pages without shape, where shape is recognized, and regardless of register; and the whole appearance indicates a very rural, newspaper-office origin.

As we said, the edition numbered Two hundred copies; and they were circulated privately.

6.—*A Commentary of the Holy Scriptures*: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, and Edited, with Additions, original and selected, by Philip Schaff, D.D., and others. Vol. IX. of the New Testament: containing the Epistles general of James, Peter, John, and Jude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. x, 148, 96, 58, 201, 84. Price \$5.00.

This is the fourth issue of this elaborate Commentary on the Scriptures; and we have been surprised at the vast accumulation of learning which has been concentrated in it.

In whatever aspect the Seven Books to which it relates shall be viewed, the volume before us must be considered a perfect mine of information for the philologist, the pastor, and the private Christian; and to those it will prove invaluable.

7.—*France and England in North America*. A series of historical narratives. By Francis Parkman. Part Second. *The Jesuits in North America in the seventeenth century*. By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 468.

Were this not given as the Second Part of *France and England in North America*, which is the general title of a Series of Historical Narratives, we might criticise the Title as too broad, the Jesuit claiming to have labored in parts of North America to which this volume does not allude. The *Two* titles, therefore, are to be taken together; and the brilliant writer takes here as his theme, those Jesuit Missionaries who took so conspicuous a part in the early French Colonization of Canada. "Few passages of history are more striking," as he justly remarks, "than those which record the efforts of the earlier French Jesuits to convert the Indians. Full as they are of dramatic and philosophic interest, bearing strongly on the political destinies of America, and closely involved with the History of its native population, it is wonderful that they have been left so long in obscurity. While the infant Colonies of England still clung feebly to the shores of the Atlantic, events deep ominous to their future were in progress, unknown to them, in the very heart of the Continent."

The Author then, in an accurate and graphic sketch, lays before the reader the field on which these French Evangelical laborers hastened to labor—the different Tribes, their manners and their superstitions, are drawn with skill and truthfulness. He then gives the History of the earlier efforts among the Algonquins; but he chiefly turns his admirable powers of description to the Huron Mission, which he traces to its close, bringing before us the chief actors, BREBEUF, GARNIER, JOGUES, LALEMANT, BUTEUX, CHAUMONOT, and others, drawn with a vivid coloring and portraiture that shows a deep study of their individual characters. In his Narrative he treats, as an episode, of the rise of the Convents of Canada, and gives as happy sketches of Madame DE LA PELTRIE, Mlle. MANCE, and MARGARET BOURGEOYS. The story is not one to be condensed or sketched here. Mr. Bancroft gave it briefly in his Third volume; here the romantic subject is given with the fullness it merits.

Differing in faith with those of whom he treats, assuming that New England was settled as a home of Religious Freedom, he sees in the failure of the Jesuit efforts to convert the red men, and the destruction of the Neophytes by Pagan bands

set on by Europeans, Providence working for the great end of human Liberty; but it seems to us that the little knot of self-constituted Church members, who deemed themselves empowered to manufacture Creed and Church and State, were more deadly foes to human Freedom than any soldier or priest of France, in the Northern wilds.

Except in this philosophical view, we commend the volume as one of great and permanent value. In an historical point of view it is a work of patient, sincere research, of unbiassed judgment, outspoken alike in praise and censure; while as a literary work it is one of the happiest contributions for which our language is indebted to this distinguished writer. The subject, full of romance in itself, has called out in an especial manner his peculiar powers; and his work is one of the few we possess on our own Annals, in which Grace, Eloquence and Pathos are wedded to strict historical accuracy and deep research.

The history of our own country needs to be read with that of the French Colonies that grew up beside it, that we may trace how gradually one influenced the other, and that we may regard with a more favorable eye one in which a religious feeling prevailed as intense as that of New England, but more universal in its grasp, and unstained by the fanatic cruelties against misbelievers and supposed witches, which dim the lustre of early Massachusetts.

8.—*Pleasantries about Courts and Lawyers of the State of New York.* By Charles Edwards. New York: Richardson & Company, 1867. Octavo, pp. 523.

There are few, among the members of the Bar, in New York, who do not personally know the Author of this volume; and to all he is known as an accomplished gentleman, a well read and highly influential lawyer, and an Author of no mean repute.

The volume before us, as we happen to know, is the result of labor devoted to it during moments usually allotted to recreation, or stolen for it, in passing, amidst the pressing cares and turmoil of one of the busiest of busy professional lives; yet it has been prepared with as much care as it would have been if it had formed part of a plea, and its different Chapters have been arranged as systematically as a Bill in Equity.

As its title indicates, this volume relates only to the *Pleasantries* of the Bar—of its *Asperities*, the learned Author will probably tell us, hereafter;—and of these *Pleasantries*, the Bar of New York have supplied all that were required to fill its pages. Not far from *Two hundred* gentlemen are named in the table of Contents, as either the Authors of these *Pleasantries* or the Authorities for their publication; and every portion of the profession and every branch of the practice seem to have been remembered, in the selection.

Typographically, the volume is a very neat one; and it is illustrated with a very excellent portrait, on steel, of the Author.

9.—*A Cyclopaedia of Freemasonry*; embracing the whole of Bro. George Oliver's Dictionary of Symbolic Masonry. Together with a Comprehensive Supplement; containing Definitions of the Technical Terms used by the Fraternity. Edited by Robert Macoy. New York: Masonic Publishing and Manufacturing Company, 1867. Octavo, pp. viii., 556.

We know nothing of Free Masonry, but we cannot help but perceive that the original of this work is only a collection of brief *Essays* or *Injunctions*, each of which is as worthy of respect from those who are not, as those who are, Freemasons. Our friend, Macoy, however, has added a *Supplement* to Mr. Oliver's *Dictionary*, extending to Two hundred and sixty-six pages, in which there is a vast fund of information, arranged alphabetically, and ranging over every portion of the unenclosed field of Free Masonry. It is, therefore, a useful book to every one who desires to know of what he reads about the Order of Freemasons, and whose curiosity has never led him to ask admission into a Lodge.

The volume before us is a very neatly printed book; and we have no doubt it will be very widely welcomed, by those who do keep a secret as well as by those who do not.

10.—*Bench and Bar*: a complete digest of the Wit, Humor, Asperities, and Amenities of the Law: By J. L. Bigelow. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Small octavo, pp. 364. Price \$2.50.

This title certainly covers a great deal of ground; and, if true, it most certainly undecieves us concerning Four very important subjects connected with the Bar of America.

If this volume contains, as the title says, "a COMPLETE Digest of the Wit, Humor, Asperities, and Amenities of the Law"—English as well as American—the Lawyers in both Countries must have been just the dullest and most curiously formed of all God's creatures.

How little WIT, for instance, they must have displayed if one-quarter of such a volume as this contains "a complete Digest" of it! How dull they must have been, if their HUMOR, "complete," can be rolled up with three other of their leading qualities, and the whole find ample room in Three hundred and fifty pages!! How polite, too, they must have been when ALL their "ASPERITIES," and how infamously Discourteous, when ALL their "AMENITIES," can thus, like "Orange-county milk," be so perfectly condensed and so easily sent to market.

We suppose, however, that the author has accidentally overlooked some specimens of these qualities, as developed at the Bar—not enough, it may be, however, to make them anything but

exceptions to the general rule—and, as an instance of this, we beg to call his attention to the omitted *Wit* of Mr. D. B. Eaton, who proposes to allow every Plantation negro in the South to vote on every question, because he is a *Man* and a Republican, and to forbid every white man, resident in the city of New York but owning no real estate, from voting, because, in the absence of a brown-stone front, he is probably a Democrat and certainly, as Mr. Eaton understands it, *not a Man*. He has omitted, also, the *Humor* of Joseph Holt and Edwin M. Stanton, who seem to have silently suppressed the written recommendation of Mrs. Surratt for mercy, which was drawn up and signed by Five of the leading members of the Court which had, just previously, condemned her to death; while the *Amenities* of John Jay and James A. Hamilton, distinguished members of the Bar, in their intercourse with the Editor of *The Federalist*, we notice, have also been very strangely overlooked.

We are sorry to say, if this book is as true as we suppose it to be, we think the Bar is not one-half as Witty, nor Savage with a contrary witness, nor Polite to an opposing Counsel, as we had given it credit for; and we are also sorry that with the exception of Mr. O'Connor, its members are very much more homely in appearance than we supposed.

There are *Two* portraits of Chief-justice Chase, besides One each of Sir Thomas More, John Jay, John Marshall, Daniel Webster, Aaron Burr, John C. Calhoun, Charles O'Connor, and Benjamin F. Butler.

11.—*Thackeray's Lectures*. The English Humorists. The Four Georges. Complete in one volume. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 449. Price \$1.25.

Thackeray and his writings are so well known to our readers that it is almost a waste of labor and space to do more than announce a new Edition, with a description of its appearance, and its Publisher's price; yet we feel unwilling to lay down what appears to be the initial volume of a new collection of the *Works* of the great humorist with such a bald introduction. Indeed, insensibly, we have been led through *The Four Georges*, with which we were before familiar, with the same delight that we experienced when we first read it; while the Lecture on *Swift*, with its illustrative foot-notes, kept us, last night, much longer from our bed than usual.

As we said, this seems to be the initial volume of a new Edition of *Thackeray's Works*; and it is neatly printed on good paper, and is well calculated for a wide circulation.

12.—*Thrilling Adventures of Daniel Ellis*, the great Union Guide of East Tennessee for a period of nearly four years during the great Southern Rebellion. Written by himself. Contain-

ing a short Biography of the Author. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 430. Price \$2.50.

This volume, we believe, is not "in the Trade," but is entirely what is known as "a Subscription Book" and purchased only from the Publishers and their Agents.

It purports to be what it undoubtedly is, an autobiographical sketch of the Life and Adventures of Daniel Ellis; and it is filled with a relation of the "thrilling adventures," as a Guide, of its reputed Author.

The scene of these adventures was, generally, the mountain ranges of Eastern Tennessee, although the writer takes notice of events elsewhere; and, whether or not it shall stand the test of the historic crucible, it will afford pleasure to those who delight in listening to the recital of dashing adventures and hair-breadth escapes, told in an easy, flowing style, with copious illustrations and comparisons from the histories of Greece, and Rome, and France, and here and there a pictorial effort.

Without passing judgment on the fidelity of the narrative, of which, apart from what we find in this volume, we "have not sufficient information to form a belief" of any kind, we are free to say that the candor of the Author, in his frank disavowal of a long line of distinguished ancestry and of any superior advantages in early life, augur well for his own truthfulness, without, however, guaranteeing that of the actual writer of the narrative, who seems to have been inclined to color the story with some pretty warm tints—warmer, indeed, in some instances, than the Author himself seems to have sanctioned.

By a strange oversight, also, there is neither an Index, nor Table of Contents, nor descriptive heading to a Chapter, nor descriptive head-line to a page, throughout the book; and the reader is necessarily compelled to wade through it, with serious loss of time and patience, when he desires to turn to any specified subject. With this exception, the Publishers have done their work admirably. The type is clear and good; the paper is good; the printing is well done; it is bound in a style appropriate to the mode of publication employed; and the cuts are better than usual in such works.

13.—*The Great Rebellion: its Secret History, Rise, Progress, and Disastrous Failure*. By John Minor Botts, of Virginia. The Political Life of the Author Vindicated. New York: Harper & Bros., 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 402.

Whatever may be the contents of this volume, or whatever their value, we regard it as one of the most important to a student of American History that the recent Civil War has produced.

Its Author, in the olden time, was a Whig, a "Henry Clay Whig;" yet he was among the first to avail himself of the market opened by John Tyler, and to expose therein to the

highest bidders, alternately, the "easy virtue" of which he was the ever willing vendue-master. During the recent Civil War, he always cared more for himself than for the country; and to-day, aspiring to be Governor of Virginia, he coquets, alternately, as was his wont in his earlier days, with the ultra-Radicals and the ultra-Secessionists—caring not how it shall be done nor by whose aid, so long as he, rather than Mr. Hunnicut or a freedman, shall be successful in the race for authority and place.

A narrative by such a man, concerning what passed under his own eyes, must necessarily be useful rather than ornamental—just as the evidence of the biggest rascal of the party, when admitted as State's evidence, is sometimes very useful notwithstanding it is very disgusting;—and as such we welcome it as a most valuable acquisition to the Literature of American Politics.

14.—*On the Border*. By Edmund Kirke. Boston; Lee & Shepard, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 383.

In this volume, the Author tells us he has thrown together, in story, "the acknowledged facts" concerning Garfield's campaign in Eastern Kentucky, with such accompaniments of romantic embellishment as were needed for his purpose.

The leading events of that stirring period, the Author has endeavored to relate with accuracy; and whenever known and living men have been introduced, he has written what he calls "authentic History." Whether regarded as mere Romance or as an offshoot of the Historical Literature of the recent War, therefore, it will interest many and find many readers; although it cannot be regarded as, nor will it ever occupy the place of, what its Author might have made, an important Historical sketch of the Army of the Cumberland.

It is very neatly printed; and will be welcomed by those who made the acquaintance of Mr. Kirke, "among the pines."

15.—*Miss Ravensel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*. By J. W. De Forest. Large Duodecimo, pp. 521. Price \$2.00.

This is a remarkably well told story of a Virginian and his daughter, exiles because of the fidelity of the father to the Union, and temporary residents of a town in New England. The daughter, who is the heroine of the story, is of Secession proclivities; but she becomes acquainted, while in exile, with both a young lawyer and a Colonel of Massachusetts Volunteers. These fall in love with the daughter, and she with the Colonel only, whom she marries; and, after the death of the latter, the lawyer also secures his prize.

All this is told with all the exaggeration which belongs to romance; but the work is nevertheless

well written, and some of the battle-scenes are particularly noteworthy.

The volume is handsomely printed; and very neatly bound.

16.—*War of the Rebellion*; or, *Scylla and Charybdis*. Consisting of observations upon the causes, course, and consequences of the Late Civil War in the United States. By H. S. Foote. New York: Harper & Bros. 1866. Large Duodecimo, pp. 440.

We have been very agreeably disappointed, in some respects, with the contents of this volume.

Its Author, if we do not mistake, is the notorious ex-Senator from Mississippi, who, once on a time, while in Congress, proposed to hang our old friend, John P. Hale, and thereby earned the name of "*Hangman Foote*." We expected very little, therefore, but we have received more than we bargained for; and we have found, instead of a volume filled with an inflated, good-for-nothing rigmarole, a very well written history of the immediate causes of the recent War.

In his political sympathies, Mr. Foote was a supporter of what was once known as "Squatter sovereignty," rather than a believer in what we know as "State sovereignty;" he was, therefore, more a friend of Daniel S. Dickinson and Lewis Cass than of John C. Calhoun; and if he ever recognized the existence of a "reserved right" in any of the *States* of the Union, it was so feeble a recognition that he always insisted that the will of the first squatters on a Western prairie was always superior in authority to the Constitutional law-makers of the Territory.

The volume before us is a well-written and exceedingly useful addition to the Literature of the great Insurrection; and as the Author professes to describe principally what passed under his own immediate observation, it may be regarded, historically, for nearly every purpose, as an original authority.

17.—*The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*. Revised Edition. Vol. XII. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. iv., 482.

We have so often described this series of beautiful volumes that we have little more to say than that the one before us concludes the celebrated Reply of Burke, in the case of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and closes the work. It is furnished with a General Table of Contents of the entire Work, and a General Index, both of which are of the greatest importance to the general reader.

There is very little doubt that, from a merely literary point of view, this is decidedly the best of the many editions of Edmund Burke's Works; while as a specimen of typographical neatness it is, also, unsurpassed by any. It is from the Uni-



versity Press, at Cambridge; and it will not suffer by a comparison with similar trade volumes from the London or Edinburgh Press.

We trust the enterprise of the excellent Publishers, who have thus done so much for American scholars, has been appreciated and properly remunerated, in order that they may be encouraged to continue the good work which they have thus usefully commenced.

18.—*Modern Inquiries: Classical, Professional, and Miscellaneous.* By Jacob Bigelow, M.D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Small octavo, pp. xii, 379.

The contents of this volume, the Author tells us, are mostly reprints of sundry occasional productions, written or spoken, in various forms and at different times, as recreations and in the midst of a busy professional life, during the past Fifty years. As the title says, they are of various subjects; and they will find readers of varied tastes.

The articles on Education are excellent in every respect—indeed, we wish the Doctor's sterling good sense concerning the general study of the dead languages in our Schools and Colleges could be read and practiced by every pedagogue in the country. That on Count Rumford is a just tribute to the memory of a man of whom New England, in a strange fit of modesty, did not consider herself worthy. The plea for the rural graveyard against the charnel-houses of the city is beyond praise. That on Homeopathy was written in 1854, since which time the world has moved.

The work is from the press of John Wilson & Co., of Cambridge, and is very neatly printed.

19.—*College Life: its theory and practice.* By Stephen Olin, D.D., LL.D. New York: Harper and Bros., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 289. Price \$1.50.

This volume contains a series of Lectures, and one of Baccalaureate Discourses, addressed by the learned President of the Wesleyan University to the young men under his charge, during the latter years of his life—the Lectures were his last literary labors, and their delivery his final public utterance.

Few men have attained, more justly, so high a position among the learned and good men of his day as Stephen Olin; and his last words, addressed to young men, are worthy a place in every young man's book-shelf. The little volume before us, therefore, should be heartily welcomed by every parent; and every young man should study it and honor its precepts.

It is very handsomely printed, on good paper; and its binding is in the peculiarly neat style of modern plainness.

20.—*The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club.* By Charles Dickens. With eight illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867. 16mo, pp. xii, 497. Price \$1.50.

If any of our readers have not heard of the terrific warfare concerning the publication in America of the writings of Mr. Dickens, which is now convulsing "the literary world," we are very much mistaken; and we shall not attempt to tell the story. We allude to it, however, for the purpose of accounting for the issue of such a volume as this, in a time of high prices, for a dollar and a half.

It is the first of a series of Twelve or Fourteen volumes, to be issued simultaneously in London and Boston, under the direction of the Author, and bearing his own name—"THE CHARLES DICKENS EDITION." It is, therefore, a pattern of economical neatness—without unnecessary display; it is well printed, from very clear and handsome type, on fair paper; illustrated with eight of the original illustrations; and neatly and durably bound. The whole (except the too closely-trimmed edges) exhibiting a pattern of neatness and cheapness which will commend it to general favor.

21.—*A Romance of the Republic.* By L. Maria Child. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867. 16mo, pp. iv, 442. Price, \$2.00.

In this volume Mrs. Child has presented Slavery as seen in its influence on the domestic relations; and notwithstanding the plot is somewhat complicated, it is well sustained and elaborately filled in, even in its minor details.

It is beautifully printed; and will be heartily welcomed, we have no doubt, by a wide circle of readers.

22.—*Historical Sketch of the Old Sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, during three Campaigns in 1861, 1862, 1863 and 1864.* Containing the history of the several Companies previous to 1861, and the name and military record of each man connected with the regiment during the War. By John W. Hanson, Chaplain. Illustrated by Photographs. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1866. Small octavo, pp. 352.

This very elaborate title leaves us little to do, except to say that the "Old Sixth" is that Regiment on which the mob in Baltimore fired, while on its way to Washington, in April, 1861; and that this volume contains a sketch of its services during Three separate enlistments during the Four years of the War.

It is well written; very beautifully printed; and essential in every collection concerning the Military operations of the Country, as *History*. It is, indeed, one of the most perfect works of its class which we have ever met.

23.—*The Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina.* By Cornelia Phillips Spencer. Second Thousand. New York: Watchman Publishing Co., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 287.

This little volume contains a series of papers which appeared, originally, in *The Watchman*, and attracted some attention then. They are descriptive of the closing scenes of the recent Civil War in North Carolina; and we have seldom read a work which seemed to bear with it so many proofs of its own general correctness.

We heartily commend it to the attention of the student of American History and to the collector of works relating to the War.

It is printed on miserably poor paper, else it had been a tolerably neat affair.

24.—*Reminiscences of Charleston.* By J. N. Cardozo. Charleston: Joseph Walker, 1866. Duodecimo, pp. 144.

A neat little affair, making no pretence to typographical beauty, yet possessing very great interest as a contribution to the Military History of the United States. As such we commend it to our readers.

25.—*The Irish Ninth in bivouac and battle; or Virginia and Maryland Campaigns.* By M. H. Macnamara. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1867. 16mo, pp. 306.

The "Irish Ninth," Massachusetts Volunteers, entered the service in May, 1861; served before Yorktown and Richmond; fought at Hanover Court-house, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill and the Chickahominy, on Malvern Hill (where it's Colonel was killed), at Antietam, South Mountain, and Boteler's Mills, before Fredericksburg, at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wapping Heights, the Wilderness, Laurel Hill and Spottsylvania, on the Po and the North Anna, at Bethesda Church, Shady Oak, and Cold Harbor; and was mustered out in June, 1864.

The narrative is written for popular use rather than as a formal History; yet it will be found very useful to those who shall desire to look into that portion of the Military History of the United States.

It is very neatly printed; and is illustrated with several fairly-executed wood-cuts.

26.—*A Criticism of Mr. Wm. B. Reed's Aspersions on the character of Dr. Benjamin Rush*, with an incidental consideration of General Joseph Reed's character. By a Member of the Philadelphia Bar. Phila.: Collins, 1867. Octavo, pp. 61.

Mr. J. G. Johnson, a member of the Philadelphia Bar, read law in the office of one of the members of Doctor Rush's family, and evidently considered that, in the supposed absence of any other person to defend that gentleman's character, the duty to do so devolved upon him.

He is undoubtedly a Lawyer rather than a Student of History; and he appears in this pamphlet, nominally as *amicus curiæ*, but really for the Plaintiff, in what he styles the case of Commonwealth *vs.* Reed, rather than an authorized public prosecutor.

Whatever may have been the purpose of Mr. Johnson, he has presented nothing new, either in evidence or argument, in this vexed question; and we feel called upon only to say that it is nothing more than a special plea, by a Philadelphia lawyer, on a subject which needed no such plea and in behalf of a public man, long since dead, whom such an advocate could not save from the fate, in history, which justly belongs to him.

Joseph Reed was undoubtedly a man of ability and personal integrity: that he was a politician and fallible, no one will deny. In a rigid search for foibles or even for what, unexplained, may pass for more serious defects of character, a more righteous man than he might suffer; but it will require a more profound student than the Author of this tract, in the light of the present day and in the face of existing and accessible evidence, to convict him of what, years ago and unexplained, seemed very much like positive guilt.

Doctor Rush, like Joseph Reed, was a public man and a partizan in local politics: and he, too, was probably not without sin. A rigid search might expose his memory to what, unexplained, might seem like very serious charges: were we to try very hard it is not unlikely that we could frame an indictment against him, and make out a case, which even Mr. Johnson would hesitate to encounter. But, in the light of yet unpublished papers and of other reliable testimony, who shall say that Doctor Rush's weaknesses may not be made less objectionable, or that what now seems very much like a serious defection from the cause of America, cannot be so illustrated that its more obnoxious features shall be removed?

We are not averse, however, to the introduction of new light on any question of history: we only desire that the special plea of an *uninformed* advocate, for or against any historical subject, shall have only the negative weight to which it is necessarily entitled.

27.—*Joseph Reed: a historical essay.* By George Bancroft. New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1867. Octavo, pp. 64.

Mr. Bancroft having seen, as he supposed and said,

—"glory's holy flowers  
"Round common brows profanely twined,"

he set bravely to work to regulate matters after a fashion of his own: the difficulty was, however, that his ideas on the subject did not always har-

monize with those of his neighbors and, it may be, not always with propriety and justice.

Of his dealings with Joseph Reed, the reading public has heard a great deal; and he, himself, seems to have recognized in the grandson of that gentleman, a foeman worthy of his steel. With his dealings with General Sullivan, our readers are not unacquainted; and they have seen, in the well-written defence of him by Mr. Amory, how little there was, in justice and truth, for a foundation for such an attack. So, too, in the cases of Generals Schuyler and Greene, whose laurels he would have us believe are only artificial, there have been responses which have enforced themselves on our attention, and convicted the Historian of Libel.

In the handsomely-printed pamphlet which is before us, Mr. Bancroft has responded to the telling Vindication of President Reed, by Mr. Wm. B. Reed, to which we have heretofore referred; but it is not such a response as one who assumes to be a first-class historian should have made, even on the eve of a welcome exile, in the Diplomatic service of the country.

For instance: the slur on President Reed, often repeated, that he "was never chosen President by the direct vote of the People"—as if that affected his Presidency any more than a similar non-election affects the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who is Mr. Bancroft's patron—is unworthy of the veriest pettifogger. So, too, his declaration of his own good qualities—"it is my nature," he says, "to dwell upon that which is generous and great, and to turn away from that which is paltry and mean"—would have been vastly more effective *had it been true*; especially since there is no one who is acquainted with him, especially among those who are students or writers of History, who does not know that his declaration is *exactly the opposite of the Truth*. His occupation of a place beside "an author of a history of the republic," *uninvited and unwelcome*, page 5, shows, also, the shifts to which he resorts, for the accomplishment of his purposes, since the notorious John C. Hamilton, to whom he referred, bad as he is, considers himself and is considered by others, *as a writer of history*, fully the peer of Mr. Bancroft in ability and quite his superior in professional honor—indeed, if report speaks truly, the former does not consider the gentility of the latter equal to his own; and no one ever pretended that he, like Mr. Bancroft, appropriated to his own use, without due acknowledgment, whatever beyond his own material he employed in his volumes.

We will not occupy our space, however, with an extended notice of this work, because that duty will soon be discharged by a more competent hand, and we have no desire to anticipate his labors.

28.—*Suggestions respecting the revision of the Constitution of New York*, by David Dudley Field. May, 1867. New York: Octavo, pp.

We have received from the learned Author a copy of this Tract, which was printed by him for private circulation, in order that his peculiar ideas on some subjects of Governmental science might be properly brought before the public.

The first part of this work is on the "Foundation of Government," the second on the "Frame of Government," the third on "Instructions and Limitations," the fourth on "Repeal of former Constitutions;" and these are subdivided into a hundred and eleven Sections, generally without a note of explanation, and in every case, save one, without reference to any precedent.

In the first of these, "property" is strangely considered a "natural right," and therefore inalienable; the People of the State of New York, which is the Commonwealth, is also strangely considered as "subordinate to the United States," notwithstanding it is one of the constituent members of those United States; and the word "People" is strangely used in the sense of the *subjects* of the State rather than as the State itself. There is said to be a Sovereignty resting in "the People of this State," which is the State itself, and a similar Sovereignty resting in the United States, which are only a Confederacy of independent States, as if there can be two Original, Supreme powers at the same time over the same persons; and as if any mere *Government*, WITHIN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, can be a SOVEREIGN in any event. There are said to be *Two* co-existing Allegiances, also,—that to the State and that to the Federal Government—as if there can be any such *Allegiance*, IN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, to any mere *Government*, which, in that case, as the Constitution of Massachusetts has it, is merely an *Agent of "the People,"* who alone form the Sovereign power; and, in addition, as if the *Allegiance* which is due to any Sovereign power can be justly degraded by being confounded with the *Obedience* which is equally due to both the Government of the State and the Government of the United States, each within its own legitimate sphere of action. "The People of the United States" is also spoken of, and its "consent" is alluded to, as if there ever had been or is now a single, aggregate body bearing this title, which has ever "consented" to any proposition, or ever possessed legal cognizance of any subject, or ever elected a single person to any office whatever. The Sovereignty is said to exist in "them," by which latter word the aggregate body of the Commonwealth is frequently described; which leaves the impression that, as Mr. Field understands it, *Squatter sovereignty* rather than the *Sovereignty of the "Major will" of the People*, is the Supreme Law. The Sovereignty

of "the People," which is the Sovereignty of the Commonwealth, is said to be confined in its action to the *making of a Constitution*, and even in that it is said to be limited to the action of "the whole People;" as if "the People," whose power is Sovereign within its own Territory, can not legally and legitimately determine, if it shall see fit, to act as other Commonwealths have sometimes acted, directly and without the intervention of either a Legislative, a Judicial, or an Executive agency. "A Constitution" is said to be "the Supreme Law, for all times and circumstances, in War as in Peace;" as if there were no virtue in Bayonets and no disposition in those who hold them to use them at will; and as if the failure to secure the requisite Constitutional majority for the measure, at the last Election, will render the action of the existing Convention any the less respectable, or the Constitution which it shall recommend any the less binding. "The State" is said to be "perpetual;" as if it may not, under any circumstances, be divided or dissolved, as Virginia has been divided and dissolved, if reports speak truly; and "all persons" who are natives and residents of its Territory, "and all citizens of the United States resident in this State,"—black and white, old and young, male and female—are said to "constitute the People of the State," in whom are vested all the Rights and Authority previously referred to; and "every such person" is declared to be "a citizen and member of the State" as if "the People" can justly or legally have Negro or female suffrage thrust upon it, indirectly and contrary to its will, *by any such masked enactment as this*.

The entire spirit of this "PART" of Mr. Field's pamphlet is Revolutionary, without showing sufficient courage to be so, openly and squarely. It is, also, confused in its indiscriminate use of technical terms, such as "State" and "People," (which latter terms, for this purpose, are synonyms,) in more than one sense, in the same sentence.

Part II., on the "Frame of Government," proposes Eight Senatorial Districts with Thirty-two Senators, each elected for Four years, and a House in which shall sit as many members as there are constituencies *throughout the whole State*, of Twenty-five hundred members. There are some very excellent provisions to prevent hasty legislation, and the passage of "omnibus bills," and the violations of Chartered rights; and in various other respects, the Legislative Department is carefully and judiciously limited in its authority—without, however, guarding from its invasion the ancient Corporations whose Charters are their *property*, and whose Political Rights are properly and legally beyond the control of the State. It also authorizes the election of a Negro or a woman for Governor or Lieutenant-

governor; and it very properly restores to the Gubernatorial office the responsibility which formerly attached to it, in the Executive Department. No provision is made for the appointment or election of the Judiciary; although it squints at a restoration of the old corruption at Albany.

Part III., on "Instructions and Limitations," compels the Legislature, at the first session, to pass various specified Statutes, among them "the Civil and Penal Codes *heretofore reported by the Commissioners of the Code*," which, with all due deference, is not particularly courteous to those, even a majority of the State, who may differ from Mr. Field and his associate Commissioners, concerning any provision of either of those Codes, as "*heretofore reported*" by them. It also authorizes the State Government to enter on the franchises of any Corporation heretofore created by the State and vests it with authority, in law, to dissolve the Corporation and scatter its property—sometimes, it may be, for the benefit of non-interested parties, who would like thus to participate in the profits of a franchise to which some other persons' labor and investments have given all their value and importance; and sometimes, as in the case of Trinity church and the King's farm, for the benefit of a parcel of men, claiming to be equitable owners, which is wholly without legal or moral right in the premises. The usual clap-trap about liberty of the press, and of speech, and of conscience, is repeated, without, however, imposing upon any one the duty of extending to every citizen, with all the material force of the State, that protection in the enjoyment of those rights, which it is incumbent on the State to give to every one, within its Territory, from whom it exacts obedience. So, also, the empty declamation concerning *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury, and freedom in person and property, in the entire absence of any provision for securing the citizen's protection therein, is mere Buncombe, without vitality. The provision for securing private property from undue invasion, conflicts with Section 59, which authorizes such invasion; and the provision compelling Quakers indirectly to *hire a substitute*, to do for them what they consider to be a sin and unfit to be done by themselves, is an insult to that respectable community, to which it should not be thus exposed. The provision against retrospective laws is defective, inasmuch as the every-day practice of a "ratification" or "confirmation," by Statute, of what was before illegal, is not forbidden. The destruction of the Bank system of the State seems also to be uncalled for. The system of Finance seems to be very well guarded; but the property of the State in the Canals and Salt Springs, is perpetuated, very much, in many instances, to the disadvantage of the State. The provisions concerning Legislative and Executive corruption (§ 96) afford

a very good scare-crow for the country-people; the knowing ones, however, will very soon drive a horse and wagon through them. The provision of § 102 which renders the members of the Loyal League and the Tammany Society *ineligible to an elective office* is a good one; but why it should not also exclude them from all *appointed offices*, is past our understanding; nor can we understand the advantages which are afforded by a Council of Revision, or, what is known in Vermont as a Board of Censors.

Throughout this proposed Plan there is an evident want of harmony, which can be accounted for only from the effect of Mr. Field's former associations, as a leading Democratic politician, coming in conflict with his present associations as a leading antagonist of his former friends. Samuel J. Tilden, and John Van Buren, and Benjamin F. Butler, and Michael Hoffman, and Silas Wright, and Martin Van Buren, twenty years ago, were those with whom Mr. Field did battle against the disciples of John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, and Rufus King, and other original advocates of "a strong Government"; to-day, Mr. Field, if we do not mistake, is battling against those with whom he formerly associated. The effect of this change is seen in the attempt to engraft both systems on the same Constitutional stock. We shall see how much success will attend the effort.

29.—*Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Class of 1816, Yale College.* New Haven: 1867. Octavo, pp. 77.

We are indebted to our friend, Professor William C. Fowler, for a copy of this volume, which has been recently privately printed, for the surviving members of the Class.

It is mainly from the hand of the Professor, as the Class historian, and contains brief sketches of the lives of the different members of the Class, among them, those of the Rev. Isaac Bird, the Missionary in Syria; Rev. E. Chapman, Missionary among the Osages; Lieutenant-governor Booth, of Connecticut; Judges Dart, of Ohio, Pardee, of Connecticut, Taylor, of New York, Gould, of Georgia, and Winchester, of Mississippi; W. H. Foote, the historian of the Presbyterians in North Carolina; W. C. Fowler, LL.D., the historian of Durham, Conn.; President Fox, of Jefferson College, Miss.; Principal Garfield, of the Albany Female Seminary; George Hill, the poet; Professor McClellan, of Philadelphia; Charles Olcott, the inventor of iron ships; Presidents Smith and Pierce, of Kenyon and Western Reserve Colleges; J.; Rev. Asa Thompson, Missionary to the Sandwich Islands; and Mr. Whittlesey, Representative in Congress from Ohio; with a brief supplementary sketch of the Class itself.

It is useful for reference; and to those who are interested in Yale, it is very interesting.

80.—*Prominent, Strong, and Beautiful Things in Our Zion.* The Historical Sermon before the Presbytery of Ontario, at its semi-centennial celebration, in Mount-Morris, N. Y., March 12, 1867. By Rev. Jos. E. Page. Rochester, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. 54.

It is very seldom that a tract, printed for general circulation, presents so inviting an exterior and so neatly printed a text as this; and we open it with great satisfaction.

This Presbytery was organized in Livonia, in March, 1817; and the speaker gives a minute description of its rise and progress during the first half-century of its existence. In doing so, however, he has given, also, a very interesting sketch of the condition of that central and western region, at the early date referred to; and he has glanced, also, at the progress of other denominations of Christians than his own, in the same neighborhood. It is, in short, a most important contribution to the local history of Western New York, in all that relates to its Churches and their members; and as such we commend it to the notice of our readers and collectors generally.

81.—*The Early History of St. Paul.* Being a short sketch prepared for Bailey's *St. Paul Directory*, Edition of 1867, from material collected for a more extensive work on the subject to be issued in a few months. By J. Fletcher Williams. St. Paul, Minnesota: 1867. Octavo, pp. 12.

The city of St. Paul, containing Sixteen thousand inhabitants, is only Thirty years of age, if we go back to its first settler: the first white native was born on the twelfth of November, 1841; and still lives there, a young man of Twenty-six.

The neat little privately-printed tract which is before us is the work of the respected Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society and narrates the leading incidents of "the early history" of the place; and, without unnecessary words, lets us into the secret of how, in the mighty West, cities spring up in a day and within a year control the destiny of the Country.

We commend it to the attention of those who collect local histories, as worthy of their notice.

82.—*Raymond's Heroine.* A novel. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 150. Price 50 cents.

83.—*Mr. Wynyard's Ward.* A novel. By Holmes Lee. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 106. Price 50 cents.

These volumes form Nos. 292 and 293 of the extended series of Select Novels, which Harper & Brothers, during several years past, have issued to the public, in uniform style, and at very low prices.

They are re-prints of foreign works which have met the approval of the best literary authorities in Europe; and are especially useful for those who are traveling or absent from home.

34—*Deus Homo—God Man.* By Theophilus Parsons. Chicago. E. B. Myers & Chandler, 1867. Crown 8vo, pp. 455.

This volume, from the press of John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, is executed in a style worthy of its distinguished Author, and of the exalted subject of which it treats.

Perhaps no book has appeared from the scholars of the New Church that has promised more light to the inquirer, or bestowed more satisfaction upon the reader. The fame of its Author has been long established. He is the well-known author of at least Ten volumes of treatises upon various branches of Law, which by common consent stand at the head of legal text-books. He has, Three times, appeared as the Author of a volume of Essays upon the Doctrines and Philosophy of Swedenborg.

The volume before us, we presume, he regards as the crowning labor of his life; and it must be admitted that it is no ignoble Crown.

He treats of the Gospels; of the Birth and Nature of our Lord; of his sojourn in Egypt, and of his temptations; of Freedom; of Prayer; of the Spiritual World; of the Miracles; of the Parables; of Baptism; the Lord's Supper; the Apostles; of the Sadducees and Pharisees; and of the closing scenes in the Life of our Lord.

We have no space, nor is it within the scope of the purposes of this Journal, to go into an examination of the subjects the Author has discussed. It must suffice to say that those subjects are treated from the stand-point of the New Church. Swedenborg is everywhere recognized an absolute authority. No symptoms of disloyalty, doubt, or distrust, are discernible; nor is there any attempt to improve upon the text of his Author. A confidence that whatever is taught by Swedenborg must be seen to be true by all who give earnest heed to it, pervades every page of the volume.

Nowhere in the whole work is there a single expression of personal laudation of the man through whom this new dispensation is brought down to earth. His teachings, as they appeal to the reason, engross the whole attention of the Author. Nothing is submitted upon bare authority; no appeal is made to the emotional nature; nor yet can the Author be said unduly to tax the credulity of his readers. What the reason does not receive at once, the reason is at liberty to postpone, to hold in abeyance, until it shall have attained that altitude at which truth is apparent. There is also a marked absence of that sort of reasoning which is ordinarily used to confirm a dogma.

The Author confines himself in the main to simple statements, and generally to such statements as are easily apprehended, and as easily affirmed or denied, by the ordinary exercise of the understanding.

It is obvious that the practice of confirming theories by the process of what is called Logic or reasoning, is an acknowledgment of the weakness of the understanding. That Two and Two make Four is a truth seen at once, and is never made a matter of argument. If it were not *seen*, it would be confirmed by some process of ratiocination. Every *truth*, however lofty or obscure, is as true as this mathematical axiom; and, if the understanding were not enfeebled and obscured, would as little require to be confirmed by argument.

This appeal to the understanding, the followers of Swedenborg seem to regard as a distinguishing characteristic of his Philosophy. Not even those things which the seer has reported from the spirit world, rest, in their estimation, entirely upon his veracity; but they claim to be able to establish them by direct appeals to reason and consciousness. Yet, if it were necessary, they seem not unwilling to rest the truth of all those wonderful disclosures, which have so long staggered the credulity of the world, solely upon the veracity of Swedenborg.

It is impossible, so runs the argument, that in the immense mass of his post-illuminated writings, he should not have hit upon some, nay many, truths. If he has stated any falsehoods, those falsehoods would not be in harmony, but in antagonism, with his truths. But the world is challenged to point out a single discrepancy, a single instance of any want of the most complete and perfect harmony, in any of his ponderous volumes.

It must be confessed that a system of any considerable magnitude, especially one embracing all things in Heaven and Earth, as Swedenborg's system clearly does, which should, on examination, be found to be a perfect unit—each and every part in perfect accordance and harmony with every other—such a system could not be other than true. There could indeed be but one such system.

That the Author of such a system should intentionally utter false statements, as to the source from whence he derived his knowledge, would seem to be contradicted by the truth of the doctrine he develops.

That he should have made such false statements under some mental delusion, would seem to be contradicted by the method and unity of the system he has promulgated. The enforcement of a system of Doctrine and Philosophy by a constant appeal to reason, is not the usual method of overcoming that incredulity which suggests insanity as the origin of the system.

If his statements are such as that no method of *a priori* reasoning could have brought them to light; if they rest upon asserted facts as their basis; if when these facts are once known, they

may be confirmed by the reasoning faculties, then something other than unaided thought must have been their source.

Swedenborg asserts that this source is the Angelic Wisdom with which he was in communication. If the truth of this statement were to turn upon a question of veracity, his followers would point to every syllable he has written as containing irrefragable proof of the most conspicuous integrity. If, on the other hand, it be made to turn upon a question of probability, then the burden of suggesting some other source from which it may have originated, clearly devolves upon those who reject his teachings.

The world will watch, with ever increasing interest, what the future may develop upon this great subject, but it is too late for sane men to pass it by with a sneer.

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85.—*Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1867.* Brooklyn, L. I.: Printed for the Society, 1867. Octavo, pp. 88.

Among the various Historical Societies of the country, few have been more active and none more successful than that in the neighboring city of Brooklyn, of which this tract gives the Fourth Annual Report.

It numbers nearly Eleven hundred members; has a well stocked Reading-room, a library of Fourteen thousand volumes and Sixteen thousand pamphlets, permanent Funds, invested in Stocks, of more than Sixty-one thousand dollars, and a well-filled Cabinet; and it is fast becoming One of the most useful, and influential, and amply-provided societies in the country.

In the pamphlet before us, the doings of the Society and its accumulations during the past year, are communicated to its members and to the world; and its honored President and his fellow-laborers may well feel proud of it.

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86.—*The Firelands Pioneer*: published by the Fire Lands Historical Society, Norwalk, Ohio. Sandusky, Ohio: 1867. Octavo, pp. 120.

This is designated as Volume VIII. of this useful work; but, like all which have preceded it, it has no title-page for binding. In this respect it imitates the *Annals of Iowa*, from which it would seem that the West is opposed to title-pages. As we want to bind our copy, we wish they would review their action; and do as others do in similar cases.

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87.—*Letter to Rev. Howard Crosby, D. D., on his denial of teetotalism, as a Bible Rule.* By John Marsh, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 20.

An exceedingly well written reply to Dr. Cros-

by's introduction to Mr. Thomason's volume on Teetotalism referred to in our June number.

We are inclined to think that Dr. Marsh has made out a pretty clear case.

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88.—*The Magazines. The Quarterly Journal of Psychological Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence.* Edited by Professor William A. Hammond. Vol. I., No. I., has been published by A. Simpson & Co., New York.

It treats of a branch of Science which is very little understood, even in the profession; and in the hands of so able an Editor as Doctor Hammond, it must of necessity, become very useful.

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89.—*Washington Irving, Sunny Side, Irving's Grave, The Old Mill, Bridge over the Pocanteco, The Dutch Church.*

Some time since, some gentlemen residing at Tarrytown took measures to construct a memorial of Washington Irving, in the form of a durable church edifice; and a desirable site was obtained for that purpose, plans were drawn by competent architects, contracts were made, and the work commenced. With an industry which is seldom seen, the promoters of the design, both Rector and Laymen, labored in season and out of season, by letter and circular, by advertisement and personal effort, to secure the means for carrying on their work; and a note which we have received from the Senior Warden tells us that only within Ten thousand dollars are now required to render the new building fit for occupancy before Christmas, free from debt.

Among the modes adopted by this young and enterprising church, for the purpose of raising the means to erect their building, is the issue of large photographs of Mr. Irving, and the scenes, near Tarrytown, which he has so graphically described—scenes which are endeared to so many, both residents and strangers, throughout the country, the Republic, and the world. These, by Rockwood & Co., of New York, are of a size suitable for framing, handsomely mounted on Bristol board, and sold at One dollar and a half each, the profits being appropriated for the purpose of this Memorial; and they have been received by the public with great favor. The copies which are before us, in some instances, are imperfect, reflecting very little credit on the self-respect of the artist; but we can readily understand the reason of the popularity of the series when we notice what must be the general good character of the pictures when perfect.

We trust the promoters of this Memorial will pardon us, but we must take the liberty to say that a picture of the old church from below the bridge, in which it would be seen as Mr. Irving described it—"on a knoll surrounded by locust trees and lofty elms"—with the bridge and the

stream in the foreground, would be a very welcome addition to this series; while the ancient manor-house, the upper seat of the Phillipses, would also add still more to its interest.

We do not know how far this enterprise is sustained by Mr. Irving's family, if it is so sustained at all; but we are gratified to learn that a spontaneous and hearty welcome has been extended throughout the country to perpetuate, in this form, the well-earned fame of one of the most graceful of writers and one of the best of men. Those only can understand Mr. Irving's strength who knew him personally; and none ever knew him and enjoyed his friendship, without loving him.

The Rector of the new St. Mark's at Tarrytown, Rev. Edmund Guilbert, will supply copies of these pictures to those who shall desire them.

## 2.—MISCELLANY.

**WESTHAMPTON REUNION.**—The public exercises of the Westhampton (Mass.) Reunion, celebrated on the fifth of September, 1866, have been recorded and published in a neat pamphlet. They consist of an address of welcome by R. W. Clapp; exceedingly interesting historical addresses by C. Parkman Judd and Otis Clapp; a poem by Professor M. Montague, and the table speeches at the dinner given upon the occasion.

**TAKING CARE OF BOOKS.**—Regarding the varnishing of old volumes, I think that little can be effected by such composition to preserve leathers; in some cases varnish applied to new bindings may tend somewhat to repel the action of the atmosphere and deleterious gases, but is also likely to harden the leather at the joints, the parts where the greatest action takes place in opening a book.

There is no doubt that old bindings, if in sound condition, may be refurbished up (as bookbinders say) by the application of shell varnish; though the thing most wanting to render the leather supple is an oil or fatty matter to replace the unction dried out of the skin by the action of time. A composition to render old hides soft and pliable, without staining or injuring, would be a desideratum.

Much harm is done to leather for want of ventilation; books require use and air as may be seen by the condition of the bindings in many large libraries where there are no readers, or where there are readers and but little air. The library of the Athenæum was affected so seriously some years since from this latter cause (gas and heat), that the backs of calf bindings fell away, and the leather crumpled upon touching.

The library ought to have the same attention as the green-house; light, air, and equal moist-

ure ought to be imparted to the leaves in either case. Light without injury to color, moisture without mildew, and air without soot, are as necessary to the librarian's as to the gardener's charge.—*Notes and Queries.*

**THE FIRST BOOK.**—The *Literary Gazette* states that the first book printed in the New World was in the city of Mexico. It was printed in the Spanish language, in the year 1544, and was entitled *Doctrina Christiana por eo los Indos*. The first publication made in English, in America, was the *Freeman's Oath*, an Almanac for 1639, nearly a hundred years after the work published in Mexico.

**TEXAS.**—W. Richardson & Co., of Galveston, have published a thick volume, with paper covers, entitled *The Texas Almanac for 1867, with Statistics, Descriptive and Biographical Sketches, &c., relating to Texas*. It contains a colored map of the State, as well as a great variety of information respecting its resources, business, government and lands. There is a description given of each county in the State; and the lists of its political and legal officers will be found useful to business men.

**ANOTHER HISTORY OF THE WAR.**—Broughton & Wyman, New York, announce for early publication *The History of the Great Republic, from the Discovery of America to the present time, its Colonization, Independence, Development, Emancipation, and future Mission, considered from a Christian Stand-point*. Its Author is Jesse T. Peck, D.D., and those who have seen the manuscript speak favorably of the literary character of the work, which is at the same time in popular style. The book will contain Twenty-seven steel portraits.

**WELL DONE.**—The *Boston Transcript* announces that Mr. William F. Poole has in preparation a new edition of his *Index to Periodical Literature*, in which the references will be brought down to the present time.

We congratulate "P." on the good result which seems to have attended the efforts of his friends in their attempts to sever his connection with the *Transcript*, as the head of its Dirty Department. We fancied, a few months since, when he was forced to swallow his own falsehoods about Mr. Brodhead, that the dose would be too strong for his weak nerves, and compel him to seek a more wholesome diet. Our suspicion has been confirmed; and we wish him all the success that he merits.



An evening paper publishes the following, based upon an article which we wrote and published, last week, as a compliment, not undeserved, as we honestly thought, by Two of our oldest literary friends:

"THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.—But, by a piece of "rare good luck which has seldom fallen to the "lot of a literary adventurer, he (Willis) fell at "once into the companionship of Gen. Morris, "joined the *Mirror*, and the result was the most "brilliant success in literary publishing that the "world has seen. But the General abandoned "the *Mirror*, and it failed, falling into a hopeless "state of marasmus and torpor.

"The above paragraph is taken from an arti- "cle, which was evidently got up as a puff ad- "vertisement of a certain weekly newspaper. "As it not only outrages propriety but violates "the truth of history, we feel compelled to say, "that the old *New York Mirror*, published by "Morris & Willis, instead of making "a bril- "liant success," achieved a most disastrous "failure, heavy losses to printers, carriers, pa- "per-makers, landlords, and money lenders in- "numerable. Since "the General abandoned "the *Mirror*, the present proprietor, instead "of failing to pay his employees, has paid some "ten thousand dollars of the old concern's debts; "and the *Mirror* "still lives," without the aid "of paid puffery or self-laudation."

All we think it necessary to say in reference to the above, which we would not have replied to at all if it had not been copied by the *Express*, is to make the following statement, which every one can verify as a simple piece of literary history. As for the *Evening Mirror* and its proprietor, neither one nor the other was in our thoughts when we wrote the paragraph which he has taken the liberty of appropriating to himself.

The *New York Mirror* was under the editorial direction of Morris & Willis for many years. When it ceased to exist they were not the publishers. It was a brilliant and beautiful periodical, and embraced among its contributors Bryant, Leggett, Halleck, Pinckney, Paulding, Fay, Sheridan Knowles, Tyrone Power, Jacob Harvey, Fanny Kemble, Inman, Sands, Brooks, Dunlap, Pintard, Sprague, Irving, Cooper, Verplanck, William Cox, Dr. Francis, Epes Sargent, Charles F. Hoffman, Wetmore, Simms, Gould, Sanford, and a host of other well-known and popular writers. Its circulation was about Twelve thousand copies, and its subscription price was Four, and afterwards, Five dollars a year. *It had no connection whatever with any paper.* After the publication of the *Mirror* ceased, Morris & Willis established the *New Mirror*, a weekly periodical in the octavo form, embellished with engravings. It was, like its predecessor, pre-eminently successful, and had a circulation of many

thousand copies; but, in consequence of its being in pamphlet form, the Postmaster-General refused to carry it through the mails at newspaper postage; and it was (with a circulation of Twelve thousand) discontinued *solely on that account*, after the publication of Three volumes. *The New Mirror* was also a separate and Independent establishment, and had nothing to do with any other paper, past, present, or to come.

*The Evening Mirror* was commenced by Morris, Willis & Fuller. After the two former gentlemen withdrew, Mr. Fuller assumed all the financial liabilities of the concern, and has been the sole editor and proprietor ever since.—*An old copy of The Sunday Courier.*

PRISONS.—The Commissioners of the Prison Association of New York, Rev. Dr. E. C. Wines and Theodore W. Dwight, LL.D., have just published an able and full *Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canadas*. It is an octavo, of Five hundred and forty-seven pages, and contains a larger amount of valuable information on the subject than has previously been collected in this country.

## XVII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of this Society was held in its rooms in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, on the eighth of August. There was a good attendance of the members. The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian presented their departments as in a good condition; the latter noticing the accessions to the collection of books to be Two hundred and thirty-four volumes, and Two hundred and thirty-two pamphlets, during the past year.

The matter, most interesting to historical students, was presented in the Report of the Standing Committee, relative to the publication of the Documentary History of the State; to solicit whose aid for this purpose, a Committee was appointed at the Special Meeting, held at Augusta, last February (*Hist. Mag.*, x., 303). In reference to the action of the Committee before the Legislature, and the course afterwards adopted by the Society, the report speaks as follows:

"By the earnest advocacy of this measure before the proper Committee of that body, on the "part of the Chairman of our Committee, the "Hon. Mr. Bradbury, with the aid of the Hon. "Mr. Poor, the mover of the Resolution, the "Legislature, by Resolves, appropriated, under "certain conditions, a sum not exceeding *Two "Thousand Dollars*, in aid of an Annual volume "of not less than Five hundred pages, at a stipu-

"lated price, to be published for this purpose by the Society.

"The Standing Committee, thereupon, in behalf of the Society, accepted the trust thus confided to their agency. In pursuance of the duties thereof, the Secretary was authorized to collect materials for this purpose, or to indicate the places where they may be found.

"In further pursuance of the same object, the Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., one of their number, being then about to make a voyage to Europe, was appointed to be the Agent of the Society, in procuring such documents as may be connected with the purpose of the State in making this appropriation. This gentleman is now in London, and is there engaged in making investigations among the treasures of ancient time, preserved in the English archives. He will also turn his attention, in a similar way, to the archives of Spain, France and Holland; in which repositories, it is believed, will be found important documents to illustrate the earliest history of our State, as well as the events occurring in its progress.

"The generosity of the State in making this grant cannot be too much commended."

In connection with this Report, the Resolves of the Legislature, and the several votes of the Standing Committee to regulate their procedures, were presented and read; as also was a letter from Dr. Woods, detailing his course in the procurement of the expected papers. The Society, by vote, expressed the pleasure and satisfaction with which they had listened to his account of his efforts in this undertaking, and authorized the Standing Committee to carry into effect the recommendations which he had proposed.

A vote of thanks was given to FREDERIC KIDDER, Esq., of Boston, for his valuable contribution to the history of the Eastern part of Maine during the War of the Revolution, in the publication, with notes, of the *Journal of Colonel John Allan*.

The officers were chosen as follows: The Hon. E. E. BOURNE, Kennebunk, *President*; the Hon. J. W. BRADBURY, Augusta, *Vice-President*; the Rev. S. F. DYKE, Bath, *Corresponding Secretary*; the Rev. E. BALLARD, D. D., Brunswick, *Recording Secretary*; A. C. ROBBINS, Esq., Brunswick, *Treasurer*; the Rev. A. S. PACKARD, D. D., Brunswick, *Librarian and Cabinet Keeper*. The Standing Committee consists of Messrs. WOODS, PACKARD, WHEELER, BARROWS and GILMAN, with the President and Recording Secretary; and the Publishing Committee, of Messrs. WILLIS, WOODS, J. B. SEWALL, WHEELER, PACKARD, BALLARD and POOR. Resident and Corresponding Members, Eleven of each class, were elected.

A vote was passed commending the N. Y. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to a wider circulation in the

State, thus "bearing testimony to the zeal and ability of its present Editor, in collecting and preserving the materials for history, and the frankness with which historical questions are discussed and considered in its pages."

The Report of the Committee to represent the Society at the commemorative services of the founding of the Popham Colony, was made by the Chairman, the Hon. C. J. Gillman; and a Committee was appointed consisting of Messrs. POOR, BROWN, T. A. D. FESSENDEN, BRADBURY, and K. K. SEWALL, to attend the celebration to occur on the twenty-ninth of August.

Measures were taken to place a suitable monument to designate the burial place of the ancient "Mr. Thomas Purchase" the first settler at "Pe-jepscot" (in his patent called "Bishopscotte," now Brunswick) in 1628, on the borders of Merry-mating Bay; and also to preserve the Black-Hawk Fort, the only remaining structure pertaining to Fort Halifax, built in 1754, and situated at the confluence of the Sebasticook and Kenebec rivers. In another page will be found the Latin inscription that celebrated the completion of that important, and, for those days, strong fortification.

This Annual Meeting has been one of the most interesting and useful in its series. The fact that the Society is now in the way of publishing the papers, such as Charters, Grants, Letters, and Historic Documents of various kinds, shows its earnestness and utility. The field here is large, and needs more explorers than it has found, though it has had faithful laborers; and now rejoices in one, a veteran in the service, whose care has watched over the issues of the collections of the Society, and whose pen has illustrated the History of our chief city, and the lives of the departed members of the profession of the Civil Law; as well as many other matters, belonging to the design with which this institution was created.

BOSTON NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—The monthly meeting was held on the afternoon of Thursday, the eleventh of July. The report of the previous meeting was read and accepted. The Secretary distributed among the members present, copies of the "Circular Letter" of the Director of the U. S. Mint. It has been prepared after consultation with the numismatic societies and collectors of this country, and contains the rules which are to govern the emission of proof coins and medals from the Mint. The President called the attention of members to the fact that one of their number, Edward A. Crowninshield of Boston, died on the third of July; he was twenty-six years old, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1861.

Mr. Wiggin exhibits an impression in tin of the large medal issued by the American Numis-

matic and Archæological Society, in memory of Abraham Lincoln; it bears his head, with the inscription "*Salvator Patriæ*"; on the reverse is an inscription in a wreath of laurel. With it were specimens in Three metals of Two sizes of smaller medals, reduced from the large one by Hill's engraving machine; an extract was read from a letter describing the process and its results. These medals belong to James Parker of Springfield, a resident member. Mr. Wiggin also showed the gold piece of Twenty pesos or dollars, struck for Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, in 1866, and belonging to C. P. Nichols of Springfield.

The Secretary exhibited a silver shell of Washington, with his head on a pedestal, supported by figures of an Indian and Minerva, and the inscription, "Gen. Geo. Washington, Presi. of the Unit. Sta." He also showed a specimen in silver of a medal described in the July number of the American Journal of Numismatics, under the subject of "Dordrecht Dollars." It is of size 31 l-2, and has on one side a milk-maid seated by a cow before a fence; near are another cow, sheep and trees, with the inscription, "*Avidi Spes Fida Coloni*"; on the reverse is a ship of war under sail, and around are Four shields, on the largest of which are the arms of West Frisia; the inscription is "*Nauta Equora Verrit Turbida, 1622*." It was struck to commemorate the escape of Dordrecht from a surprise by the Spaniards, through the presence of mind of some milk-maids.

The Society adjourned to the first Thursday of October.

THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—A quarterly meeting was held at Boston, on the nineteenth inst., the President, Edward Jarvis, M.D., in the chair:

Hon. Amasa Walker, LL.D., of North Brookfield, Mass., read a paper on the question, *Will a contraction of the Currency increase the burdens of Taxation?* He showed that this would not be the case with any class of the community; that the farmer, the manufacturer, the laborer, the capitalist, and the merchant, would be benefited rather than injured by contraction. Thanks were voted to Dr. Walker for the paper, and he was requested to publish the same.

The President made some remarks upon the growth of cities in population at the expense of the country, which has been frequently noticed among various nations.

Ebenezer Alden, M.D., of Randolph, Mass., followed with remarks upon the greater length of life among physicians in the country as compared with those in cities, and illustrated his position by examples.

A HISTORICAL COMMISSION.—The Common

Council of the City of New York recently adopted the following Resolutions; and, on the twenty-first of May, the Mayor approved them.

The great importance of the duties assigned to this Commission will be apparent to all our readers; especially in view of the Legislative action concerning the real estate and franchises of this ancient Corporation; and, as was said by one of our contemporaries, "the result of this inquiry will be invaluable as a matter of public record, if nothing more."

"WHEREAS, Under its ancient Charters, and by subsequent purchase and gift, the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York have, from time to time, become the legal possessor of certain rights, franchises and properties; and

"WHEREAS, Certain of those rights, franchises and properties, at various times, have been encroached upon or seized for the public use, by the People of the State of New York, without the compensation therefor which has been guaranteed by the Constitution of the State and that for the United States; and

"WHEREAS, Propositions have been entertained by the Legislature of the State of New York for a still more extended seizure for the public use, without compensation therefor, of portions of the real estate and of various rights and franchises belonging to the said Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty, which have been guaranteed by the ancient Charters and confirmed from time to time by the Constitution of the State; and

"WHEREAS, It is desirable that the said Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty shall be made acquainted, from the records and documents which have descended to them, with the character and extent of their said vested rights, franchises, and properties, no matter from what source they shall have been derived, in order that judicious measures may be taken for their protection from illegal seizure and invasion; therefore,

"RESOLVED, That the Counsel to the Corporation and the Clerk of the Common Council be and they are hereby instructed, and Dr. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, J. ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D., GEORGE HENRY MOORE, Esq., HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., and JOHN PAULDING, Esq., be and they are hereby severally requested to ascertain and report to his Honor the Mayor the character and extent of the various rights, franchises and properties of which the Corporation of the City of New York has been and is now legally the proprietor, whether the same shall have been derived from the ancient Charters, or either of them, or from subsequent purchase or gift; when, and in what manner, and by what authority, in law, if at all, any or either of

"such rights, franchises and properties, have been invaded or seized; to what extent, if at all, they or any of them have been threatened; and what effect, if any, such seizure or threatened seizure or invasion will have on the contracts which the city has entered into with its creditors or bondholders.

"RESOLVED, That the Clerk of the Common Council be and he is hereby instructed to give to the gentlemen referred to in the preceding resolution full access to the records and files which are in his office, and to furnish for their use copies of such of those records and papers, and of such other papers and documents as shall be necessary for the purpose of this inquiry."

"DUTCH" OR SOMETHING LESS.—Our readers are probably aware of the proposition which was accepted by the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, at the recent session, to drop the old word "DUTCH" from the title of the denomination; and the contest that has arisen on the subject.

The Consistory of the Collegiate churches in the City of New York has passed the following resolution in reference to the subject:

"WHEREAS, The General Synod in June last recommended to the Classes an amendment to the Constitution changing the name of our Church to the Reformed Church in America; and

"WHEREAS, The same Synod declared 'that it is entirely proper for every Consistory to express to its Classis its views in regard to the proposed change;' therefore

"RESOLVED, That this Consistory hereby expresses its opinion that this change is uncalled for, unwise, and very dangerous to the peace, prosperity, and even the existence of the Church, especially if it be carried out in the time and manner proposed."

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARIES.—The present edifice of the Reformed Dutch Church of Claverack, was erected in the year 1767. The centennial anniversary of that event is to be celebrated with appropriate services on the twenty-eighth of August. A great gathering of the tribes, and an occasion of unusual interest, is expected.

The First Reformed Dutch Church of New Brunswick, N. J., will complete the One hundred and fiftieth year of its history this fall, and is to celebrate the occasion on Tuesday, the first of October. In the morning a historical discourse will be delivered by the pastor, Rev. Richard H. Steele, D.D. The devotional exercises will be conducted by former ministers of the church. The afternoon will be devoted to public exercises

appropriate to the occasion. In the evening an address will be delivered by the senior ex-pastor, Rev. Isaac Ferris, D.D., of New York city.

THE TUTHILLS.—At a meeting of the Committee of Arrangements, representing the descendants of John Tuthill, one of the original Colony that settled at Southold, Long Island, in the year 1640, held in said Town, the twenty-seventh of May, 1867, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, The descendants of John Tuthill, many of whom reside in the town of Southold, Suffolk County, and other parts of Long Island, and others residing in various States of the Union, feeling a deep interest in perpetuating his memory, deem it of importance to make themselves known and acquainted with each other, and to strengthen the family ties; therefore,

Resolved, That a general gathering of said descendants, and of those who claim any relationship to the said John Tuthill, be held in the grove of Thomas S. Lester, in the village of Southold, Suffolk County, Long Island, on the twenty-eighth day of August, 1867, at which all the descendants are cordially invited and respectfully requested to be present, and to bring with them any and all documents of historical interest to the family.

Addresses from some of the members of the family may be expected on the occasion.

SCRAPS.—The ground has been broken for a monument to Pennsylvanians who fell in Mexico. It will be of white marble, Seventy feet high, erected at Harrisburg.

—Hon. Henry Stevens, a distinguished citizen of Vermont, aged Seventy-five, died at his residence in Barnet recently.

Mr. Stevens was formerly the President of the Vermont Historical Society.

—Prof. Chas. Anthon, LL.D., for many years head of the classical department in Columbia College, died in this city in his Seventieth year. He was the author of Fifty volumes on classical subjects, all of which exhibit great learning and research.

—An old "pine tree shilling" of Massachusetts coinage, of the very old and rare date, 1652, was picked up a day or two ago by Orrin Loomis, of West Springfield, an old man of Seventy-five, while walking in his own fields. The letters upon the coin, the figure of the old tree, date and all, have been distinctly preserved.

—Brave Corporal John <sup>WATER</sup>—he whom General Burnside called the hero of Roanoke—says the *Providence Journal*, was in front of the Post Office, last evening, trying to earn a livelihood

for himself and family by dispensing cigars and patriotic airs on a hand-organ. John was a member of Company K, 9th New Jersey Volunteers, and was in the front at the landing on Roanoke Island. In the engagement a round shot took off both his legs, but he kept up a good heart, and was able in the hospital, when he heard that victory and the Island were ours, to arouse up and call for three cheers for the Union and General Burnside.—*Boston Transcript*, July 31.

The *Transcript* does not tell us why "General "Burnside" who was thus honored, does not now find something better for this noble fellow to do for a living, than to peddle cigars and grind hideous noises from a hand-organ, since both have returned to the same little city, and one has become a *Governor* while the other, his near neighbor, is only a *friendless cripple*.

Is it because the Governor of Rhode Island has no patronage, or Rhode Island no gratitude, for her live heroes *who are poor*, or Lorence no "influence?" Let History tell how ungrateful *one* Republic is and how little *one* General cares for a hero who remembered him, even in his struggle with death.—ED. HIST. MAC.

—Stonewall Jackson's war horse "Superior," which was a gift to the General in 1862, from the citizens of Augusta county, Va., has been sold to a citizen of Macon, by the widow of our lamented hero, whose indigent circumstances necessitated her to part with the animal. It was originally designed to have sent it to Baltimore for sale, but a purchaser was found in Macon, who was liberal enough to pay a generous price for him.

—The University of Toronto has erected a memorial window to the students of the college who fell in the battle with the Fenians at Lime Ridge.

—It has been suggested that a subscription be opened for a fund to paint the Old South Church. Feeble religious societies must be sustained by the Christian public.

—The Hessians were amongst those who least regretted the union with Prussia. They were willing to lose their autonomy if they only lost their Elector at the same time. They are now doubtful whether the rule of the half-maniac despot was not as good as that of Prussia. The old Landgraves, by lending troops to Britain during the American war, and by hereditary parsimony, amassed large sums in the Electoral treasury. The Prussians are now masters of the situation and the funds. The removal of the coin to the Prussian treasury is, bitterly complained of by the Hessians.

—The Worcester Spy says that Hon. Stephen Salisbury has added to his recent public gifts a donation to the American Antiquarian Society,

of a lot of land adjoining its present estate at the corner of Maine and Highland streets, together with Eight thousand dollars in money, to be invested as a fund for the extension of the library building at some future time.

—At a sale of the effects of the Farmers and Merchants' Saving Institution, of Lynchburg, Wednesday, One hundred and eighty thousand dollars, in Confederate eight and six per cent. bonds, and Thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, in Confederate notes, brought, altogether, the sum of Twenty dollars in greenbacks. Thirty thousand dollars, Confederate registered bonds, One dollar and seventy-five cents.—*Richmond Examiner*, July 27.

—Mrs. Amanda M. Dade, widow of Major Francis Langhorne Dade, a Virginian by birth, who was massacred, with his whole command—One hundred and seventeen men—by Seminole Indians in December, 1835, has just died in Florida.

—In a lead mine at Memphis, Tenn., last Thursday, some specimens of red sandstone were broken open, and one was found to contain a petrified human hand, in a perfect state of preservation. In other cases parts of animals were found, and one black snake some Five feet long was found, of the consistency and weight of the stone.

—In February, 1866, a joint resolution was passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, authorizing the procurement of a historical painting, commemorative of the battle of Gettysburg, to be placed in the Capitol at Harrisburg. The committee to whom the matter was given in charge have selected Mr. Peter F. Rothermel, of Philadelphia, as the artist to execute the work. It is expected that Three years will be required in the completion of the picture, as it will be Thirty-five feet in length by Fifteen feet in height.

—A portion of the Eustis estate at Roxbury, Mass., laid out by Gov. Eustis before the Revolution, and during that contest a favorite resort for the American generals, has just been sold at auction, and realized Seventeen thousand dollars. The venerable mansion built by Gov. Shirley in the middle of the last century, of materials brought from England, was knocked down at Four hundred and ten dollars.

—The fine statue of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, which has been on storage in St. Louis for several months, is at last to be erected in some suitable place. The statue is life size, and was made by Miss Harriet Hosmer, some years ago.—*Transcript*.

—Mr. Larkin G. Mead, Jr., the American sculptor, has just completed the model of "Columbus before Queen Isabella," ordered some time since by Mr. Lockwood, of New York. This is Mr. Mead's most important work, and its merits are sufficient to satisfy the artist's most enthusiastic friends.—*Ibid*.

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I.—THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN  
WESTMINSTER, VT.

*A Sermon preached at Westminster, on the eleventh of June, 1867, the One hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Church.*

BY REV. PLINY H. WHITE, OF COVENTRY, PRESIDENT OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The hundred years during which this church has had existence, have constituted the most memorable century in the history of the world; with the sole exception of that in which Christ came from heaven to earth to make atonement for the sins of men. Events of unparalleled magnitude have succeeded each other with unprecedented rapidity, "as if," to use the language of an eminent Scotch writer, "they had come under the influence of that law of gravitation, by which falling bodies increase in speed as they descend, according to the squares of the distances." Within that period, our own country has emerged from the condition of a weak and dependent colony, has passed through one long and bloody war to achieve a national existence, and a tenfold bloodier one to preserve that existence and make it worth preserving; and, having extended its territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and increased its population from less than three millions to more than thirty-three, it stands to-day equal to any of the empires of the other continent, if not superior to the greatest of them in all that constitutes true greatness. In the Southern half of this continent, in Europe, and in Asia, political revolutions, almost as remarkable as our own, have taken place within the same period.

More important than these changes, which have not been accomplished without confused noise and garments rolled in blood, have been the revolutions that have taken place in the departments of science and the practical arts, of social life, education, literature, and civil and religious progress. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and the peaceful victories that have been achieved within a century have

surpassed in number, magnitude and importance, those of any preceding century since time began. The application of steam-power to the purposes of traveling, manufacturing, and especially of printing,—the employment of electro magnetism in the telegraph,—the discovery of chloroform and other anæsthetic agents,—the improvements in the art of printing,—not to mention a multitude of other inventions, discoveries, and improvements, have made the world so different from what it was a century, or even half a century ago, that it can hardly be recognized as the same. Within a century, too, has arisen that brilliant constellation of societies for the spread of the gospel, the Missionary Societies, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, and their kindred associations, in Europe and America, through whose agency the news of salvation has been made known in regions gloomy with the shades of death, and millions of the most degraded of the human race have been enabled to read in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. More than all, it has been a century of revivals. We search the history of the Church in vain for any record of such frequent and powerful effusions of the Holy Spirit as have been experienced within the memory of some in this audience.

What a privilege it is to have lived in such a period. How much greater the privilege and the honor to have had any agency, however humble, in carrying forward any part of so noble a work. What cause for gratitude to God has this Church, not merely that it has had existence for a century, but that it has existed in such a century, and has been identified to some extent with the great movements of "such a time as this."

Not to dwell longer upon the general subject, though the theme is a fascinating one,—we come to that which is the specific duty, and enjoyment too, of this hour; to "call to remembrance the former days," in which the fathers of this Church laid the foundations of many generations, and to put on record the facts of its history as fully and accurately as the materials at our disposal will enable us to do. It is to be regretted that the records for nearly the whole first quarter of the century long since disappeared, and that the

lack of them can be but partially supplied by less authoritative documents and by tradition.

As long ago as 1736, the first steps were taken for the establishment of the institutions of the Gospel in this place. In that year, the legislature of Massachusetts, supposing that its jurisdiction extended as far North as this, and much farther, granted "Township Number One," as it was then called, to a number of persons resident in various towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut. By the terms of the charter, the grantees were required to build and furnish, within three years, "a convenient meeting-house for the public worship of God, and settle a learned orthodox minister." In June 1737, a highway, ten rods wide, was surveyed and located on a line coincident with that of the main street in this village, and extending Northwardly till it struck the river, a burying-ground was established on the land now occupied for that purpose, "and the meeting-house plat is fixed in the middle of the aforesaid ten rods highway right against the twenty-fourth lott," where in fact a house was afterwards built. A few persons moved into the wilderness and began a settlement, but the establishment of the Northern boundary of Massachusetts so far South as to leave Number One out of that State discouraged the settlers, and the breaking out of the Cape Breton war led them entirely to abandon the enterprise. In 1751 the settlement of the town was again attempted, and in 1754 or '5 it was again abandoned, for fear of the Indians who had recently made an attack upon Charlestown, N. H., and carried several of its inhabitants into captivity. It was not till 1761 that such measures were taken as secured a permanent settlement. From that time the population rapidly increased, and at the expiration of ten years Westminster was the most populous town in Eastern Vermont.

This Church was organized 11 June, 1767, by a council consisting of representatives of the churches in Charlestown, Keene, Walpole, Westmoreland, and Winchester, New Hampshire; Northfield, and Warwick, Massachusetts; and Abington, Connecticut. Of the three hundred persons, or more, who then constituted the population of the town, only nine were found ready to be constituted a Church, and, singular to say, not one of these was a woman.\* Among the constituent members were Ephraim Ranney and John Sessions; who were afterwards (4 May, 1769,) elected deacons, and held that office, the former for thirty-three years, and the latter for nearly fifty-three years. The memory of them both is still fragrant in the Church, and Deacon

Ranney has special claims to remembrance as the ancestor of seven preachers of the Gospel, of as many more members of the other learned professions, and of numerous deacons. Among the constituent members was also Jesse Goodell, who on the same day was ordained pastor of the little flock.\* He remained in the pastorate "between two and three years," during which period fifteen persons united by profession and sixteen by letter or by certificate, increasing the number of members to forty, of whom half were males and half females. He lived in a house on "the Wall lot," a few rods North of the present residence of Josiah Davis, and the only building in the town whose four sides faced the four cardinal points. Tradition says that he abandoned his pastorate without a formal dismissal, and that he left town secretly, under charges seriously affecting his moral character.

Mr. Goodell was brought up in Abington, Connecticut, was graduated at Yale in 1761, and was licensed by the Hartford North Association, 4 October, 1763. After leaving Westminster he was in the Revolutionary Army, but in what capacity is not known. He died in 1779.

In 1769 a house of worship was raised, and during that and the following year it was so far advanced as to be capable of occupancy. It stood in the centre of the highway, directly East of its present site. By what means the needful funds were procured does not appear. It is evident, however, that the resources of those who engaged in the enterprise were but scanty, and depended wholly upon voluntary contributions. For a long term of years it remained in an unfinished condition. The underpinning was not sufficient to prevent sheep from going under the house for shelter, and as the floor was of loose boards, the noise of the animals beneath sometimes mingled discordantly with the singing and preaching above. The desk of the minister and the seats of the congregation were rude and inconvenient in the extreme; and whatever other virtues might fail to receive cultivation, the patience and endurance of the worshippers were subjected to very salutary discipline. In this connection it is well to finish what needs to be said in regard to completing the house. By an act of the legislature passed in 1781, towns were authorized to levy taxes upon the land, for the purpose of building houses of worship. It is not to be in-

\* These nine persons were Jesse Goodell, William Willard Ephraim Ranney, Bildad Andros, John Sessions, Dan Dickinson, Zachariah Gilson, John French, Azariah Dickinson.

\* The exercises of the ordination were as follows: Rev. Micah Lawrence of Winchester, N. H., made the opening prayer, Rev. Mr. Hedge, of — made the [ordaining?] prayer before the charge to the pastor, Rev. Bulkley Olcott of Charlestown, N. H. gave the charge, Rev. Clement Sumner of Keene, made the prayer after the charge, and Rev. Thomas Fessenden of Walpole, gave the right hand of fellowship. It does not appear that any sermon was preached on the occasion. If there was, it was probably preached by the candidate himself, as was the custom a century ago.

ferred from this, that the legislators of that day surpassed those of the present time in love for religious institutions and desire to advance them. On the contrary, they designed by this law mainly to promote the more rapid settlement of towns, and increase the value of the lands, and this design was expressly recognized in the preamble of the statute. In 1783, at a session held in Westminster, the legislature went still farther, and authorized towns or parishes not only to build meeting-houses, but also to support the preaching of the gospel, by taxes assessed, as well upon the polls and other ratable estate of the inhabitants as upon the lands. Under this statute, familiarly known as the ministerial act, the town and the parish were identical, and all the property was liable to contribute for religious purposes, according to the vote of the majority.

There is no evidence that this town took any decided action under the ministerial act till 1788. At that time the meeting-house was still unpainted, unglazed, and only partially provided with pews. At a meeting held 23 June, 1788, the parish voted to receive the house from "the ancient proprietors," on condition that they should pay all debts outstanding on its account, and execute a conveyance of all their title. A tax of ten pence on the pound, on the list of 1788, "payable in beef, at twenty shillings per hundred, wheat at five shillings per bushel, and other grain equivalent, or money," was assessed for the purpose of finishing the house. In April, 1789, the parish voted to give Hon. Stephen R. Bradley the pew on the right hand of the pulpit, on condition that he should procure glass enough to glaze the house, by the first day of August then next. This condition not being complied with, the time was subsequently lengthened till 1 May, 1791, but the glazing was not actually completed till 1798, when the proceeds of the sale of four pews were appropriated to that purpose. In the spring of 1789, a contract was made with Asa Gage to finish the house, for the sum of £175 "lawful money, to be paid in wheat at five shillings per bushel, beef at twenty shillings per hundred, or other grain or neat stock in that proportion;" and a tax of nine pence on the pound on the grand list was assessed, payable in such specific articles, for the purpose of meeting the contract. Mr. Gage completed his undertaking, but the parish failed to pay him at the appointed time, and he prosecuted his demand to judgment and execution, which occasioned the parish a good deal of annoyance and trouble.

For several years the body of the house was not divided into pews, but was furnished with long seats, holding five or six persons each. From time to time, as the means of the parish allowed and convenience required, the seats were

replaced by pews till the floor was covered. It was voted, 3 January, 1793, "to make two pews, one each side of the broad alley of the seats," and to rent six pews which had previously been made. At the same time it was voted "to give Mr. Jonathan Kittridge fifteen shillings in cash, to sweep the meeting-house and take care of the pall and keys, for one year," and Lieut. Zachariah Gilson and Ensign Asa Averill were chosen "to take care and clear the meeting-house of dogs on the Sabbath according to their discretion." It does not appear when the house finally assumed the condition of a finished structure, within and without, but it could not have been far from 1800. Externally, the house is still what it was at the first, save only as the storms of nearly a century have left their marks upon it. It were a good thing to keep it well repaired and let it stand as a perpetual memorial of the toils, and sacrifices, and self-denials, which our forefathers cheerfully endured that they might have a house in which to worship God. Its timbers are sound and its joints are strong, and, special providences excepted, there is nothing to prevent it from lasting till the millenium, and then being occupied again, and by larger congregations than ever assembled in it in the former days.

The interior of the house has been changed so completely, that a description of its former state will be interesting to the present generation. From the front door an aisle ran through the center of the house, and upon each side of the aisle was a block of pews, eight in number, four opening upon the central aisle and four upon another aisle parallel with it. A row of pews ran around the house, broken, however, into four divisions by the entrance-ways on the north, south and east, and the pulpit on the West. The pews were a step higher than the aisles, and this was not seldom a step of stumbling to the unwary. They were large square pens, built up as high as the head of the occupants, and within them wooden seats ran around the four sides, with only a single break for the door. A pew would accommodate from twelve to sixteen persons—they had patriarchal families in those days—and by the arrangement just mentioned, a part of them must needs sit with their backs to the minister. These were, of course, the children, who being thus under the double watch of their parents' eyes and the minister's, could hardly fail to be becomingly subdued. The seats were hung upon hinges, and were turned up when the congregation rose in prayer, and let down again at the end of the prayer, not without a bang and clatter which greatly delighted the little ones. The pews nearest the pulpit were the first built, and were occupied by those whose social rank was the highest. Gen. Stephen R. Bradley sat in the



wall-pew next the pulpit on the right hand of the minister, and John Norton, with his numerous daughters, had the corresponding pew on the left. The front pew on the right of the central aisle was "the minister's pew," and directly opposite was the pew of Hon. Mark Richards.

The pulpit was on the West side of the house, high up the wall, and access to it was by a flight of several stairs. Over it was a huge "sounding board," apparently upheld so slightly as to occasion continual fear in the minds of children lest it should come down with a crash on the minister's head. At the foot of the pulpit was the "deacon's seat," a long, narrow enclosure, the occupants of which paid dearly for the honor of their place by the cramped and inconvenient position they were obliged to maintain. The minister occupied a part of this seat when a child was to be baptized or the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be administered. Upon three sides of the house was a gallery, to which ascent was made from the entry-way of the North and South wings. Around the gallery and next to the wall was a row of pews similar to those below, and in front of these were two rows of hard wooden seats. It is hardly necessary to add that, both above and below, the aisles and pews were uncarpeted, and the seats uncushioned, and that for many years there was no means of warming it, even in the coldest days of winter. This was the house in which our fathers worshipped, a house rude and uncomfortable, according to modern notions, but hallowed by many precious memories, and to be held in everlasting remembrance by not a few souls, as the place in which they were born again, of water and of the Spirit.

This account of the meeting-house has taken us many years in advance of the main current of discourse, and we now return to the point of departure, namely, the year 1769. After Mr. Goodell's leaving, there was no settled pastor, and probably no stated preaching for about five years. During that period only five persons were added to the church. Rev. Joseph Bullen was ordained pastor 6 July, 1774, and sustained that relation about eleven years, during which period forty-six persons were added to the church. He was born in Sutton, Mass., was graduated at Yale, 1772, and married Hannah Morse, a relative of the inventor of the telegraph. He was a man of learning, talent, and piety, a fine writer, and a clear, sensible, and instructive, though not eloquent preacher. His usefulness, however, while in Westminster, was much impaired by his devotion to money-getting. He kept a store, manufactured potash, speculated in land, and was considered quite shrewd enough at a bargain. Having acquired a large quantity of wild land in Athens, he removed there in 1785 or soon after; the relation between him and the church being informally

dissolved, by his asking a dismission, the church granting it, and his certifying in writing, 26 September, 1785, that he accepted the dismission and released the church from all obligations to him. In 1788 and 1791, he was the representative of Athens in the Legislature of Vermont. For several years he preached in that town, with little or no compensation, and in 1797 his labors resulted in the organization of a Congregational church, of which he and his wife were two of the eleven constituent members. Soon after that, he was appointed by the New York Missionary Society a missionary to the Chickasaw Indians, among whom he established a mission near where the town of Pontotoc, Miss., is located. In 1803, he settled near Uniontown, Miss., and there organized a Presbyterian church, the first Protestant church in that State. There and in that vicinity, he labored for about twenty years, preaching the Gospel and establishing churches. Like Paul, at Corinth, he for the most part "made the Gospel of Christ without charge," his salary, for preaching half the time to the church near which he lived, being only fifty-five dollars annually; in view of which it may well be questioned whether his shrewdness at a bargain ought not to be regarded with a good degree of charity. Having labored in the ministry more than fifty years, he died at an advanced age in 1825. He was the first Protestant minister who settled permanently in Mississippi, and the first Moderator of the Presbytery of that State. His only publication was a sermon preached before the General Assembly of Vermont in 1783.\*

After Mr. Bullen's dismissal, an interregnum of nearly five years took place, during which there were several candidates for settlement, whose names have not been preserved. Five persons only were added during this period. The church and parish concurred in a vote, 24 June, 1790, calling Mr. Sylvester Sage to the pastorate, with a salary of one hundred pounds, lawful money, and thirty cords of good fire wood, the money part of the salary "to be paid one quarter in money, and the residue in wheat at five shillings per bushel, or other grain equivalent." This call was accepted, and the ordination took place 13 October, 1790.† At that time the

\* An apocryphal and highly embellished account of a case of discipline which occurred during Mr. Bullen's pastorate, may be found in Graham's *Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont*, pages 111-115, and is repeated with variations, in *Hall's History of Eastern Vermont*, pages 782-783. It must be taken *cum grano salis*.

† The churches represented in the council were those in Marlboro, Putney, and Rockingham, Vermont; Charlestown, Keene, and Walpole, New Hampshire; Berlin, Connecticut, and Granville, Massachusetts. The exercises were as follows: Rev. Aaron J. Booge of Granville, (pastor of the candidate's intended wife), offered the Opening Prayer; Rev. Nathan Fenn, of Berlin, (pastor of the candidate), preached the sermon; Rev. Bulkley Olcott, of Charlestown, offered the Ordaining Prayer; Rev. Thomas Fessenden, of Walpole, gave the Charge (to the pastor);

church consisted of thirty-two male and thirty-seven female members, sixty-nine in all. Considering the state of the times, and the disadvantages under which the church had labored, this was a large growth to have attained. From 1767 to 1790 the country was in a state of violent agitation, being involved first in war, with its exciting, impoverishing, and demoralizing influences, and then in sharp political conflicts occasioned by laying the foundations of the government. It was a transition period, in the affairs of which it was necessary to expend time and toil, and treasure. The State of Vermont had the additional agitation of the long conflict with New York and the struggle for admission into the Union; and some of the most exciting events in that conflict took place in Westminster. That, under all these adverse circumstances, the church made such progress, is good evidence that it was a vine of God's own right hand's planting and preserving. Its growth, however, had been the result of immigration and addition by letter, more than of conversion and profession; and such it continued to be, the additions by profession during the seventeen years which constituted the first period of Mr. Sage's ministry, averaging only about three a year.

In 1794-5, the peace of the church was much disturbed by a case of discipline, not especially important of itself, but made important by the stubbornness with which the offending member resisted, and by the extensive publicity given to the case in the periodicals of the time.\* One of the female members had been led to become a believer in Universalism, by her brother, who was one of the early preachers of the doctrine. She absented herself not only from the Lord's table, but also from public meeting, and in various ways showed contempt of the church and its ordinances. For more than six months the church and community were agitated by the proceedings necessary to adjust the difficulty. Numerous church meetings were held, into some of which, persons not members of the church intruded themselves and attempted to take part in the defence of the delinquent. The excitement was made more intense by her own tears and passionate exclamations, which sometimes rendered it difficult for them to proceed. After six months of patience and forbearance on the one hand, and of unyielding obduracy on the other, a sentence of excommunication ended the case. The pastor, giving the most literal application to the teaching of the apostle,—“with such an one, no,

“not to eat”—afterward felt it his duty not to sit at the table with her, even though visiting at her house.

In 1793 the members residing in the West parish requested to be organized as a separate church; and in view of the great inconvenience to which they were subjected in attending the ordinances of the Gospel, their reasonable request was granted. This movement was a permanent benefit to the cause of Christ, as well as to the persons directly concerned in it; but its immediate effects upon this church were injurious. The removal of thirty or more members not only weakened the church numerically and morally, but seriously diminished the pecuniary resources upon which reliance could be placed for the support of religious institutions. The difficulty of raising the salary of the pastor was greatly increased by an act of the Legislature passed in 1801. Until that date every person was by law “considered as being of opinion with the major part of the inhabitants of the town in which he dwelt,” and liable to be assessed on his grand list for the support of such preaching as the majority desired, unless he should procure and exhibit to the town clerk a certificate, signed by some minister, deacon, or elder, that he belonged to some other specified denomination.\* In contemplation of law, every man had some religious preference, and was bound to contribute, according to his ability, to support the institutions of the Gospel. But in 1801, a statute was enacted, allowing any person to relieve himself from liability to support the established preaching, by delivering to the town clerk a certificate signed by himself, that he did not agree in religious opinion with a majority of the inhabitants. Nor were the opponents of “the standing order” satisfied, till they procured the passage of a law in 1807, divesting towns of all power to assess taxes for the building of meeting-houses or the support of ministers, and leaving every person to decide for himself, whether he would contribute anything, and, if anything, how much, for those purposes. It was greatly feared that this law would prove disastrous to the cause of religion, and it did temporarily embarrass and discourage many churches.† How much effect the law had upon the ability of the parish to pay Mr. Sage's salary is not to be known, but there can be no doubt that it was much more difficult to raise the salary under the new law than under the old. In April, 1805, Mr. Sage requested a dismissal, but the parish unanimously declined to comply. Two

Rev. Aaron Hall, of Keene, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Rev. Gershom C. Lynnan, of Marlboro, offered the Concluding Prayer. The parish paid £1. 15s. 4d. for the board of Mr. Sage and the council at the time of ordination.

\* *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, 2 June, and 7 July, 1795, and *Vermont Repository*, June, 1795.

\* *Compiled Statutes of Vermont*, 1790, page 208.

† When a similar change in the laws of Connecticut was pending, Rev. Lyman Beecher preached one of his most powerful and eloquent sermons, deprecating the plan of leaving religion to voluntary support, as one that would inevitably open the flood-gates of ruin upon the State.

years afterwards, he renewed the request, a majority of the parish voted to grant it, the church reluctantly concurred, and he was dismissed 19 May, 1807. During his pastorate, ninety-five persons were added to the church, of whom fifty-six united by profession, and thirty-nine by letter.

Soon after Mr. Sage's dismissal, Rev. Jason Chamberlain, afterwards Professor in the University of Vermont, commenced preaching as a candidate for settlement, and supplied the pulpit for several months. In 1808 Rev. Mr. Beardsley preached some months as a candidate. Early in May, 1809, negotiations were commenced with Mr. Sage to induce him to resume the pastorate, and in the following August he was engaged to act as pastor for the term of ten years, his salary being payable half in cash and half in grain at cash price. Without the formality of an installation, he thus entered upon a pastorate which continued for twenty-nine years. For several years preceding and following the commencement of Mr. Sage's second pastorate, a very low state of religion prevailed, and it was not till 1810 that any change for the better took place. This had its origin, so far as means were concerned, chiefly in the earnest and diligent labors of a young man who united with the church in January of that year. He was a recent convert in a powerful revival at Middlebury, where he was a student in college. With all the warmth and zeal of a first love, he endeavored to arouse Christians to a sense of their duty, and to lead sinners to a Saviour. A marked increase of religious interest took place, and though it did not amount to what would be called a revival, the spirituality of the church was greatly promoted, and ten or twelve persons were hopefully converted. Two of those who united with the church at this time, the young man just mentioned and his brother,\* became ministers of the Gospel, and their praise is still in many of the churches in Vermont, New Hampshire and Connecticut. Among the converts in that revival were two women, whose names are entitled to be mentioned—Mrs. Lucy Lovejoy and Mrs. Roxanna Goodrich. These women, with Mrs. Olive Reed and Mrs. Lusk, established in 1812 a female prayer-meeting. The first meeting was held at Mrs. Goodrich's on the very spot where this house stands, a spot thus consecrated by the prayers of faithful Christian women a quarter of a century before it became the site of a house of worship. This prayer-meeting was continued, with occasional interruptions, till 1829, when the brethren were admitted to it and it became "the Saturday evening prayer-meeting," which has remained one of the institutions of the church to this day.

\* Seth S. Arnold and Joel R. Arnold.

It would seem that a similar awakening occurred in 1816, but no facts in regard to it can be ascertained, except that on the last Sabbath of October in that year, twelve persons united with the church by profession. In 1825 more than usual religious interest existed, and seventeen persons united with the church. With the exception of these two seasons of awakening, there was almost nothing in the history of the church from 1812 to 1830, of sufficient importance to deserve recording. The annual additions were few, and were nearly or quite balanced by removals and deaths. It was not until 1831 that any such spiritual blessings were received as added largely to the church, both in numbers and in grace. That was a year of revival throughout the American churches; the year, indeed, in which revivals of the modern type were first experienced. It was the era of protracted meetings, anxious seats, and other new measures, from which new and large results were obtained. This church, not without some misgivings on the part of the pastor and many judicious Christians, adopted the new measures, and gained by them perhaps as much good and as little harm and loss, as it was reasonable to have expected. During the Fall of 1831 Sabbath evening meetings were held alternately on the plain and the upper street, and in connection with them were held inquiry meetings which were largely attended. On the 15th of November a protracted meeting commenced, and was continued for four days. Rev. Timothy Field of Westminster West, preached the opening sermon—from the text,—“Prepare to meet thy God,” a plain, pungent, and powerful discourse. Rev. Jonathan McGee of West Brattleboro, Rev. Uzziah C. Burnap of Chester, Rev. Benjamin A. Pitman of Putney, Rev. Elihu Smith of Chesterfield, N. H., and several other ministers preached during the progress of the meeting. The style of the preaching was for the most part hortatory; and while it awakened Christians, and sent conviction into the hearts of many sinners, it also aroused the anger and bitter opposition of the enemies of truth and righteousness. There was great excitement both in the church and out of it, and the effects of the movement were felt for several years. One of the immediate results was the addition of twenty-five persons to the church, many of whom remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. Among these last is “the beloved physician,”\* whose mortal remains we followed yesterday to the grave, sorrowing that we should no more behold his face in the flesh, yet rejoicing that his ransomed spirit is with God whom he served and with Christ in whom he trusted. Perhaps even now he is looking down upon us from the upper world, and his affection-

\* Dea. Pliny Safford, M.D.

ate heart glows with joy at beholding the jubilee of the church which he loved.

This revival gave origin and impulse to several benevolent and reformatory movements, the most important of which was the organization of a temperance society. The evils of intemperance had been severely felt, not only in the community at large, but also in the church, where it had occasioned several painful cases of discipline, ending in excommunication, as well as some disciplinary proceedings which fell short of that result. It became apparent that some special effort must be made to arrest the evil, and in the winter of 1832-3 a temperance society was organized of which Dea. Pliny Safford was President, Michael Gilson, Vice President, Erastus A. Holton, Secretary, and Zacheus Cole, Treasurer. In regard to the success of this movement, a resident of the town wrote in July, 1833, as follows:—"The temperance cause flourishes here beyond our most sanguine expectations. At our last meeting our society numbered one hundred and ten. We have three temperance stores and one temperance tavern. There is no store in town where ardent spirits are kept, but there are two taverns that yet keep it." It soon became the practice of the church not to receive as members any persons whose piety was not sufficient to restrain them from the use of intoxicating liquors, and in January 1839, it was declared by a formal vote, "that in the present light of the temperance reform, and of Divine Inspiration, it is not expedient to receive any members to this church who make, vend, or use distilled liquors as a beverage." In 1842, another step in advance was taken by the organization of a society which interdicted the use of alcoholic liquors of every kind, distilled or fermented. Under the auspices of this society the total abstinence question received a very thorough discussion throughout the community, temperance meetings were held at the meeting-house for several successive days, and for some months there was hardly a Sabbath evening on which there was not a temperance meeting in some school-house in the parish. Though this was regarded by some as "an intemperate agitation of the subject of temperance," it is believed that the good effects of that agitation are felt to this very day.

The revival of 1831 was the occasion also, though indirectly, of the building of the meeting-house now occupied by the church. It drew the dividing line between the church and the world far deeper than it had ever been drawn before, and it inflamed to violent hostility many persons who had been merely indifferent to the church till it assumed the attitude of an aggressive body. Their hostility showed itself mainly by proceedings calculated to embarrass the church in the occupancy of the meeting-house. They obtained

the control of the parish meetings, established a distinction between the parish and "Mr. Sage's society," and in April, 1834, voted that Mr. Sage's society were not entitled to occupy the house more than three-fourths of the time, and that for the other fourth there should be a "liberal" preaching. "Liberal" preaching was accordingly maintained on the 2d Sabbath in each month for a few years, and in the meantime the church took measures to build a house that should be wholly their own. This house was completed in the fall of 1835, and was dedicated 18 November 1835. In connection with the dedication, a three days' meeting was held, at which there was preaching by several ministers, but the opposition was so great that the meetings were somewhat thinly attended and no conversions took place. Some of the leading men in town positively refused to enter the new house even on the Sabbath day, and it was feared that the new house, though much smaller than the old one, would be too large to be filled by any congregation that could be induced to worship in it. Those fears, however, were not realized, and subsequent events have fully demonstrated the wisdom of our fathers in deciding that a small house well filled is every way to be preferred to a large house half filled.

Having preached the Gospel nearly half a century, and being now burdened with the infirmities of threescore and ten, Mr. Sage decided to close his labors with this church, and, on the last Sabbath in April 1838, he preached his farewell sermon from Phil. 1:27. It is suitable that a somewhat extended account should be given of one who served God and his generation so long and faithfully. Mr. Sage was born in Berlin, Conn., 24 January 1765, a son of Deacon Jedediah and Sarah (Marcy) Sage. He was graduated at Yale College, in 1787, studied theology with Rev. Cyprian Strong, D.D. of Chatham, and was licensed by the Hartford South Association in June 1788. In 1790, he preached in Shelburne, Mass., as a candidate for settlement, and on the question of giving him a call, the church was equally divided; twenty-two voting for the call, and twenty-two against it. From Shelburne he came directly to Westminster. He married, 20 January 1791, Orpah Robinson of Granville, Mass., of whom, however, he was deprived by death, 18 February, 1792; and he married, as a second wife, 7 January 1793, Clarissa May, youngest daughter of Rev. Eleazer May of Haddam, Conn.\* After his dismissal here he went to Braintree, Mass., and was there installed as colleague with Rev. Ezra Weld, 4 November 1807. Rev. Hezekiah May, of Marblehead, preached the sermon. The climate of the seaboard prov-

\* She died 16 December 1836.

succeeded by Rev. Isaac Esty, who also supplied the pulpit two years, (from the Spring of 1853 to the Spring of 1855.) Rev. Edwin Seabury began his labors as acting pastor 27 May 1855, and closed them 25 April 1858. His salary was six hundred dollars. During his ministry, the present parsonage was purchased and put in good repair, and he began to occupy it 14 October 1856. Rev. Harrison G. Park, began to supply the pulpit 9 May 1858, was called to the pastorate in the following October, with a salary of five hundred dollars, (including the rent of the parsonage at one hundred dollars,) and was installed, 17 November 1858\*. His pastorate was short. He was settled with very little opposition, and was dismissed, with none at all, 13 March 1860.† For fifteen years the membership of the church had now been steadily decreasing. During that period only thirty persons had been admitted, and half of these were by letter; while more than sixty had been removed by death, by dismissal, or by discipline. The tendency was downward, and that at a rapid rate of progress; and but for the interposition of Divine grace, the church could look forward to nothing other than speedy extinction.

The ministry of Rev. Andrew B. Foster, which commenced 1 July 1860, was the means of arresting and reversing the downward current. Without any special effort to produce it, or any preceding tokens of its approach, an unusual degree of interest manifested itself, in the summer of 1861, principally among the young. No extra measures were employed to maintain or increase the interest, but inquirers voluntarily sought the counsel and prayers of Christians, and, one by

one, were led to give themselves to God, and to rejoice in his mercy. This work of grace effected a pleasing change in the prayer-meeting, the church and the whole community; and as the result of it twenty-four persons united with the church. Mr. Foster's ministry was in all respects acceptable and useful, and would doubtless have continued longer but for protracted sickness in his family, which induced him to close his labors, 26 April 1863. The pulpit was then supplied for some months by Rev. Selah R. Arms. In August 1864, Mr. Francis J. Fairbanks who had previously preached as a candidate, was called to the pastorate, with hearty unanimity on the part both of church and people, and he was ordained 31 August 1864\*. His ministry, and the happy results of it, are too fresh in your minds to need any recital on the present occasion.

Upon reviewing the history of the church for the century, we see that it has had seven pastors and six acting pastors,—not taking into account any ministers who have supplied the pulpit less than a year, as candidates or as temporary supplies. The aggregate term of service by pastors has been thirty-four years and a few months, an average of not quite five years to a pastor. The longest pastorate was that of Rev. Sylvester Sage, which continued for sixteen years and seven months; the shortest was that of Rev. H. G. Park, which lasted only a year and four months. The aggregate term of service by acting pastors has been forty-three years and some months, an average of more than seven years. The longest service as acting pastor was by Rev. Sylvester Sage, who labored in that capacity twenty-eight years and eight months. During nearly twenty-three years of its existence the church has been either destitute of preaching, or supplied irregularly, and for short terms. Nearly all of this desuetude, however, occurred in the first forty years of the century. Since Mr. Sage resumed his labors in 1809, the whole period in which the church has been without a stated minister does not amount to a year and a half. Three hundred and eighty-two persons have united by profession and one hundred and sixty-eight by letter, making five hundred and fifty in all; from which number

\* The exercises were as follows: Introductory Services by Rev. C. D. Jeffers of Chester; Sermon by Rev. Calvin E. Park of West Boxford, Mass.; Installing Prayer by Rev. J. M. Stow of Walpole N. H.; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Amos Foster of Acworth, N. H.; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Benjamin Ober of Saxton's River; Charge to the People by Rev. J. G. Wilson of Bellows Falls; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Henry M. Grout of Putney.

† Rev. Harrison Greenough Park, son of Rev. Dr. Calvin and Abigail (Ware) Park, was born in Providence, R. I., 28 July 1806, was graduated at Brown University in 1824, and studied theology at Princeton and with Rev. B. B. Wisner, D. D., of Boston. He also studied law three years, with Bradford Sumner, Esq., of Boston and Hon. J. Fisk of Wrentham. He was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in South Dedham, Mass., 16 December 1829. Rev. Calvin Park, D. D. preached the sermon. He was dismissed in 1835, and was installed in Danvers, 1 February 1837. Rev. Alvin Burgess, D. D. of Dedham preached the sermon. After a short pastorate he was dismissed, and was then employed as traveling agent of the *Mother's Magazine* and in the publication and editorship of the *Father's and Mother's Manual*. He was installed in Burlington, Mass., 15 November 1849. Rev. R. S. Storrs, D. D., of Braintree preached the sermon, and was dismissed in 1851. He was installed in Bernardston, 16 August, 1854. Rev. L. L. Langstroth of Greenfield preached the sermon, and was dismissed in 1853. Since his dismissal from Westminister, he has not been again installed, but has preached at several places in New Hampshire.

His publications are a *Memorial Sermon of Rev. George Coules*, 1837; *A Voice from the Parsonage, or Life in the Ministry*; a volume of shady-side literature 1854; and the *Shortened Bed*, a sermon preached at Saxton's River, 1859.

\* The exercises were as follows: Invocation and Reading the Scriptures by Rev. Benjamin F. Foster of Dummerston; Prayer by Rev. T. M. Dwight of Putney; Sermon by Rev. William James, D. D., of Albany, N. Y.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. George P. Tyler, D. D., of Brattleboro; Charge to the Pastor by Rev. Alfred Stevens of Westminister West; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. A. B. Foster of Bernardston, Mass.; Charge to the People by Rev. J. D. Crosby of Ashburnham, Mass.

Rev. Francis Joel Fairbanks, son of Emery and Eunice (Hayward) Fairbanks, was born in Ashburnham, Mass., 8 September, 1835, and was graduated at Amherst College in 1862. He studied theology one year at Princeton and another at Union Theological seminary, at which last he was graduated in 1864. He was licensed by Worcester North Association, 23 April, 1863. His sermon on the National Thanksgiving of 1864 was published in the Bellows Falls Times.

some deduction must be made for persons who have united more than once. Of all these, less than one-fifth still remain resident members of the church; and of that number, more than half have been admitted within the last twenty years. The fathers and the mothers have rested from their labors. They who toiled side by side in the Christian work, and stood shoulder to shoulder in the Christian warfare, have received a gracious release from labor and conflict. Only here and there one, who in the strength of manhood or the zeal of womanhood, had stemmed the current of life, or bore the burden and heat of the day, during the first half century of the church's existence, remains to tell us of the former days. We rejoice to see here to-day a venerable father in the ministry, who as long ago as 1810 gave himself in the prime of life to God and this church, and who for nearly sixty years has watched over it and prayed for it, and, more than once or twice, has been the instrument in God's hands of its deliverance from declension and impending death; and a mother in Israel, who became a member in 1811, and who, as she looks backward two generations to her grandfather, Ephraim Ranney, and forward two generations to her grandchildren, children of this church, can testify in the fullness of her soul, that God is a God that keepeth covenant with His people and with their children and their children's children unto the third and fourth, and even to the fifth generation.

We have called to remembrance, though imperfectly, the former days, and have seen how God has preserved this vine of his right hand's planting, amidst all the changes and fluctuations of a hundred years, causing it to take root downward and bear fruit upward, and ever and anon returning to "visit His vine and the vineyard "which His right hand planted, and the branch "which He made strong for himself." But how insignificant a part of the history of the church has been narrated. We have attended merely to external events, and of these a hundred have been unnoticed while one has been recorded. The inner history is unwritten, except in the great book of account. When that shall be read, and then only, it will be seen what a work this church has wrought in the earth. The history of a single soul, as seen by the eye of God, is of more account than the history of an empire. There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth. How much has the happiness of heaven been increased by the three hundred and eighty sinners that have repented, and united with the church. Making ample deduction for those who have run well only for a season, the influence direct and indirect, of these Christians upon families, upon communities, upon States, upon the nation and the world, influence going down from generation to generation,

and broadening and deepening as it goes,—can only be adequately estimated by God himself. The church universal on earth, and the world itself, are a very different church and world from what they would have been but for the parents, the teachers in common schools, academies, and colleges, the ministers of the gospel, the ministers' wives, and the business men, the superintendents and teachers of Sabbath-Schools, the men of influence in every walk of life, who have in this church been trained to piety and sent out to work in the vineyard of the Lord.

From the hallowed memories of the past we do not turn away. But from the past itself, we do turn, and, in the strength which God supplies, address ourselves to the way which yet lies before us. How long or how difficult that way may be, God only knows. Upon some of us the lengthened shadows of life's evening hours are already falling, and the day will soon be gone. To some the sun seems to ride high in mid-heaven. The dewy freshness and fragrance of the morning rest upon the pathway of others. But not one of us shall take part in the anniversary which this church will celebrate a hundred years hence. What changes will then have taken place.

Who'll pass along this village street  
A hundred years to come?  
Who'll tread this church with willing feet  
A hundred years to come?  
Pale, trembling age, and fiery youth,  
And childhood with its brow of truth;  
The rich and poor, on land and sea—  
Where will the mighty millions be  
A hundred years to come?

We all within our graves shall sleep  
A hundred years to come.  
No living soul for us will weep  
A hundred years to come.  
But other men our lands will till,  
And others then our streets will fill,  
And others words will sing as gay,  
And bright the sun shine as to-day,  
A hundred years to come.

We send forward our greetings to those who will then celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the church, and may God grant that we shall look down upon that scene from the upper glory.

## II.—EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS.

BY HON. THOMAS EWBANK, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Whatever may be thought on this point there can be no harm in keeping alive old statements respecting it.

In Rivero and Tehudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, the opinion is confidently expressed that Irish Colonies were planted in the Carolinas and Florida as early as the Ninth Century. They quote from documents, published by Rafn, "which make mention of a nation that, according to the traditions of the Esquimaux, dwelt in their neighborhood, wore white vestments, uttered cries, and made use of long rods with pieces of cloth attached to them;" indicative of a haunting procession of monks. The authors strangely infer, "according to a probable [?] conjecture the Country occupied by this nation was Huitramanaland, the country of white men, which lay along Chesapeake Bay, extending down into Carolina and even still farther South." On this, Dr. Hawks, the translator of Rivero, observes that we know of no other testimony than what is contained in the text.

There is however other testimony and to even earlier settlements, though of a character perhaps equally, if not more doubtful. But as nothing of the kind should be entirely lost sight of, let it be taken for what it is worth. I refer to "*Monasticon Britannicum: or, a Historical Narration of the first founding and flourishing state of the Ancient Monasteries, Religious Rules and Orders of Great Brittain, in the Times of the Brittaines and Primitive Church of the Saxons: collected out of most authentic authors, Leiger Books, and Manuscripts. By that learned Antiquary, Richard Broughton.*" London 1655.

The author died in 1634. For the character of this book see Allibone.

Succoth, who took the name of Patricius and subsequently known as St. Patrick, was born in the latter half of the fourth Century. He passed four years with and was ordained by his uncle, St. Martin of Tours; was captured by pirates and taken to Ireland; and died about 460. That he was a genuine travelling teacher, confining himself to no particular nation, is obvious from ancient accounts of him; while to people he could not visit, he deputed Monks of the Order of St. Martin. "These he sent" says Broughton, "into many remote places, and Nations . . . We finde in the old written life of S. Brendan that many of them were sent unto, and lived in the *Isles of America*, and had been there, some 80 years, some 90; brought up by St. PATRICK in his Monasteries in these parts before. MENNIUS proveth that S. PATRICK preached forty years to diverse extern nations, who could not be only to the Irish in Ireland, who were but one extern nation to Britain." Page 131-2.\*

\* The marginal authorities for the preceding are MANUSCRIPT. *Antiq. Cappruce in S. Brendan.* Mennius' *Hist.*—supra. MATTHE. WESTM. Anno 491. *Antiq. Glastonien.* *Cappruce in S. Piran.*

"Of S. KENTIGERN, who lived on the plainest fare, wore coarse garments and carried his pastoral staff, not round and gilded, or sett with pearles, but of plaine wood, only bended backward, our antiquaries, even Protestants, with others assure us he had in his colledg at Elgu, besides others, always 365 learned, apostolick men, and sent of them unto the *Orchades* islands, to Norway, Island [*Iceland*] and other extern nations. . . . also, to Greenland, accounted part of America . . . and to many other lands and isles of the East Ocean to Russia . . . and many other islands beyond Scautia [*Scotland*] even until the Pole Arctick." Page 187-8.

Broughton mentions a disciple of Brendan, named Machutus, "who was Bishop both in Great and Little Brittain [*Brittany*] . . . and both in Brittain and America." Page 334-5.

Leaving the statements respecting America for Time to clear up, I think there is enough in this book from which to infer that an active European navigation in the North Seas was carried on in the fourth and succeeding Centuries, equalling that of Scandinavian rovers. Columbus visited Iceland or Greenland, I forget which, before his immortal voyage. May not Arctic climates have been, Thirteen hundred years ago, less severe than now.

Supposing the accounts of missions from MSS. quoted by Broughton exaggerated, there is evidence that the spirit of extending the Gospel to all nations, in the early Centuries of our era rivalled that of the Apostles themselves; but unfortunately, of marine enterprise in those days next to nothing is known. If the means of reflecting light on it exist, Time will bring them forth.

E.

### III.—COLONEL ISAAC HAYNE.

FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS, BY HIS GRANDSON, I. W. HAYNE, LATE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF SOUTH CAROLINA.\*

JOHN HAYNE, the progenitor of all of the name in South Carolina, emigrated to this State, from near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, England, about the year 1700. He brought with him some property, and settled down as a planter, in the neighborhood in which his grandsons were found at the period of the Revolution.

The eldest son of the emigrant was John, who married an Eddings, and left two sons, William and Abram.

\* This paper has been communicated, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by our valued friend, WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D. Carolina's distinguished historian; and we are sure our readers will be glad to learn that it is only the first of a series of important papers, from the same source, which they may expect to find, from time to time, in our pages.—ED. HIST. MAG.

William married a Miss Bullen, and left no son. His only daughter married John Simmons, father of Doctor William Hayne Simmons, James Wright Simmons, and Mrs. M. J. Keith. William Hayne died before the period of the Revolution.

Abram, the second son of John, the son of the emigrant, married a Miss Branford, and left surviving him a son, William Hayne, the father of Colonel A. P. Hayne, late of the Army, the friend and companion in arms of General Jackson, and of General Robert Y. Hayne, the distinguished Senator.

The only son of the emigrant other than John, who left descendants, was ISAAC HAYNE, who, in 1741, intermarried with Sarah Williamson. He died in 1751, and left as his only surviving child, ISAAC HAYNE, the subject of inquiry.

Colonel ISAAC HAYNE was born on the twenty-third of September, 1745; and in July, 1765, before he was Twenty years of age, married Elizabeth Hutson, daughter of the Rev. William Hutson, then of Beaufort District, afterward Pastor of the Congregational Church, since known as the Circular Church, in Charleston.

Before the period of the Revolution, Colonel Hayne's life was uneventful. He was a planter, eminently domestic, a country gentleman, whose pride and pleasure it was to maintain that character, *par excellence*. He had large possessions, chiefly in Beaufort and Colleton, but had embarked in an enterprise in York District, with Colonel William Hill of that district, who himself became afterward a conspicuous Whig partisan.

The family seat was in Colleton District, a few miles from Jacksonboro, known as "HAYNE HALL," a very large and elegant residence, with accommodations and grounds fitted up after the English style. It was the center of a hospitality profuse, genial, and elegant.

At the beginning of the War, though he was yet but Thirty years of age, he had been married Ten years and had already Five children. Though somewhat English in taste and habits, averse to politics, and exhibiting, certainly, no military ambition, he, from the first movement in the country, espoused warmly the Whig cause; and his predilections were shown in attaching to the family name of "John," in his second son, the name of Hampden. Of the part he took in public affairs the histories of the time afford my only information. Doctor Ramsey is most to be relied on for accuracy, as he was a personal friend. Colonel Henry Lee, in his *Memoirs* gives an interesting account of some incidents in addition to the capture and execution. I am not sure that Botta or Garden afford anything not previously related. General R. Y. Hayne's article in the first number of the old *Southern Review*, contains EVERYTHING in regard to the capture, the mock

trial, and the execution. Colonel Hayne wanted near Two months of being Thirty-six years of age, at the time of his death, and was in the full vigor of manhood. He was very handsome, and remarkable for activity, strength, and physical accomplishments. He was high-spirited, eminently social, singularly amiable, and of irreproachable private character. With such advantages, personal and adventitious, it was but natural that he should have had "troops of friends," and, without any signal public services, have become a man of mark and consideration in the Province.

The Revolution found the Hayne family, after a sojourn of Seventy-five years in South Carolina, from the period of emigration, with only the *Two* adult males, who bore the patriarchal names of ABRAM and ISAAC.

The former, though less known, was really as much a "martyr," as his more distinguished cousin. He, too, bore arms in the Whig cause, was taken prisoner, marched to Charleston by his captors on foot, in the heat of Summer, cast into prison, and died of a fever contracted in the exposure.

Both were wealthy, and the fortunes of both were dissipated or destroyed in the troublous times of the Revolution, and their descendants have inherited their fame alone.

Colonel Isaac Hayne made a large investment in Iron Works in York District, near the North Carolina line, in connection with his compatriot, Colonel William Hill. These works, owned by such noted patriots, and engaged at the time, under a contract with Governor Rutledge, in the manufacture of cannon and ball for the Whig forces, were naturally a mark for the enemy, and in the year were burned down by a force of British and Tories, under command of a Captain Huck, and a very large number of negroes employed in the works carried off and never recovered.

Doctor Isaac Hayne, eldest son of Colonel Hayne, died in 1802, leaving no male descendants. John Hampden died unmarried. William Edward, third son of Colonel Hayne, when he came of age, found only the Iron Works in York District, which had been rebuilt, remaining of the once splendid fortune of his father, and the estate burdened with a debt more than equal to the value of the property. After some years of unavailing efforts, he sold out those possessions for just enough to pay the debts incurred. His surviving sons are: Isaac W. Hayne, Attorney-General of South Carolina, and William Edward, a merchant in Charleston. The name is still confined to South Carolina.

The dust of the martyr rests in the grave-yard at the ancestral seat, where so many of the name, of an earlier day, repose. None of the family, in the olden times, when that region was their Sum-



mer as well as Winter home, passed the age of Thirty-eight. I have recently come into the ownership of the old homestead, and mean that it shall, for all time to come, continue to be the burial place of every Hayne who desires to rest by the side of his fathers.

Colonel Isaac Hayne was famous in the Province for his stud of blooded horses, and, at the time of his capture, was mounted on his favorite, an imported stallion, called King Herod; and his friends thought at the time, from their knowledge of horse and rider, that he would certainly have effected his escape, notwithstanding the surprise, but for the fact that King Herod had just recovered of a founder and gave way in leaping a ditch and dam, in his flight. The British Dragoons came upon him, encumbered by the fallen steed. I have the sword he wore,—a light short sword, silver-mounted, with a green shagreen scabbard. I have seen the silver-mounted small pistols he wore in his belt.

"HAYNE HALL," consisted of a center building of Three stories with a cupola, and Two spacious wings. It was of wood, and was burned while in possession of Doctor Isaac Hayne, about the year

The flower-garden and shrubbery were particularly admired. The remains of an artificial fish-pond, and an old brick smoke-house, of the shot-tower style, are all that is left of the old improvements.

I. W. HAYNE,  
March 5, 1858.

For W. GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D.

#### IV.—GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

REPLY OF PROFESSOR GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE TO THE EDITOR OF *The Historical Magazine*.\*

MY DEAR DAWSON:

I have read with care your review of my pamphlet, and you must take this answer as a proof of my personal regard.†

I notice Bancroft's first assertion, first, because I regard it as an entering wedge, and secondly, because it is false. The insinuation of Greene's having joined in misrepresenting Washington at

Kip's bay belongs to the same insidious class. Both were designed to produce an impression and that impression, a false one. Need I remind you that by such impressions artfully given the mind is prepared for grave accusations? For the same reason I notice the manner in which Greene is introduced in connection with the attempt upon Staten Island. These insinuations may not affect the mind of an historical scholar like you: but a common reader who receives them for truth will find himself all ready to receive with unquestioning acquiescence the damning assertions that follow. If you doubt it read the review of Mr. Bancroft's IXth volume in the October number of that sedate and thoughtful journal, the *New Englander*.

With regard to Fort Washington I had to choose between the discussion of an opinion and the refutation of an assertion. I chose the latter, and still believe that I chose right. Discussions of opinion generally leave both parties equally convinced of the correctness of the opinion with which they started. Whether the holding Fort Washington was right or wrong, will, in the present state of the evidence, as far as I am acquainted with it, continue to be a question for discussion. I believe that General Greene was right. Mr. Bancroft believes that he was wrong. We might write volumes and each of us carry his original conviction unchanged to the grave. I did not care to meet my opponent on this questionable ground, when there was a question of fact to be squarely met. He threw the responsibility upon Greene. I have proved it to have been Washington's. And there, for the present, I am willing to let the discussion rest.

I differ from you equally with regard to the importance of the sixth and seventh charges. They are links in a continuous chain. To have passed them over would have been to concede that they were true. Few things are more to be guarded against than false coloring, and no instrument is so prompt in the production of false coloring as words.

Your remarks upon the ninth charge show me that you have misunderstood my aim. Mr. Bancroft makes assertions. I undertake to refute him by documents. Where a simple arrangement of the documents seemed to me to carry its argument with it, I have not attempted to force my reasoning upon the reader. I do not see in what way I could have so effectually met his assertions as by showing that they contradict the documents to which all history must make its final appeal.

You cannot see the force of either my tenth or my eleventh division. I am sorry for it. My charge in both instances is a charge of omission for the purpose of confirming the unfavorable opinion of Greene, already expressed in other connections. I was certain that Mr. Bancroft had

\* Although the following letter is dated "March 28, 1867," the envelope in which it was enclosed is postmarked, "East Greenwich, R. I., Jul. 27," and it was received by us on the twenty-ninth of July. We make room for it in the earliest issue of *The Magazine*, subsequent to that date, which was not previously occupied and in the hands of the printers; and shall take occasion, hereafter, to examine the statements of the writer, contradicting our own, as well as some of his conclusions.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

† The review to which this is a reply may be found in the February number of this work. (i. 124.) Ed. Hist. Mag.

read Hamilton's statement concerning Greene's share in "the conception" of the movements in New Jersey, and knew the impression which that statement made upon the candid and judicious Sparks. And I had reason to believe that he had given some attention to the subject of the mistaken choice of a camp at Red Clay creek, altho' as that mistake implies an error of judgment on the part of Washington, he does not see fit to mention it. It is not only for what we have done but for what we have left undone that we are taught to ask forgiveness. It is not only by what he says, but by what he leaves skilfully unsaid that the defamer blasts character. I should have been untrue to my instincts as an historian, false to my duty as a grandson, if I had failed to meet either of these implications.

My twelfth division you regard as a "sad botch." I regret the expression, which seems to me unfit, either for literary criticism or historical discussion. But I pass this as a matter of taste; the substance of your criticism is, that I endeavor, "by inuendo," to claim the merit of the day for Greene, introducing Gordon for this purpose. I deny the accusation. I have introduced Gordon here, as I have introduced him elsewhere, in order to call the attention of my readers to the irreconcilable contradiction between Mr. Bancroft, writing Ninety years after the event, and a contemporary historian, personally intimate with almost all the principal actors, and writing with his extracts from their letters, and his memorandums of their statements, before him. Thus much for the reason of my quotation from Gordon. Now for the facts, premising that I hold it to be an established principle, that the credit of a campaign belongs to the Commander-in-chief, the credit of a battle to the commanding general, the credit of a particular movement, as an executive act, to the commander of the wing or regiment that performed it; credit and responsibility going hand in hand throughout. And therefore, to conceal, misstate, or slur over the services of a subordinate, is to be guilty of a historical falsehood.

My charge against Mr. Bancroft is, that he misrepresents Greene's services, claiming for the Commander-in-chief an executive merit which really belongs to his subordinate. Am I right or wrong? This is the true question between Mr. Bancroft and me.

With the first part of the battle of the Brandywine I have nothing to do. The defence of the much-abused Sullivan may safely be left to Mr. Amory. But for the left wing Greene is responsible. Let us see how he met the responsibility.

According to Mr. Bancroft, Washington, "at the sound of the cannon on the right, taking with him Greene and the two Brigades of Muhl-

"enbergh and Weedon," marches swiftly to the support of Sullivan, checks the pursuit, designates the position Greene is to occupy, and thus saves the army.

First, now, it is generally conceded that Washington and Greene were together when the battle began. I shall accept this, therefore, as an established fact. Did they remain together? Mr. Bancroft asserts that they did, and consequently that Washington conducted that swift march to the support of the right wing which has always been regarded as one of the brilliant feats of the day. What authority has he for the assertion? He does not tell us, and therefore we must try to find it for ourselves.

It is not Gordon, whose narrative, giving to Greene the merit of the march, implies that Washington, pausing only to give his orders, hastened personally to the front, leaving the execution of those orders to Greene, (ii., 511, Ed. 1788, London).

It is not Greene, who, in his letter of the fifth of July, 1788, to Henry Marchant, claims the march for himself.

Marshall, however, says, "on the commencement of the action on the right, General Washington pressed forward with Greene to the support of that wing" (i., 157, of 2d Ed.; iii., 149, Ed. of 1804).

Now this statement must either be modified, or we must reject the testimony of Joseph Brown as given by Dr. Arlington. Dr. Arlington's character puts his words beyond dispute, and all the laws of historical evidence justify us in accepting Brown's narrative. He told the story to Dr. Arlington's father, the father to his son. Both father and son lived near the ground, and were familiar with the local details and local anecdotes. Had Brown's story been false, they must have heard some contradiction of it. Neither of them hints a doubt. If we reject such testimony, what can we believe?

Marshall's presence in the battle would, even if his personal character were not such as to place his truthfulness above suspicion, entitle him to full acceptance for whatever he states as an eye-witness, and to respectful consideration upon all points within the observation of a subordinate officer. But his account of this battle is meager, and except for a skirmish in the forenoon, without detail; Washington's letters furnished none, and they were his chief reliance. I believe, therefore, that between Marshall's unsupported assertion, and Brown's narrative, supported by the concurrent testimony of Greene and Gordon, we are bound to say that Marshall's words must be modified. This is not difficult. Washington, on hearing the cannon, gave his orders. Greene instantly began to put them in execution, and the advance commenced while

Washington was still with him. The sounds of the conflict came faster and faster. Washington hastened to the front by a cross road, leaving Greene to carry out his orders and join him as soon as he could by the main road. Greene accomplished this in forty-five minutes, and in looking back upon this march the next year, felt justified in saying, "I marched One Brigade of my Division, being upon the left wing, between Three and Four miles in Forty-five minutes."

But did he take both Brigades with him? He positively says, "I marched One Brigade," and I believe even Starkie would say that, under such circumstances, and with no conceivable motive for mutilating or concealing the truth, his evidence must be accepted. You, however, if I understand you correctly, believe that he had both Brigades with him. You cite Mühlenberg's *Life of Mühlenberg*, 94, 340. Now Mühlenberg gives no authority but Johnson (i., 76), and Johnson no authority whatever. I say no authority but Johnson, for I have expressly stated that the volume of mine, which he also cites, is to be regarded as "an earnest of what I 'hoped' some day to do with my grandfather's manuscripts before me, not as the result of a careful study of those manuscripts. Marshall says nothing about Brigades, but simply that "Washington pressed forward with General 'Greene,' a form of expression which leaves room for either both or one. But Gordon expressly says, "Greene immediately hastened his 'first Brigade; the second Brigade is ordered by 'Washington to march a different route" (ii., 511).

Now, shall Mühlenberg and Johnson, the only Two who make the positive assertion, be accepted without a document to bear them out, against Greene and Gordon, who make a contrary assertion?

I come now to the question of the position taken by Greene to cover the retreat of the right wing. Mr. Bancroft says, "a strong position chosen by Washington, which completely commanded the road." This, you say, is confirmed by General Mühlenberg, Gordon, and Judge Johnson. If General Mühlenberg had said this, or left it on record, I should have felt bound to accept his statement; but Henry A. Mühlenberg, writing in 1848, and referring to Johnson, who gives no authority for the statement, and to the sketch by Messrs. Bowen and Futhy, who give no authority, cannot be received as a witness. Gordon, at least in the pages to which you refer, makes no allusion to Washington's having chosen the position; indeed, he is so far from saying this that he distinctly ascribes the choice to Greene.

Now, what was the origin of this story so readily taken up and so confidently repeated by succeeding historians? The following passage,

I presume, in a certificate given by Colonel Pinckney to General Sullivan, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1777. "General Sullivan, turning to me, requested I would ride up to General Weedon, and desire him to halt Colonel Spottswood's and Colonel Stephens' regiments in the *ploughed field* on our right and form them there, which I did." (*Proc. of Hist. Soc. of Penn.*, i., No. 8, p. 50.) Returning to this subject in 1820, Colonel Pinckney repeats substantially the same story in a letter to Judge Johnson; I say substantially, for the additional details leave the material statements unchanged. It was still the *ploughed field*, and not the *wooded pass*, that Washington pointed out (*Hist. Mag.*, x., 203).

It is not difficult to conceive, although strongly suggestive of caution to observe, how completely the story has been changed, leaving only enough of its origin about it to serve as an excuse for historians who do not feel the necessity of verifying all their assertions.

According to some, Messrs. Bowen and Futhy, for example (*ut sup.* p. 12): "In the course of the day, Washington had pointed out to General Greene a suitable position for a second stand in the event of their being obliged to fall back from either point." According to Johnson, it was the Commander-in-chief and General Sullivan who had noticed this spot (i., 76.)

Now, if we can place reliance upon Dr. Arlington's researches, "General Washington's Head Quarters were at Benjamin Berg's tavern, about three-quarters of a mile East of Chad's ford" (*Proc. Hist. Soc. Penn. ut sup.*, 58). "He was there and thereabout all the fore part of the day of the battle." Why, indeed, should he have been riding a circuit Four or Five miles from his quarters, with Knyphausen to watch, and tidings every moment expected which might imperatively demand his presence on some other point? Why, even if he chose that moment to reconnoitre for positions, should he take either Sullivan or Greene from their commands?

If Pinckney and Dr. Arlington are right, Washington was with Sullivan when Weedon's Brigade came up. Greene would naturally hasten forward to join them and get his new orders. These, with perhaps some other officers, would form the "Council of war," which, according to Gordon, was held on the field. Sullivan might very naturally have suggested the order conveyed by Pinckney to Weedon, and the "ploughed field" would thus have become the first stand of the second part of the battle. From that point to the pass where the final stand was made, was, according to Gordon, half a mile, over which Greene slowly retreated, using his field-pieces freely till he came to the pass, which he held till dark, saving the artillery, and giving the broken troops of the right wing time to make

their way to a place of safety. Mühlenberg's Brigade I suppose to have come up very soon after Weedon's marching, as Gordon asserts, by a different road.

If I have allowed my feelings as a grandson to lead me to attach an undue importance to Mr. Bancroft's misstatements concerning Greene's part in the battle of the Brandywine, I must look for my justification to Greene's own words: "I trust history will do justice to the reputation of those who have sacrificed every thing for the public service."

These words must also be my protection against the charge of excessive sensitiveness in the two next sections, or rather throughout the remainder of my pamphlet. Mr. Bancroft's allegations form a whole, closely connected and artfully welded together. Mr. Bancroft's omissions are full of significance. I see no cause for regretting that I have met them both.

I have now answered in a candid and respectful tone the substance of your criticisms without regarding the form. I wish that that had been more consistent with our personal relations, and with the dignity of our common studies. The truth of history has nothing to gain from sarcasm, nor her votaries from mutual recrimination. The most industrious will sometimes fall short of the exactness at which they aim, the most cautious will sometimes stumble, the most upright sometimes err. To help and be helped in turn; to respect earnest labor even when we cannot accept its results; to keep our own frailties in view as a guard against the rash condemnation of the frailties of others; and to bear constantly in mind that the facts of history are worthless unless the spirit that animates the narrative be the spirit of a pure, a zealous, and a generous sympathy with honorable endeavor and noble aspirations—are not these the first and highest duties of the historian?

Very truly yours,

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

EAST GREENWICH, R. I.,  
March 28, 1867.

#### V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

##### 55.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL JAMES MARSHALL.\*

MOUNT VERNON 10<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1796.

DEAR SIR,

If you can recollect by whom, or in what manner the letter for General Pinckney, which went under cover to you, was sent to the Post Office in Richmond, I would thank you for information respecting it.—

That letter, with a note enclosed therein, containing three bank bills for one hundred dollars each, for the sufferers by fire in Charles'ton, had not on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July been received by that Gentleman; although duplicates, written *after* I had been favoured with your answer has been acknowledged by him.—

In confidence, I inform you that General Pinckney accepts his appointment to France, and will soon be in Phil<sup>a</sup> to prepare for the Mission.

With very great esteem & reg<sup>d</sup> I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir Y<sup>r</sup> Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

Gen<sup>l</sup> MARSHALL.

[Outside address]

GENERAL MARSHALL

in

Richmond.

President

U. S.

##### 56.—DAVID CROCKETT, M. C. FROM TENNESSEE, TO PETER B. PORTER, SECRETARY OF WAR.\*

WASHINGTON 24 January 1829.

DEAR SIR

a cording to your Request I have here in Recommended to your Consideration Mr Amos R. Johnston of Paris Henry County in my district as an applicant for the appointment of a Cadat Mr Johnston is a Young man of good Morrel Character and of a Respectable Parance I have no doubt but what he is well quallified and about 18 years of age also Mr William B Partee the young man that I left his letter with you is also of good Charector and as promising a youth as I am acquainted with he is about 16 years of age Mr Partee is the first applicant and if I am only to have one I wish him appointed I will call and see you on the subject

Respectfully your obt serv<sup>t</sup>

DAVID CROCKETT

P: B PORTER

##### 57.—GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO MR. JEFFERSON.†

PARIS, May 13<sup>th</sup> 1823.

MY DEAR FRIEND

I avail myself of Mr Gallatin's departure to let you hear of the old friend who would be Happy to Embark with Him, but is now embarked on a political ocean more wide and less to be trusted than the Atlantic. The cause of freedom, after the miscarriage of Italy and some faint attempts elsewhere, is now confined to the peninsula; the limits of a legal opposition in France,

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York.  
HIST. MAG. VOL. I. 6

\* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of Nath'l Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.

and ministerial liberality in England are soon to be found. Every other exertion that may show itself is Hostile to our cause: Yet there is a general sympathy in its favor: Was it not for the impressions left by the excesses of the french revolution, Resistance to despotism and Aristocracy might be obtained. But the greater obstacle to energetic measure is to be found in the Habits of Egotism, Submission, in the diabolical administrative institutions which the imperial system Has settled upon this Nation. Yet it is more and more evident that on the dispositions and fortunes of france, European liberty Has chiefly to depend: The period is truly critical. Should the peninsula be subdued or voluntarily Bend, our liberal chances are far Removed. I hope it cannot be the case, and from that circumstance, Better and nearer Hopes may arise. the Spanish War is no where so unpopular as it is in france.

You Have Heard of the transactions in our *Chartre parliament*. the 4th of March has afforded me a great pleasure, that of a flat refusal from the parisian National guard to an improper order given with much force & eclat. Since that day the *cote gauche* Have not Reentered the House; but the Counter Revolution is nevertheless going on, and will go to every extremity of Anti-National pretensions unless it is manly stopped by effectual opposition.

Four parties are generally Reckoned, Royal or legitimate—Bonapartist, orleanist, and Republican. those of whom Have now come to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people and their right to choose a government: But the very denomination of two of them demonstrate that in the Republican alone there exists a determination to have those rights truly & fully exercised. far I am from denying the Republican inclinations and preferences which brought me to the United States, which I constantly Have acknowledged. Before 89, in the several courts of Europe and since, at the very moment when I Honestly endeavoured to support the Nominal throne which the sovereignty of the people Had constitutionally established. I must add that the experiments of the past three and thirty years, in france, and elsewhere, are not very favorable to the Alliance of popular institutions with an Hereditary Royal Magistracy. and in the alternative between the one and the other Royalty should of course give way, it is However probable that the experiment may be continued in Europe for a quarter of a Century, and whatever is now said among our Civil and Military statesmen, Respecting our Unbending Republicanism we would in case of a commotion only insist upon an immediate Restoration of Elective Municipalities and departmental administrations. Upon the general *armement* of National Guards, naming their own officers, and

upon the convention of a Constitutional Assembly originating from the bulk of the people, leaving to them to organize the powers of government, every authority being r't then considered as provisory. So far and no farther do the Republican party go in their demands, reserving themselves to recommend the more National and cheaper institutions which it will be in their power to obtain.

There is now a series of Memoirs on the Revolution published by faithful editors, where amidst the accusations, revelations, apologies of men belonging to the several parties the impartial reader must, I presume to say, do justice to the motives and conduct of the patriots who were designed in the year under the name of *Constitutionals* and Have evinced more love of legal order, and more genuine republicanism than most of their detractors under other denominations.

Your former correspondent, Emperor Alexander, Has Become the chief of Anti-liberalism in Europe, leaving the Greeks to their fate, which, thanks to their *Heroic exertions*, Has not, I think, been a misfortune to them. His mind is Haunted by the progress of freedom in West and South of Europe which He labors to crush and retard as much as he can. Quantum Mutatus ab illo. Whom I have Conversed with in 1811 at the House our illustrious friend M<sup>re</sup> de Staël. M. de Tracy is in tolerable good Health; He Has the use of His eyes, not so well however as to be able to apply to studies. all my family are well and desire their most affectionate respects to you. Victor Tracy and George are members of the House of deputies. I have been lately reelected in Spighte of the efforts of government. The independent Arrondissement de Meaux, (Seine et Marne my actual department) Have been pleased to return me as the Representative of their electoral College.

I Have Some time ago mentioned the Work of a young female friend to whom I am attached by the ties of paternal affection, & of whom our old friend Bentham has said "she was the strongest and "sweetest mind that ever was cased in a female "body." I send you a second edition of her views on the State of Society and Manners in America, in which a few alterations have been made, one particularly respecting yourself. I also send a small book entitled a few days in Athens. Her High Respect for you makes me particularly wish you to know these two publications.

Adieu, my dear excellent friend; present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Randolph and think sometimes of an old Companion in the cause of Mankind whose greatest and very necessary comfort is in the Remembrance of our American exertions, and their Happy Consequences, while European transactions are ever thorny, too often sullied, at the best will never afford the admirable products and pure enjoyments of our Colombian

times. let me hear from you, my dearest Jefferson, and receive the love and good wishes of your affectionate friend

LAFAYETTE.

Tracy's excellent book has been reprinted in a small cheap edition; He presents the most grateful regard for the fine edition. I am very sorry to part with Mr. Gallatin. But he goes only on furlough, and may Be will return.

58.—RUFUS KING TO GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.\*

WASHINGTON January 25. 1815

SIR,

According to the suggestion which I took the Liberty to make in a former Letter, I have now the Honor to send enclosed to your Excellency, a Copy of the Bill providing for the raising of State Corps—the Bill is before the President, and doubtless will become a Law—We are still in anxious suspense concerning the State of N. Orleans—the last Letters are of the 24<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. the day after the affair between Gen<sup>l</sup>. Jackson and the Enemy—a letter from Warrington, N. C. to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Turner of the Senate, dated Jan<sup>y</sup>. 20<sup>th</sup> says—"We have just rec<sup>d</sup>. News here by a Letter "to Doctor Berton from some Person in Granville "(a neighbouring County) stating that a Gentleman had just passed thro<sup>b</sup> that County from N. Orleans, and stated that General Jackson had defeated the British and Indians, near that Place—the number killed and taken Prisoners "is said to be very great"—

Hopes are cherished that this Intelligence may refer to an action subsequent to that of the 23<sup>d</sup>.

with great Respect

I am y<sup>r</sup> Ex<sup>t</sup>. ob Ser

RUFUS KING

PS

The mention of the Indians renders that Report suspicious as we have no intimation of these having joined the Enemy in this Descent ———

59.—GEN. SCOTT TO GEN. WINDER.†

PLAINS OF BUFFALOE May 6<sup>th</sup> 1814

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Permit me with heartfelt gladness to congratulate you on your happy return to your family the army your country. Lieut Smith has brought us the pleasing intelligence, nothing can be more auspicious—the return—the exchange—the opening of the campaign Write me my dear General to inform me how these happy changes have been brought

about, and shall I not have the happiness of seeing you soon on the frontier? I know your predilection for this theatre from what passed between us at Albany the past Winter.

I have a handsome little army (M. Gen<sup>l</sup> Brown has been absent in the direction of the Harbour since the 21<sup>st</sup> past) of about 1700 total, to wit the 8<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup> Regt<sup>s</sup> and two companies 2<sup>nd</sup> art<sup>y</sup>. Brig Gen<sup>l</sup> Ripley who received his notification last evening is with me. If many recruits are not forwarded he will be without a Brigade. I am most partial to these Regts. The men are healthy, sober, cheerful and docile. The field officers highly respectable, and many of the platoon officers are decent & emulous of improvement. If of such material I do not make the best army now in service by the first June, I will agree to be dismissed the service.

\* Our friend Cap<sup>t</sup> Towson is with me. With the manly tears of joy he heard of your return. But a few days since he learned from my aid Lieut Worth that a report had prevailed in Baltimore said to be derived from Cap<sup>t</sup>. T. somewhat to this effect, that he Cap<sup>t</sup>. T. very much censured your conduct at Stony Creek & & &. Towson is most indignant at the foul aspersion of *himself*, for so he considers the report and holds you in the highest esteem and respect as he has uniformly expressed himself with all the energy of his honorable and high-toned sensibility. I also assert that not a man in the army at Fort George last summer ever expressed within my hearing or to my knowledge a whisper to your prejudice. This said not on your account for you do not Stand in need of my support, but on account of my friend Towson lest you should imagine he is less than what he professes.

I write you my dear General in haste in the first flush of joy

I am with esteem ever yrs W. SCOTT

Tell me how you left my friend Roach? Vandeventer, Machesney &c. I calculate certainly on having the happiness of receiving a letter from you W. S.

Brig Gen<sup>l</sup> W. H. WINDER.

60.—COMMITTEE OF WAR OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.\*

Nov. 11<sup>th</sup>. 12 o'clock at Noon

GENTLEMEN

The Congress having come to the Enclosed Resolution, and the Situation of Affairs requiring in our opinion, the utmost Dispatch we beg Leave to request that you will immediately appoint a Committee of your honorable

\* From the collection of the Editor.

† Communicated by W. H. Winder, Esq., of Philadelphia.

\* From the collection of F. S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York city.

Board to meet us at the War office as soon as possible—

We are with Respect

Your very obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

BENJAMIN HARRISON

JAMES WILSON

EDWARD RUTLEDGE

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE

[Addressed]

"The Honorable

"The Council of Safety

"for the State of Pennsylvania"

[Indorsed]

"War office

"Nov. 11. 1776"

## VI.—AN ANCIENT MAP OF THE CENTRAL PART OF IREDELL COUNTY, N. C.

By PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE.

This document, drawn with a pen, was found about Twenty years ago in the possession of Alexander Nisbett, Esq., of that County; and a limited number of lithographic copies were procured in New York, in 1847, by the present writer,

A DESCRIPTION OF IT: The centre of it is about Two miles North-west of the town of Statesville; and from that center it is laid off in a series of concentric circles, One mile apart, to the number of Eleven, making as many miles from the center to the circumference, and embracing a tract of country Twenty-two miles in diameter, including the town above named, (not then in existence), and all the central part of the County. The following streams are more or less within the limits of it: Rocky creek on the North, and the Catawba river on the South-west; Snow creek, South Yadkin, Third creek, Fourth creek, Fifth Creek, Young's creek, Cavin's creek, Reedy creek, Buffalo-Shoal creek, Elk-Shoal creek, and their tributaries.

ITS DATE: This can only be determined by inference. It was drawn when all this tract of country was included in the congregation of the Church called Fourth creek, which is now the Presbyterian church of Statesville, though still retaining its original name which it had more than Thirty years before the town was located there, which is about equidistant from Third creek on the South and Fourth creek on the North. These creeks, being affluents of the South Yadkin, are named in regular order as they are crossed by the traveller going from Salisbury, West.

It was before the erection, within these bounds, of Two other Presbyterian Churches—Concord on the West, and Bethany on the North, each about Six miles from the old Church. And we learn from an old lady in the vicinity, who remembers the date from an important event in her early

life, that the latter Church was erected in 1779. It was building when she was married.

Both the date and the object of making the Map will appear from the following document, which, though not found in connection with it, yet throws light upon the origin of it. It is headed,

### "A REMONSTRANCE,

"TO THE NORTH CAROLINA PRESBYTERY WHICH  
"IS TO SIT IN APRIL, 1773.

"The petition of the members of Fourth creek congregation humbly sheweth, that your petitioners have been congregated upwards of twenty years, and the place of worship in said congregation hath likewise been fixed this sixteen or seventeen years, and known by the name of "Fourth creek Meeting House.

"Some time the last fall a number of persons that live nigh or adjoining to the Northern boundary of said congregation, made a motion to have a division of said congregation in order to have another house of public worship, and nominated sixteen men to carry the same into execution, and made an order that any thirteen of them agreeing on any point relating thereto, should be final; by which nomination and rule they were sure to gain their point, as they had thirteen of said panel nigh upon their own borders.

"At another meeting, the aforesaid persons and thirteen of the men nominated to make the division, and a number more of other extreme parts of the congregation proposed that the old Meeting House should be dropped altogether, and that the congregation should be divided and two new Meeting Houses should be built, which would cut off a part of the South side altogether; which would be quite too far for them to attend, and proceeded to appoint two places, such as they said they thought most suitable to build said houses, and would pay no regard to anything offered to the contrary by the interior parts of said congregation, which was the only persons that was at the cost and trouble of building the old house, and also of supporting what small measures of the Gospel, God and his Providence has allowed them.

"Now Reverend Fathers, we beg and beseech you to take these our grievances under your consideration, and grant unto us the benefit of that Rule of Presbytery by you made at a Presbytery held at Cathey's Meeting House" [*Thyrtira Church, now in Rowan Co.*] "last year, which we think seven miles round said house will be sufficiently able to support and maintain a gospel minister in a decent manner."

This document would seem, then, to have been drawn up in the Winter of 1772-3, as the writer speaks of what was done "last Fall," and it was

for the action of the Presbytery of North Carolina, in April, 1773. The petitioners had formed a congregation upwards of Twenty years, while the location of their house of worship had been fixed Sixteen or Seventeen years. Now the country in this region began to be settled by emigrants from Pennsylvania, about 1750-51, and *upwards of twenty years* will then come to 1772-3.

And it is known that they differed about the location of their house of worship, and that a place was first selected about Two miles North of Statesville, near Allison's Mill, where a graveyard was commenced; they then moved about a mile nearer town, where they prepared to build, and some families having begun to bring their dead there, they have continued the practice to the present time. The spot is inclosed, though in the uncleared forest, and is known as "the Allison grave-yard."

"The Old House," spoken of, is the second predecessor of the present house of worship, and stood in the rear of that one. The immediate predecessor of the present was built of very heavy logs, about 1780; it was removed a few years ago, when the present structure was erected with brick.

The forming of this Map, then, was connected with the division of the congregation spoken of in this paper, which contemplated the giving up of the location finally selected, and the erection of Two new Churches, One in the extreme North-east part of the congregation, near Rocky creek, where it will be seen, by an inspection of the Map, the number of families was larger; and another on the opposite side, at a place known at this day as "Beattie's Old Field." And the time cannot differ much from 1773; as we see above, the paper was for a meeting of Presbytery about to take place in the ensuing April, the *place* not being stated; and we know from other sources that the Presbytery was not formed before 1770. And we know that in old times, party feelings ran high on the subject of dividing Churches and congregations; and having more than One Church within certain limits belonging to the same denomination; hence the rule alluded to of "*Seven miles round*."

The writer knows of an instance of strife of this kind, where the opposing party could not get a majority to vote to remove the old Church to a more central position; and to carry out their purpose, they first set the Church on fire in the tower under the bell in the dead of winter; and not succeeding in the destruction of the house in this way, the following summer they came by night disguised as wild Indians with a large number of ox-teams; pulled it down, and carried the materials just One mile, and there re-erected it and changed themselves into a different denomination. Though the Governor of the State,

a name well known in history, and the Chief-justice, lived in the immediate vicinity, they were not interfered with in their work, but were made to pay for the riot afterwards; and the other part of the congregation erected a new Church, of brick on the old spot, which is still standing. The transaction was published not only in this country, but also abroad, and even in the English papers in India. But to return:

WHAT RENDERS THIS OLD MAP IMPORTANT? It contains the names and the locations of all the heads of families belonging to the congregation at that time; and as it is within about Twenty years from the time that settlements began in that region, we presume that these are the pioneers in this then wilderness. The Map is divided by a line passing through the "Old House," and by another at right angles to this, passing through the centre, making the Four parts unequal in size.

In the North-west quarter are Seventy-five families; in the North-east Fifty-four families; in the South-east, Thirty families; in the South-west, Thirty-seven families; making in all One hundred and ninety-six families.

The following names are found: Adams, Alexander, Allison, Andrew, Archibald, Bailie, Beard, Beattie, Bell, Black, Bones, Bowman, Boyd, Brown, Caldwell, Carson, Cavin, Chambers, Clinckerman, Cooper, Davis, Dobbins, Dobson, Duffie, Edmund, Fleming, Forgey, Freeland, Gay, Grey, Griffiths, Guthrie, Harden, Hall, Hamilton, Harris, Henderson, Henry, Hill, Holmes, Houston, Ireland, Irvin, Johnson, Kilpatrick, King, Knox, Leach, Locke, Logan, Long, McCallom, McCletchy, McRary, McGuire, McHargue, McFarland, McLelland, McLean, McKee, McKnight, McKinney, McKown, McNeely, McWhorter, Milligan, Miller, Montgomery, Morrison, Morton, Murdock, Newbury, Nichols, Nisbett, Oliphant, Ormond, Porter, Potts, Purviance, Reed, Rodman, Rogers, Rosebro, Rowly, Rutledge, Sharp, Shay, Simonton, Sloan, Smith, Snoddy, Steel, Stevenson, Stinson, Stuart, Tazen, Thomas, Thompson, Thornton, Tracey, Trotter, Waddell, Wasson, Watt, Waugh, Whaley, White, Wilson, Witherpoon, Woodfork, Woods, One hundred and eleven in all.

Some of these names are misprinted on the Map, and that of *Davis* has in the course of time become Davidson.

At least Ten of these names are found on the roll of the Committee of Safety for Rowan County in 1774-5,\* viz.: John Archibald, John Montgomery, John Purviance, John Nisbett, David Caldwell, Samuel Harris, Jacob Nichols,

\* See the Journal of that body printed for the first time in *Wheeler's History of North Carolina*, ii., 360-362. It had been brought to the notice of the public, a short time before by the present writer, in the *Salisbury Watchman*.



Robert King, Ninian Steele, Wm. Sharpe, the author of the Map.

These people, who settled in what is called the Mesopotamia of North Carolina, between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, were mostly of the Scotch-Irish race, and emigrated hither from Pennsylvania, to which they, or their ancestors, had previously emigrated from Ireland. They could not find a resting-place in the "Old Dominion," because the laws were oppressive to dissenters from the Established Church; though, as we shall afterwards see, they labored under some disabilities here. Soon after they settled here, however, a colony of the Highland Scotch came. One of their principal settlements was about Eight miles West of Statesville, and formerly called New Scotland. In 1772 about a Dozen or Twenty families came and settled not far from the Catawba, near to Sterling Church. There were the McKays, the McIntoshes, the Mathewsons, the Campbells, &c. Colin Campbell was a kind of a chieftain among them. Here originated Geo. W. Campbell of Tenn., the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in 1814, and afterwards minister to Russia. Another settlement of these was formed about the same time, and about the same distance from Statesville (not then built), East or South-east. They continued to come till within the present century. Some who came in 1804 returned to Canada. Others have emigrated to the Western country, and there are few families now remaining. Times have greatly changed since they appeared here in their peculiar costumes, with their bonnets, kilts, and short clothes; with their long stockings and large silver shoe-buckles.

A different set of names from either of the above classes came soon after the time of this Map, and from a different source, and occupied the country between Rocky creek and Hunting creek. They were from Montgomery county in Maryland. Some of their names are Fitzgerald, Ferrill, Gaither, Lazenby, Keith, Shaw, Beggarby, Giddings, Belt, Summers, Tomlinson, Ellis, Albed, &c. They came, it is said, between 1779 and 1795.

They filled the space on the North border of our Map. They were different in some respects from the Scotch-Irish, by the side of whom they built their cabins. They were, perhaps, more refined than the latter, and contributed to improve them in some things, while, in return, they learned of them what proved useful to themselves. Particularly in domestic manufactures—the chief dependence at that time,—the Scotch-Irish were superior to the Marylanders; while in the culinary arts, and in agriculture, the latter excelled. The Marylanders were the better farmers, especially in raising corn. For a long time there was a deep-rooted prejudice in the

minds of each people against the other. Their young people did not associate together, and parents would not allow intermarriages.

One great distinction between these two races of people was, that while the Scotch-Irish used *mush* mostly, the emigrants from Maryland thought *hominny* indispensable; and while the latter depended on a supply of *meat*, their Scotch-Irish neighbors thought those most fortunate who abounded in milk; with which an extensive open range of pasture furnished a ready supply. Said Mrs. Gaither to Mrs. Lazenby, "Have you plenty of milk at your house?" "Yes," was the reply. "Then I don't *mourn* you" (*i. e.* I think you well off), said Mrs. G.

All, both men and women, wore wool hats with an exceedingly narrow brim. A few, however, of the highest rank, had them made of the fur of the beaver, which would last a life time.

The young people of both sexes, in summer, when about their ordinary business, went without shoes and stockings; the young women wore short gowns and petticoats; and the young men, hunting shirts, with trowsers, of tow and cotton. Boots were not common; they were worn only by a few of the higher class. Both boots and shoes were sharp-pointed at the toes.

For Sunday dress the men had coats and small clothes of cotton and wool mixed; and if colored a little black or blue, though not sheared, they were regarded as very fine.

These early settlers here, though in the wilderness, did not forget their God; they were a church-going people. When they came here, they left behind them the land of Churches and of a preached Gospel. And till then, these valleys and rocks had never been vocal with the praises of their Maker—had never smiled when a Sabbath appeared. Yet scarcely had this log cabins of the pale faces become mingled among the wigwams of the copper-colored race, or had displaced them, before rude structures called "*stands*"\* were erected in the woods, and men gathered around these to hear a sermon, whenever a missionary from the Synod of New York,

\* The meaning of this term "*stand*," for preaching, is well understood in the South and West, but perhaps not in the North and East. These structures are common in the new settlements, and consist of temporary arrangements for preaching and hearing when a Church cannot be erected. A small rude building is raised in its floor a few feet above the ground, and a few feet square, and with a roof for the accommodation of the speaker. There is a book-board in front to lay the Bible and hymn book upon, and this formerly, was sometimes fastened between two trees which upheld the ends of it. One of these, thus arranged, where a missionary preached, about Three miles from Statesville, One hundred years ago, was seen not long since, with the ends grown deeply into the wood. Logs were laid at suitable distances apart, and at right angles to the front of the pulpit, and then split logs across these made the seats, leaving a passage for an aisle out in front of the speaker; and similar ones in other directions. Large audiences could with comfort thus hear the Gospel under the shade of the trees.

or Philadelphia, came along to look after the sheep scattered in the wilderness.

Thus they were cheered, and their hearts warmed against danger.

But, at first, living at a great distance apart, most of them were compelled to travel each time, many a weary mile, and return home again the same day. To go Ten or Twelve miles to attend on the means of grace, was accounted *then*, little hardship, even if they all had to walk by the guidance of *blazed trees*.

Often, as they journeyed thus in company to their homes on Sabbath evenings, they rehearsed to one another the good word of God to which they had listened that day. Many a weary mile did they thus beguile. The young women carried, tied up in a handkerchief, their fine shoes and stockings, together with their linen aprons of their own manufacture, bleached white as snow, nicely folded up and pressed in little squares and triangles, so that the folds would all show when spread out.

When they came near the place of worship, they sat down on a rock, stump, or log, and put on these articles of finery to appear in public; and on their return replaced them as before; and the same foldings of their aprons (on which they prided themselves) were carefully preserved to be opened again the next time; and their fine shoes would last a long time.

They were in those days subject to few diseases; dysentery, pleurisy, some fevers, and, rarely, fever and ague filled the list. They lived in a simple, frugal manner, endured great hardships, eat their meat upon wooden trenchers, and drank their milk from little noggins also of wood, of which a friend of the writer has one carefully preserved, that his ancestors used in those days, and which holds about a pint. Tea was unknown, coffee was little used. It is said that if a merchant brought from Charleston or Philadelphia a small sack of this article, of which such immense quantities are now used, or if a man went to market and brought home a few pounds, he was thought extravagant. It was used only once a week, on Sabbath mornings, or assigned to the sick, while now it is often freely used in some families three times a day, and regarded as a necessary of life.

When this country first came into their possession, it is represented as being most desirable land, very much like the famed prairies of the West, and altogether different in quality and appearance from what it now is. It was open and mostly clear of timber, so that the sight could reach a great distance. The under-growth was kept down by the Indians burning it over so often. The bottoms were thick cane-brakes, and the hills and plains were covered with a natural growth of wild pea-vines, which furnished abun-

dant pasture for stock of all kinds, which needed little attention, even in winter.

Buffaloes, wolves, bears, deer, panthers, &c., roamed through all the land, furnishing provisions for the early settlers as well as the savages. There are traditions connected with many spots where the ancestors of the present inhabitants saw immense herds of buffaloes. But, alas! they with their associates, the Indians, have disappeared from here forever.

Of the One hundred and eleven names on the Map, about Twenty have become extinct in this region, if not in this part of the country. But many of the descendants of these families have *drifted* off to the West and Southwest, and may be found from here to Texas, New Mexico and California.

Within the limits of this Map are found at this day, not only the parent Church at Statesville (which retains its original name, *Fourth creek*), but those of Concord and Bethany, the first colonies from it. Also, in part, the congregations of Shiloh, Bethesda and Fifth creek. There are, at least, Three Associate Reformed, Four Lutheran, Eight or Ten Methodist, and One Baptist Churches, making more than a score of Churches within the bounds of what was One congregation about One hundred years ago.

And it would be interesting to know how many families there are now, in place of about Two hundred then.

As Episcopacy was then established here by law, this region was included in St. Luke's parish; the church being at Salisbury, Twenty-eight miles from where Statesville is. This was the case when Rowan was cut off from Anson county in 1753. All freeholders were required to meet at the church in Salisbury every third year to elect vestrymen, under a penalty of Twenty shillings.

The author of the Map, William Sharpe, whose name is found in the vicinity of Snow creek, commonly known as "Lawyer William," was the maternal grandfather of Hon. David F. Caldwell, of Salisbury, lately deceased; whose grandfather on the other side, David Caldwell, is also on the Map. William Sharpe was born in Cecil county, Maryland, and when he became of age he migrated to Mecklenburg county, N. C. He had only a common English education, and it is not known where he pursued his legal studies. He married, in 1768, a daughter of David Reese, one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration; and soon after settled in Snow creek, where his name is recorded. He practiced surveying extensively; was a member, and sometimes the chairman, of the Committee of Safety in his own county, in 1774-5; was aid to General Rutherford in his expedition against the Cherokees, in 1776. He was influential in establishing that academy in his vicinity, so famous in its day, and almost a college, called "Clío's

"Nursery." At the time General Davidson was killed at Cowan's Ford, February, 1781, he was engaged in raising volunteers; and it is reported that he was so inimical to the British that Tarleton offered Five hundred guineas for his head. He was a member of the State Congress in 1775, and of the Continental in 1779-82. He was regarded as a most estimable citizen.\*

NOTICE OF SOME OTHER LOCALITIES: We have already remarked that Statesville was about equidistant from the North and South lines of the State; the Court House of the county was located at the "Meeting House" of Fourth Creek Church in 1790.

It has now become an important village, with Two large hotels, and about a dozen stores, on the Western extension of the North Carolina Railroad. It has increased in population and business since the establishment there of the Concord Female College, a fine building on a beautiful site just West of the town, which it overlooks, fronting down the main street. It is now in successful operation, with an able Faculty, in which the North and the South are united; and parents at the North would find this a most excellent place to educate their daughters.

"The situation embraces a picturesque mountain scenery for a distance of more than One hundred miles. Among the highest peaks, are "to be seen Table Rock, in Burke county, Grand-Father, Hump-Back, Mount Mitchell, in one direction, and Pilot Mountain in the other."

On the Northwest part of the Map, near the South Yadkin, is the name of William Waddell. We learn from Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, that he landed in Charleston, from Ireland, in 1767, and after remaining there a short time he removed to this spot, where, in 1770, Moses, the last of Three sons, was born. He obtained his early education at the Clio Academy in the neighborhood, and became at length Rev. Moses Waddell, D.D., the President of Athens College in Georgia; and the father of Rev. John Waddell, D.D., the President of the State University at Oxford, Mississippi. "Iredell" (says one) "has been the nursery of great and good men."

A little West of the center of the Map is the name of William Morrison, on Third creek. He, with two brothers and their families, and the family of a fourth, who died in Pennsylvania, emigrated from that State in 1751, and they settled in this vicinity. They were the ancestors of a large number of families of that name, distinct from those of the same name in Cabarrus county and elsewhere. William, the eldest, built the first mill in this region, which, singularly enough, was spared by the Indians in the French

war, when all the inhabitants were driven into the Fort not far off, and all the other buildings were destroyed.

He was buried in the old graveyard, about a mile West of Concord church, and this request is engraved on his tombstone, "that as he was the "first inhabitant of the country, and possessor of "this land, his grave and that on his left" [*that of his wife*] "should not be disturbed." The reason of this request is, that in Ireland, whence he came in 1730, the custom prevailed of opening graves after a certain number of years, to be filled with new occupants.

Near his house, as an old lady said, "Concord Church was raised the 11<sup>th</sup> of June before they "went to the Cherokee nation."\* That is, the expedition from this part of the State against that tribe in July, 1776. It has long since been replaced by a new house. Near where James Hall occurs, the father of Rev. James Hall, D.D., Bethany church was erected, in 1779, which stood about Eighty years, when, though the timbers were still sound, it was removed and a new building was placed near the spot.

FORT DOBBS: After the defeat of General Braddock at Pittsburg, in July, 1755, the Western settlements of the Southern provinces were left exposed to the attack of the savages, which they renewed with vigor and courage. In the course of that summer, Governor Arthur Dobbs, who came into office the year before, visited the Western counties, to ascertain what locations were most favorable for the erection of forts; and when the Legislature met at Newbern, on the twenty-fifth of September, we are told that "he recommended the erection of a fort between "Third and Fourth creeks, near the South Yadkin, in the county of Rowan, near that of Iredell, a central spot between the Northern and "Southern boundaries of the Province." *Martin's History*, ii., 82, 83.

When Governor Dobbs came into office he brought from England One thousand firelocks and a few pieces of cannon as a present from the Crown to the Province. The year before his arrival the Legislature had appropriated "One thousand pounds for the frontier counties of "Anson and Rowan, for purchasing arms and "ammunition for the use of the poorer inhabitants of said counties; Five hundred pounds to "Mr. Caleb Howell and Mr. Charles Robinson of "Anson county; and Five hundred pounds to Mr. "James Carter and Mr. John Brandon, of Rowan county, to be by them applied for the use of the "respective counties."†

\* About Twenty years ago, in making inquiries of old people about matters of interest when they were young, an old lady gave this reason for the name *Concord*:—there was a strife about the location, and the party that conquered called it so.

† See *Laws of North Carolina*. Printed by James Davis 1773, p. 157.

\* For other facts in his life, see *Wheeler's History of North Carolina*, ii., 216.

The spot where Fort Dobbs was built is nearly in the middle of the State, North and South. And the historian tells us that the fort which the Governor recommended was built; and that for this and other purposes, the Legislature granted a supply of Ten thousand pounds. The site of the *fort actually built* does not correspond to the one recommended by the Governor, according to the historian. For that location would carry it Ten or Fifteen miles farther East towards Salisbury; and remove it by so much from the frontier settlements where it was most needed. It would be brought near the present site of Third creek Church, in Rowan.

But we can make the language of Martin correspond to the fact by supposing a mistake in one word; and we remember that Iredell did not exist till 1790, and he is speaking of 1755. Amend then by saying, "he recommended the erection of a Fort between Third and Fourth creeks, near the South Yadkin in the County of Rowan now," (*i. e. at the time Martin wrote*) "that of Iredell, &c." Put now for *near*, and the statement comes right, and places it in the actual location, and where it was most needed. It was a Block House, "of an oblong shape, 53 feet long by 43 wide; 24 feet high, and had Three floors from each of which, above One hundred muskets could be discharged at once." It is not known what military force was stationed there. The families from the surrounding country fled there for protection, and more or less remained while the war lasted. An old woman born there in 1758, died in 1859. There was no safety for the people anywhere else; they were kept in a constant state of alarm; did they go out to cultivate their lands, they carried their weapons of war, as well as their implements of agriculture. Did they carry their grain to mill, they bore their arms, and imagined every stump by the side of the road an Indian lying in ambush for them. Did they assemble at a "*stand*," to hear a sermon, their fire-arms were stacked near at hand. They carried their lives in their hands. Men were waylaid and killed in all circumstances; families were found all murdered and scalped on their own floors, if, too confident, they remained at home.

The most disastrous attack of the enemy of which any account is preserved, during the time of the Fort, was when a party of about Twenty men went out for forage to Moses Potts' house, which stood on a branch of Fourth creek. They were attacked at the house very suddenly, and *Seven young men* were killed and buried there. Some of the remainder escaped and reached the place of safety, but One fell mortally wounded, died, and was buried in front of the house known as the Alex. Higgins place, where his grave is

still seen. This is a specimen of what was of frequent occurrence.

Tradition preserves an account of One, and of only One, attempt of the merciless foe to storm the Fort. In what year, or at what time in the year, this occurred, we are not informed; but it is said to have been, contrary to what we might have expected in Indian warfare, on a bright moon-light night. Their approach was indicated early in the evening by the unusual barking of the dogs. An officer was directed to take a squad of soldiers and go out to scour the woods and drive them away. He was reluctant to go, and was also dissuaded by a female *friend*, when the officer in command said he would go himself.

He drew up his men in a line outside of the fort with the highest officers at each end; these the enemy endeavored to kill. And being in large force, the Indians fired once, and then advanced with their usual war-whoop, and drove the men back into the Fort. They made a desperate effort to take it, but in vain; the well directed fire of muskets from Three floors, with the execution done by the Two cannon of Governor Dobbs, was too much for them. They met with too hot a reception, and soon drew off, crying "Pugh! "Pugh!" and made no further attempt to storm the Fort. It is supposed that they lost a large number, as much blood was found on the leaves and on the ground; but, according to their custom, they carried off their dead, and retreated to the mountains.

This Block-House was near to where the name of Alexander Newbury is found on the Map, and about Three miles North of the town. After the close of the war it was burnt; the remains are still visible. There has always been a tradition in the country that there was a deep well, as we may well suppose there must have been, in the Fort; and that when it was destroyed, the field-pieces of Governor Dobbs were thrown into the well, and it was filled up. In February, 1847, the citizens of the town and vicinity, made an effort to open the well and recover the cannon, but they did not succeed. They were unable to find the spot where the well was; after penetrating about Forty feet, where an excavation had before been made, they came to a solid rock, which the former operators could not penetrate, and must have dug again in some other place. So that those guns, if thrown into the well, are still there.

As this was for several years an important point, and a place of refuge from danger, it became the great center of *roads* in this part of the country. And as Salisbury, Thirty miles distant, was the oldest town in this part of the State, a military post, and the Court House of the county, there would be much passing between these Two points. But owing to great changes arising

from new arrangements in the country, the roads have altered their direction. "The old Fort "road," as it was called, is almost unknown to the present generation. It came out from Salisbury on the track of the present Sherrill's Fort road to the Catawba, about Fourteen miles; then it crossed Third creek into the present Statesville road, which it followed till within Four miles of the town; it was then divided, and one part went to the right, passing near the house of the upper Thomas Allison on the Map; crossing the mill-pond of the late Andrew N. Allison, on the left-hand prong of Fourth creek, and thus on to the Fort. It is a long time since the last few miles of this road was in use. The other part passed up about a mile West of the town to Morrison's mill, before mentioned, on Third creek, which it crossed a little above, and went thence near Sterling's church to the Island Ford on the Catawba, and so on West. Over the upper portion, and near that ford, Twelve miles West of the town, General Morgan's army passed flying into Virginia before Cornwallis, in 1781, after the battle of Cowpens.

Query with regard to Fort Dobbs: It appears that at that time the Americans had a chain of forts on this side of the Alleghanies corresponding to those of the French on the West side, intended to cut off the Colonies from the great Valley. There was Fort Littleton in Pennsylvania, Sixty miles above Fort Cumberland, in Maryland. Then Winchester, in Virginia, was a great center and rallying point for that State. In 1756, Governor Dinwiddie "projected a chain of frontier forts, from the Potomac to the borders of North Carolina." "The plan of a frontier line of Twenty-three forts "was persisted in."

"As to the sites of the frontier posts, they were "decided upon by Washington and his officers, "&c." "He visited such as were in progress "and near at hand." "In the Autumn he made "a tour of inspection along the whole line, &c." From the connection, we infer that this line extended from Fort Loudon (Winchester), South, through Virginia to some point in or on the borders of North Carolina. For the historian adds, when he seems to be speaking of his return after having inspected "*the whole line from the "Catawba, he was escorted along a range of "forts by a Colonel, &c."*" Was Fort Dobbs, erected by the direction of the Governor of North Carolina, in any way connected with this chain or line of forts in Virginia? Did it in any way come under the inspection of Washington and his officers? Did he visit it in the fall of 1756? It was within about Ten miles of the Catawba river, and the only place where, if he approached

the Catawba at all, he would return from it. But the line projected by the Governor of Virginia was to extend only to "the borders of "North Carolina." This was not in the province of Washington; there is no tradition in the country that he ever visited this spot. Moreover, he speaks of setting out (apparently from his Southern limit), "and by the protection of "Providence reached Augusta Court House in "Seven days," which he could not have done from here. But the Yadkin, with its tributaries, lies between here and the Virginia line, and if he did not cross that, it is difficult to see why the Author mentions the Catawba.

What does he mean by saying, "From the "Catawba, &c.?" E. F. R.

## VII.—PATRICK HENRY.

### 1.—A MEMORANDUM BY THOMAS JEFFERSON.\*

My acquaintance with Mr Henry commenced in the winter of 1759-60. on my way to the college I past the Xmas holidays at Col<sup>o</sup> Dandridge's, in Hanover, to whom Mr Henry was a near neighbor. during the festivity of the season I met him in society every day, & we became well acquainted, altho I was much his junior, being then but in my 17<sup>th</sup> year & he a married man. The spring following he came to W<sup>m</sup>bg to obtain a license as a lawyer, & he called on me at college. he told me he had been reading law only 6. weeks. two of the examiners, however, Peyton & John Randolph, men of great facility of temper, signed his license with as much reluctance as their dispositions would permit them to shew.

Mr Wythe absolutely refused. Rob: C. Nicholas refused also at first, but on repeated importunities and promises of future reading, he signed. these facts I had afterwards from the gentlemen themselves, the two Randolphs acknowledging he was very ignorant of law, but that they perceived him to be a young man of genius, & did not doubt he would soon qualify himself.

He was some time after elected a representative of the county of Hanover and brought himself into public notice on the following occasion, which, I think took place in 1762. or a year sooner or later. the gentlemen of this country had at that time become deeply involved in that state of indetbtment which has since ended in so general a crush of their fortunes. Robinson the Speaker was also Treasurer, an officer always chosen by the Assembly. he was an excellent man, liberal, friendly and rich. he had been drawn in to lend

\* Irving's *Life of Washington*, I., 216, 219, 224, 226.

\* From the original manuscript in the office of *The (Philadelphia) Age*.

on his own account great sums of money to persons of this description, & especially those who were of the assembly. he used freely for this purpose the public money, confiding for it's replacement in his own means & the securities he had taken on those loans. about this time however he became sensible that his deficit to the public was become so enormous as that a discovery must soon take place, for as yet the public had no suspicion of it. he devised therefore with his friends in the assembly a plan for a public loan office to a certain amount, from which monies might be lent on public acct' & on good landed security to individuals. this was accordingly brought forward in the House of Burgesses, and, had it succeeded, the debts due to Robinson on these loans would have been transferred to the public, & his deficit thus completely covered. this state of things however was not yet known; but mr Henry attacked the scheme on other general grounds in that style of bold grand and overwhelming eloquence, for which he became so justly celebrated afterwards. he carried with him all the members of the upper counties, and left a minority composed merely of the aristocracy of the country. from this time his popularity swelled apace, & Robinson dying 4. years after, his deficit was brought to light, & discovered the true object of the proposition.

The next great occasion on which he signalled himself was that which may be considered as the dawn of the Revolu. in March 1774. the British parliament had passed resolu. preparatory to the levying a revenue on the colonies by a stamp tax. the Virginia assembly at their next session, prepared & sent to England very elaborate representations addressed in separate forms to the King, Lords and Commons, against the right to impose such taxes. the famous stamp act was, however, past in Jan., 1765 and in the session of the Virgi assembly of May following, mr Henry introduced the celebrated resolu. of that date. these were drawn by George Johnston, a lawyer of the Northern neck, a very able, logical and correct speaker. mr Henry moved and Johnston seconded these resolu. successively. they were opposed by Randolph, Blood, Pendleton, Nicholas, Wythe & all the old members whose influence in the house had till then been unbroken. they did it, not from any question of our rights, but on the ground that the same sentiments had been at their preceding session expressed in a more conciliatory form to which the answers were not yet received. but torrents of sublime eloquence from mr Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnston, prevailed. the last however, & strongest resolu. was carried but by a single vote. the debate on it was most bloody. I was then but a student and was listening at the door of the lobby (for as yet there was no gallery) when Peyton Randolph,

after the vote, came out of the house and said, as he entered the lobby "By god I would have given 500 guineas for a single vote" for as this would have divided the house, the vote of Robinson, the speaker, would have rejected the resolution. mr Henry left town that evening and the next morning before the meeting of the house, I saw Peter Randolph, then of the Council, but who had formerly been clerk to the house, for an hour or two at the clerk's table searching the old journals for a precedent while he was clerk, of a resolution of the house erased from the journals by a subsequent order of the house, whether he found it or not I do not remember; but when the house met, a motion was made & carried to erase that resolu; and there being at that day but one printer, & he entirely under the controul of the governor, I do not know that this resolu. ever appeared in print. I write this from memory, but the impression made on me, at the time, was such as to fix the facts indelibly in my mind.

I came into the Legislature as a Burgess for Albermarle in the winter of 1768/9. on the accession of L<sup>d</sup>. Botetourt to the government and about 9. years after mr Henry had entered on the stage of public life. the exact conformity of our political opinions strengthened our friendship, and indeed, the old leaders of the house being substantially firm, we had not after this any differences of opn in the H. of B. on matters of principle, tho sometimes on matters of form. we were dissolved by L<sup>d</sup>. Botetourt at our first session; but all were re-elected. there being no divisions among us, occasions became very rare for any display of mr H.'s eloquence. in ordinary business he was a very inefficient member. he could not draw a bill on the most simple subject which wd bear legal criticism, or even the ordinary criticism which looks to correctness of style & idea for indeed there was no accuracy of idea in his head. his imagination was copious, poetical, sublime, but vague also. he said the strongest things in the finest language, but without logic, without arrangement, desultorily. this appeared eminently & in a mortifying degree in the 1<sup>st</sup> session of the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress which met in Sep 1774.

mr Henry & Richard Henry Lee took at once the lead in that assembly, and by the high style of their eloquence were in the first days of the session looked up to as *primi inter pares*. a petition to the King, an Address to the people of G Britain, and a Memorial to the people of British America were agreed to be drawn. Lee, Henry & others were appointed for the first, & Lee, Livingston & Jay for the two last. the splendor of their debut occasioned mr Henry to be designated by his commes to draw the petn to the king, with which they were charged, and mr Lee was charged with the address to the people of England. the last was first reported. on reading it every coun-

tenance fell and a dead silence ensued for many minutes. at length, it was laid on the table for perusal and considn till the next day when first one member, and then another arose, & paying some faint compliments to the composition observed that there were still certain considerns not expressed in it, which should properly find a place in it. at length mr Livingston (the Govr of N. J.) a member of the commee rose & observed that a friend of his had been sketching what he had thought might be proper for such an address, from which he thought some paragraphs might be advantageously introduced into the draught proposed: and he read an address which mr Jay had prepared *de bene esse* as it were. There was but one sentiment of admirn. the address was re-committed for amendment, and mr Jay's draught reported & adopted with scarce any altern. these facts were stated to me by mr Pendleton and Colo. Harrison of our own delegation, except that Colo. Harrison ascribed the draught to Govr, Livingston & were afterwards confirmed to me by Govr Livingston, & I will presently mention an anecdote confirmative of them from mr Jay and R. H. Lee themselves.

Mr. Henry's draught of a petn to the king was equally unsuccessful, and was recommitted for amendment. mr John Dickerson was added to the commee & a new draught prepared by him was passed.

The occasion of my learning from mr Jay that he was the author of the Address to the people of Gr. Britain requires explanation by a statement of some preceding circumstances. The 2<sup>d</sup> session of the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress met on their own adjmt in May, 1775. Peyton Randolph was their president. in the meantime Ld. North's conciliatory proposns came over to be laid by the Governors before their legislatures. Ld. Dunmore accdly called that of Virginia to meet in June. This obliged P. Randolph as Speaker to return. our other old members being at Congress, he pressed me to draw the answer to Ld. North's proposn. I accdly did so, and it passed with a little softening of some expressions for which the times were not yet ripe & wire-drawing & weakening some others to satisfy individuals. I had been appointed to go on to Congress in place of Peyton Randolph, & proceeded immediately, charged with presenting this answer to Congress. as it was the first which had been given, and the tone of it was strong the members were pleased with it hoping it would have a good effect on the answers of the other states. A commee which had been appointed to prepare a Declaration to be published by Genl. Washington on his arrival at the army, having reported one, it was re-committed, & Dickinson & myself added to the commee. on the adjournment of the house happening to go out with Govr. Livingston, one of the Commee, I

expressed to him my hope he would draw the Declaration. he modestly excused himself, & expressed his wish that I would do it. but urging him with considerable importunity, he at length said "you & I, sir, are but new acquaintances: what can have excited so earnest a desire on your part that I should be the draughtsman?" "Why, sir, said I, I have been informed you drew the Address to the people of Gr. Brit. I think it the first composition in the English language, & therefore am anxious this declaration should be prepared by the same pen." He replied, that I might have been misinformed on "that subject," a few days after, being in conversation with R. H. Lee in Congress till a little before the meeting of the house, mr Jay observing us, came up, & taking R. H. Lee by a button of the coat said to him pretty sternly, "I understand, Sir, that you informed this gentleman that the Address to the people of Gr. Br. presented to the commee by me was drawn by Govr. Livingston." the fact was that the Commee having consisted of only Lee, Livingston, who was fath-in l. of Jay & Jay himself & Lee's draught having been rejected & Jay's approved so unequivocally, his suspicions naturally fell on Lee as author of the report; & the rather as they had daily much sparring in Congress, Lee being firm in the revolutionary measures, and Jay hanging heavily on their rear. I immediately stopped mr Jay, and assured him that tho' I had indeed been so informed, it was not by mr Lee, whom I had never heard utter a word on the subject.

I found mr Henry to be a silent & almost un-meddling member in Congress. on the original opening of that body, while general grievances were the topic, he was in his element & captivated all by his bold & splendid eloquence. but as soon as they came to specific matters, to sober reasoning and solid argumentation he had the good sense to perceive that his declamation however excellent in it's proper place, had no weight at all in such an assembly as that, of cool-headed, reflecting, judicious men. he ceased therefore in a great measure to take any part in the business. he seemed indeed very tired of the place & wonderfully relieved when, by appointment of the Virginia convention to be Colo. of their 1<sup>st</sup> regiment he was permitted to leave Congress about the last of July. how he acquitted himself in his military command will be better known from others. he was relieved from this position again by being appointed Governor on the first organization of the government. after my service as his successor in the same office my appointment to Congress in 1783. mission to Europe in 84. & appointment in the new govt in 89. kept us so far apart that I had no further personal knolege of him.

Mr Henry began his career with very little property. he acted, as I have understood, as barkeeper in the tavern at Hanover C. H. for sometime. he married very young; settled, I believe, at a place called the Roundabout in Louisa, got credit for some little store of merchandize, but very soon failed. from this he turned his views to the law, for the acquisition or practice of which however he was too lazy. whenever the courts were closed for the winter session, he would make up a party of poor hunters of his neighborhood, would go off with them to the pinywoods of Fluvanna, and pass weeks in hunting deer, of which he was passionately fond, sleeping under a tent, before a fire, wearing the same shirt the whole time, & covering all the dirt of his dress with a hunting-shirt. he never undertook to draw pleadings if he could avoid it or to manage that part of a cause & very unwillingly engaged but as an assistant, to speak in the cause. and the fee was an indispensable preliminary, observing to the applicant that he kept no accounts, never putting pen to paper, w<sup>ch</sup> was true. his powers over a jury were so irresistible that he received great fees for his services, & had the reputation of being insatiable in money. after about 10. years practice in the County courts he came to the Genl. court, where however being totally unqualified for anything but mere jury causes, he devoted himself to these, & chiefly to the criminal business. from these poor devils it was always understood that he squeezed exorbitant fees of £50, 100. & 200£. from this source he made his great profits, & they were said to be great. his other business, exclusive of the criminal, would never, I am sure, pay the expenses of his attendance. he now purchased from Mr Lomax the valuable estate on the waters of Smith's river, to which he afterwards removed. the purchase was on long credit & finally paid in depreciated paper not worth oak leaves. about the close of the war he engaged in the Yazoo speculation, & bought up a great deal of depreciated paper at 2/ & 2/6 in the pound to pay for it. at the close of the war, many of us wished to reopen all accounts which had been paid in depreciated money, and have them settled by the scale of depreciation. but on this he frowned most indignantly, & knowing the general indisposition of the legislature, it was considered hopeless to attempt it with such an opponent at their head as Henry. I believe he never distinguished himself so much as on the similar question of British debts in the case of Jones & Walker. he had exerted a degree of industry in that case totally foreign to his character, and not only seemed, but had made himself really learned on the subject. another of the great occasions on which he exhibited examples of eloquence such as probably had never

been exceeded, was on the question of adopting the new constitution in 1788. to this he was most violently opposed, as is well known; and after it's adoption he continued hostile to it, expressing more than any other man in the U. S. his thorough contempt & hatred of Genl. Washington. from being the most violent of all anti-federalists however he was brought over to the new constitution by his Yazoo speculation, before mentioned. the Georgia legislature having declared that transaction fraudulent & void, the depreciated paper which he had bought up to pay for the Yazoo purchase was likely to remain on his hands worth nothing. but Hamilton's funding system came most opportunely to his relief, and suddenly raised his paper from 2/6 to 27/6 the pound. Hamilton became now his idol, and, abandoning the republican advocates of the constitution, the federal government on federal principles became his political creed. Genl. Washington flattered him by an appointment to a mission to Spain, which he declined; & by proposing to him the office of Secretary of State, on the most earnest solicitation of Genl Henry Lee, who pledged himself that Henry should not accept it; for Genl Washington knew that he was entirely unqualified for it, & moreover that his self-esteem had never suffered him to act as second to any man on earth. I had this fact from information, but that of the mission to Spain is of my own knowledge because after my retiring from the office of Sec<sup>y</sup> of State Genl. Washington passed the papers to mr Henry through my hands. mr Henry's apostacy sunk him to nothing in the estimation of his country. he lost at once all that influence which federalism had hoped, by cajoling him, to transfer with him to itself and a man who thro a long & active life had been the idol of his country beyond any one that ever lived, descended to the grave with less than it's indifference, and verified the saying of the philosopher, that no man must be called happy till he is dead.

## 2.—MR. JEFFERSON AND PATRICK HENRY.\*

We read the other day in the *Philadelphia Age* a curious tract or memorandum by Mr. Jefferson on Patrick Henry. It is not a pleasant document. As it bears no date, one can only conjecture the circumstances and influences under which it was written, and it is natural to attribute it to that portion of Mr. Jefferson's life when, in absolute retirement at Monticello, he allowed himself to be embittered not only by memories of past animosities, but to be irritated into fresh re-

\* Communicated to *The (New York) World*; and published in that paper on the second of August, 1867.



sentments by busy, gossiping correspondents. His old age was not, in this respect, a picturesque one. He had the misfortune to keep a "Note-book" and a "Diary," and there he jotted down not only the occurrences of the day, which is the most innocent form of the nuisance "Diary," but what other people told him and what he fancied were his recollections. This Patrick Henry memorandum reads very much like a page from *Ana.* Mr. Jefferson never duly measured the new terror of death—posthumous publication of his private papers, and he has suffered grievously from it. Not so much, perhaps, as his great rival Hamilton, whose fame has literally been slaughtered by an unnatural son, but still the work of self-disparagement was pretty well done. His relatives and biographers have illustrated another defect of personal character, which is now very prominent. Mr. Jefferson never seemed to rise to the dignity of proud contentment with the great triumph which he and his party won over the Federalists, and which kept them in full possession of the Government for a quarter of a century—from 1800 to 1825. Mr. Madison did. Mr. Jefferson seemed always in a fume—in a political fret. He was always thinking of the Federalists and their chiefs as if they were in full life and in the field against him—angrily of Hamilton, who was in his bloody grave; as angrily of Burr, who had put him there, though an exile and an outcast; of Henry Lee; of Judge Marshall, who was out of his way and moving innocently in the pure serene of his high function; of Washington; and now, it seems, of Patrick Henry. On his tomb, Mr. Jefferson long after wrote what we must describe as the ill-natured epitaph which the *Age*, though evidently with some misgiving, reproduces.

As to Mr. Jefferson's recollections of Henry in early life and his comments on his professional qualifications and intellectual characteristics, we can say nothing. They may be just or not. Mr. Jefferson was a man of the pen and not of the tongue. Patrick Henry was the reverse. Mr. Jefferson, in this memorandum, bows down in reverence to the triumphs of the pen, even when won by those whom he disliked as much as he did Mr. Jay and Mr. Dickinson. He rather pooh-poohs the "orator," and this thread of disparagement of Henry's intellect runs through this whole criticism, and must, we think, be apparent to every one. But there is, in our judgment, a graver defect in this "character" of Henry. It is historically inexact. It is worth notice, too, that Mr. Jefferson, who was a rhetorical artist, puts the sharp sting at the end. After whittling away Mr. Henry's good name on small matters, and leaving chips all about him as to his "rapacity for fees," and his "parsimony," and "the Yazoo speculation," he winds

up with the following, in which the reader will observe that at one blow, in which all his spiteful energies are concentrated, he strikes Washington, Lee, and Henry.

"General Washington flattered him by an appointment to a mission to Spain, which he declined; and by proposing to him the office of Secretary of State, on the most earnest solicitation of General Henry Lee, who pledged himself that Henry should not accept it. For General Washington knew that he was entirely unequalled for it, and moreover, that his self-esteem had never suffered him to act as second to any man on earth. I had this fact from information; but that of the mission to Spain is of my own knowledge, because, after my retiring from the office of Secretary of State, General Washington passed the papers to Mr. Henry through my hands. Mr. Henry's apostasy sunk him to nothing in the estimation of his country. He lost at once all that influence which Federalism had hoped, by cajoling him, to transfer with him to itself, and a man who, through a long and active life, had been the idol of his country beyond any one that ever lived, descended to the grave with less than its indifference, and verified the saying of the philosopher, that 'no man must be called happy until he is dead.'"

Here, so far as facts are concerned, Washington and Lee are most disparaged—the former as party to a small stratagem for buying up a political adversary by an offer (and that, too, of a Cabinet office) which he knew would not be accepted; and General Lee as the go-between on the occasion. Unfortunately for Mr. Jefferson, facts (stubborn things), as now ascertained, do not support his theory. He ignores the fact that between Washington and Henry there had always been a kind feeling dating as far back as 1777, when Henry refused to join the "Cabal." Differences as to the Federal Constitution before its adoption, in which we incline to think, from what we see now-a-days, Henry was right, separated them. But concurrence of opinion as to the insanity of the French Revolution—the bloody radicalism of the Convention in France, so like our "Convention" in the District of Columbia—brought them together again. This it is that Mr. Jefferson, crazy as he was on the subject of France, never forgave. *Hinc illae objurgationes.* As to the traffic for posts in the Washington Cabinet, there is not a shadow of foundation for the gossip. The private letters on the subject, unseen, of course, by Mr. Jefferson, are now in print. They tell a story very different from his imaginings. On the seventeenth of August, 1794, Lee wrote to Washington that he had met Mr. Henry in Virginia, who expressed some fears that mischief had been made, and that he (Henry) was

looked upon as "a factious and seditious man," by the President. "He seems," says Lee, "to be deeply and sorely affected. It is very much to be regretted, for he is a man of positive virtue as well as of transcendent talents." Washington replied at once that there was no foundation for this idea; and added, and it shows how long Washington remembered the base means once employed to ruin him: "On the question of the Constitution, Mr. Henry and myself, it is well known, have been of different opinions, but personally I have always respected and esteemed him; nay more, I have conceived myself under obligations to him for the friendly manner in which he transmitted to me *some insidious anonymous writings that were sent to him in the close of the year 1777* with a view to embark him in the opposition forming against me at that time." This was communicated to Henry, who at once said in a letter, every word of which is instinct with patriotism: "My present views are to spend my days in privacy. If however it shall please God, during my life, so to order the course of events as to render my feeble efforts necessary for the safety of the country in any, even the smallest degree, that little which I can do shall be done. Whenever you may have an opportunity, I shall be much obliged by your presenting my best respects and duty to the President, assuring him of my gratitude for his favorable sentiment towards me." It was in this letter he said, "Although a Democrat myself, I like not the late Democratic Societies."

These Societies, we all know, were Mr. Jefferson's pets, even when he was in Washington's Cabinet. In October, 1795, Washington wrote, not to Lee, whose agency in reconciliation had long since ceased, but to Edward Carrington, that he was desirous to bring Mr. Henry into his Cabinet, but feared he would not accept the place; and on the ninth of October he offered him the post of Secretary of State. Mr. Jefferson says he made the offer knowing he was unfit, and under an assurance from Lee that it would not be accepted—a very disingenuous and discreditable trick. Washington's letter lies before us and we wish we had room to print every word of it. Its first words—remember, reader, it is Washington who writes—"Whatever may be the reception of this letter, truth and candor shall mark its steps. You doubtless know that the office of State is vacant; and no one can be more sensible than yourself of the importance of filling it with a person of abilities, and one in whom the public would have confidence. My wish is that you will accept it," and then he adds:

"My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, as far as depended upon the Executive Department, to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic; but to keep the United

"States free from connections with every other country, to see them independent of all, and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and happy at home, and not, by becoming the partisans of Great Britain or France, create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps, forever the cement which binds the Union. I am satisfied these sentiments cannot be other-wise than congenial with your own. I ask your aid in carrying them into effect."

Does this look like a half-hearted offer, such as Mr. Jefferson represents it? Mr. Henry declined the position in a letter which has not been preserved, and Colonel Pickering was appointed.

In the last years of their lives Washington and Henry corresponded on terms of the most affectionate intimacy. Washington begged him to go back to the Virginia Legislature, which he did; and it was at this time Henry wrote a letter, from which we wish, in conclusion, we could make some extracts, every word of which, if seen, would have been gall and wormwood to Mr. Jefferson and his Gallo-manias. We are compelled here to close our effort to do exact justice to the honored dead—especially the dead of that great and glorious Commonwealth—the mother of *States* and creator of the Constitutional Union. Now, Niobe in her voiceless woe.

### 3.—THOMAS JEFFERSON AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.\*

There was printed, yest rday, on the editorial page of *The World*, an interesting communication on Jefferson and Patrick Henry. Lest the place we gave it should be deemed to imply assent, we wish to state that, in several particulars, the article expressed views which are not ours. Its apparent purpose was to defend Washington, by documentary proofs, against the opinion of Jefferson, that he had tendered to Patrick Henry the office of Secretary of State, expecting and wishing that Henry would decline it. The defence seems successful; but the acrimonious vivacity with which the writer depicts the old age of Jefferson was not called for by the occasion. The unlovely view of that statesman's later years is quite different from the one his correspondence, and the published accounts of visitors and inmates, had led us to adopt; but we have no space for that general question. The writer makes that topic relevant by his conjecture that a memoran-

\* From *The (New York) World*, of the third of August, 1867.

dum expressing the opinion he contests was written after Jefferson's retirement. If the opinion in question had just come to light, and had never been expressed by Jefferson except in that memorandum, the conjecture respecting its date might perhaps make it pertinent to account for the opinion by the suspicious peevishness of old age. But, in point of fact, this opinion was expressed by Jefferson at the time of the transactions, before he was elected Vice-President, and before Patrick Henry had given that adhesion to the Federalists which was subsequent to, if not in consequence of, these proffers of office.

In a letter dated July 10, 1796, Jefferson told Monroe: "Most assiduous court has been paid to Patrick Henry. *He has been offered everything which they knew he would not accept.* Some impression is thought to be made, but we do not believe it is radical. If they thought they could count upon him, they would run him for their Vice-President; their first object being to produce a schism in this State. As it is, they will run Mr. Pinckney." It seems to us, therefore that in combating this opinion, there was nothing in its date, or the circumstances of its formation, requiring a repulsive picture of Mr. Jefferson's old age. The resemblance, so far as it has any, is that of caricature; and it is irrelevant.

A scholar so erudite and so ripe in habits of historical research as is our contributor can have but slight respect for the authority of a writer like Hildreth, who dumps all his authorities in a heap at the end of his last volume, and never by specific references enables us to test the value of any particular statement. But we are not aware that Hildreth's honesty has ever been impeached. The fact that a statement is made by him may be taken as a proof that he found authority for it somewhere. Hildreth corroborates the statement of Jefferson, which our correspondent contradicts, that the office of Secretary of State was offered to Patrick Henry on Henry Lee's suggestion. That opinion must have had sufficient currency to exonerate Jefferson from the suspicion of having wantonly invented it. Hildreth also ascribes Henry's surprising conversion from the most violent of all the opponents of the Constitution to a stiff Federalist in part to personal motives. "*Few persons,*" says Hildreth, "*are insensible to personal motives,* and besides these political considerations urged by Washington, Henry had strong personal reasons for thinking well of, and giving his support to, that system of Government which he had once so vehemently opposed. *Within a few years past*" [previous to 1799] "*he had entered extensively into the prevailing land speculations,* and, more judicious and fortunate than many others, he had been made wealthy by the appreciation of his landed property."

Our contributor ascribes Jefferson's opinion of Henry's unfitness for the office of Secretary of State to his inability to appreciate an orator. In point of fact, Jefferson had a lively appreciation of oratorical excellence, and his admiration of Henry as an orator was unbounded. There is abundant evidence, in his Autobiography and Correspondence, of his high estimate of Henry's wonderful powers, of his patriotism, and of his pre-eminent services in setting in motion the ball of the Revolution. In his Autobiography, begun in 1821, at the age of Seventy-seven, Jefferson bears this shining testimony to Henry's prodigious powers: "I attended the debate at the door of the lobby of the House of Burgesses, and heard the splendid display of Mr. Henry's talents as a popular orator. *They were great indeed, such as I never heard from any other man.* He appeared to me to speak as Homer wrote. My recollections of these transactions may be seen in page 60 of the *Life of Patrick Henry*, by Wirt, to whom I furnished them." Wirt, who was a fervent admirer of Henry, constantly consulted Jefferson about his Biography, submitted to him the proof sheets as they were printed, and asked his corrections and suggestions. He was led to do this by the frequency and fondness with which Jefferson was accustomed to allude to Henry in conversation. The habitual kindness of Jefferson's allusions to Patrick Henry appear in the published memoranda and letters of persons who lived with him at Monticello in his last years.

Our contributor says that, in his old age, Jefferson "was always thinking angrily of Hamilton, 'who was in his bloody grave.'" This is in contradiction to evidence which we suppose to be authentic. In Martin Van Buren's posthumous work on Political Parties there is a letter, written to him at his request, by Nicholas P. Trist, who married Jefferson's granddaughter and lived in his family, describing the general tone and purport of Jefferson's remarks on Hamilton. Mr. Van Buren states that in his visit to Monticello, they talked more of Hamilton than upon any other topic, and that Jefferson spoke of him in the same liberal spirit described by Mr. Trist.

We have given to this subject all the space we deem fitting, although there are other things in the contribution we published yesterday, from which we dissent. As to the matter which forms the gist of the writer's criticism, even his rebutting evidence proves, not indeed that Washington believed Henry would not accept, as Jefferson alleged, but that he "*feared*" he would not—and the event showed that the fears were perfectly well-founded.

# VIII.—THE INVASION OF CANADA, IN 1775.

A FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL HENRY CALDWELL TO GENERAL JAMES MURRAY.\*

ON BOARD THE *Hunter*, SLOOP-OF-WAR, }  
June 15, 1776. }

MY DEAR GENERAL :

In my last letter, I gave you a full account of the state of our Province at that time. I am not now certain whether Arnold had arrived when my letter went away; he, however, with the greatest difficulty, got, with about 800 men, to Sertigan, in the beginning of November. The people, from hunger and fatigue, were in a very weak condition; so much so that fifty men properly posted, might have made the whole party prisoners; nor, indeed, could they have got forward, had not the Canadians sent bullocks and other provisions to meet them.

The 8<sup>th</sup> they got to Pointe Levy, where they took post, as also at my mill. The fellow whom I had employed to put the mill in order, and who was to have had a share in the profits of it, turned out a great scoundrel, put me to great expense, and has proved to be in the rebel interest. He contrived to detain some of my flour, and two hundred bushels of my wheat, which was at the mill, for the rebels' use; he afterwards was appointed their Commissary of Provisions, and acted in that position till the siege or blockade—which ever you please to term it—was raised, which happened on the 6<sup>th</sup> May, on the arrival of the *Isis*, man-of-war, and two frigates with some transports, and the 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment; a frigate also arrived a few days after, with the transports of the 47<sup>th</sup> Regiment from Halifax.

I think, in my last letter, I mentioned to you the surrender of St. John's; a few days after, Generals Carleton and Prescott evacuated Montreal, with about one hundred and fifty men, the remains of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Regiments, with the staff, who embarked in the *Gaspé*, sloop-of-war, and some armed vessels that lay there; they fell down the river till they got within a few leagues of Sorel, where the enemy, by that time, had taken post, and erected batteries of 2, 3, 6, 9, and 12-pounders each. The wind not serving, the ships stopped there about the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, when Gen. Carleton quitted the *Gaspé* in the night, escaped in a birch canoe, and arrived at Quebec about the 20<sup>th</sup>. Two days after, as we were told, the pilots on board the vessels mutinied, and refused to conduct them past the batteries; and Prescott, with his people, surrendered,

with, I suppose, about 100 seaman, chiefly Canadians, that were on board the different vessels—I must confess, to my great surprise. Nor have I been able to account for it, since there must have been some circumstances with which we were unacquainted; for the pilots might have been obliged to do their duty, and, waiting for a leading gale of wind, the ships might have passed the narrows with little loss, in spite of the batteries on the shore, or a floating battery, which, by means of a heavy gun, might have been kept at a distance, and annoyed them a little. Be it as it may, our garrison at Quebec suffered considerably in the loss of the men and officers that were taken.

In the mean time, Arnold, as I before told you, had taken post of Pointe Levy, with about 800 men; not a soldier at Quebec but Col. McLean, who just arrived about that time from Sorel, from whence he had been obliged to decamp, with about 100 of his new corps of emigrants; about 60 of the Fusileers, composed chiefly of their recruits, and about 100 recruits of McLean's corps, which Malcolm Fraser and Captain Campbell had raised in Newfoundland, and had just landed. The *Lizard*, frigate, arrived also about the same time, with £20,000 cash; though that gave us some spirits, yet the town was in great danger of being given up, through the cabals of the disaffected, whom Cramahé permitted to remain in town, notwithstanding the repeated representations made to him to order them away. Indeed, to tell the truth, I believe he was thoroughly frightened.

However, a kind of Council of War was summoned, at which the Captains of the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, sloops, Colonels McLean and I, with some others, assisted. It was there determined that the town should be defended to the last; and that it was for the King's service that the *Lizard* and *Hunter* should winter at Quebec, and their crews assist in the defence of the place. That an embargo should be laid on the ships in the harbour; and that their masters and crews should also assist. The money was got on shore; and the militia assembled. The Canadians, at first, were very lukewarm, and said if the English inhabitants would defend the town, they would; and the British subjects, to their eternal honour, not only set an example on that, but on every other occasion during the siege.

We were about 330, officers included; everybody did duty, either as officers or privates, and I can assure you, duty was never done with more punctuality or earnestness. Inhabitants worth £3,000 or £4,000, standing sentry in their turn, during our severe winter nights, with the greatest alacrity; and what is still more to their honour (as it was found necessary to mix the guards, British and Canadians), they submitted

\* From Manuscripts relating to the early History of Canada, recently published under the auspices of The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

with the greatest cheerfulness to the command of the Canadian officers, whom they held cheap, and who were in reality their inferiors, both as to education and fortune. Indeed, in general, I had the greatest reason to be satisfied with my corps (for Cramahé gave up his share of the command of it, never making his appearance out of doors, the whole winter.) Indeed, the better kind of people, by keeping up a spirit of emulation amongst them, hardly ever put it in my power to reprimand them; those of a lower class were kept in very good order, by fining them of their pay, and by the black-hole, on bread and water,—a punishment they were much afraid of;—and though, at first, I didn't attempt it, yet in a little time, I brought them to it without murmuring.

Arnold crossed the river about the 14th of November; landing at Wolf's Cove and Sillery; and marched directly to *Sans Bruit*, where he surprised some of my servants, who were busy loading some of my carts and waggons for town. They got there before day, seized on all my working bullocks, about 20, and 4 or 5 fat ones, with all my horses; and there they lived away on my beef and potatoes, about a week, when they retreated to Pointe-au-Tremble, on a rumour of our intentions to attack them from the town; for their ammunition had been spoiled, carrying through the woods, so that they had not more than 4 rounds a man; and their shoes and clothes were all in pieces, and the men themselves but ill recovered from their fatigues; we had indeed talked of attacking them the morning they passed the river, and I wished for it much from the idea I had formed of their situation, but our field-pieces were not in readiness, and that plan was laid aside: the day Arnold retreated, General Carleton arrived.

I saw, as affairs were situated, that the public service might suffer by my being on bad terms with him, and resolving that every thing should give way to that, I went to see him, which I had not done for six months before; and we have been on good terms ever since.

On the General's arrival, he ordered all the people that were disaffected and those that did not choose to take up arms, out of town, on pain of being taken up and treated as spies. That Order strengthened the garrison considerably. We could guard against open and avowed enemies, but not against those lurking about town: cabals then ceased; and every body seemed zealous for the public service; the Bonfields left the town on that occasion; Wells, Zachary McCauley, Murdock Stewart, John McCord, and several others, amongst whom were four or five of the militia officers appointed by Cramahé. It is not doubted whether your friend, Mr. Allsop, would have been of the number, had it not been

for the employments he held. He continued, however, to be almost the only man in the garrison that did not do duty; pleading his business as Commissary, to which employment Mr. Carleton named him.

When Arnold retreated, I got in a little of my hay, some oats, wheat, &c, but they again returned whilst I had about 15,000 bundles of hay out; and a day or two before their return, as I suppose, some Canadians, wanting to pilfer something at *Sans Bruit*, where I had only an old man to take care of the house, the fire from his pipe, I imagine, fell in some hay (of which there was a quantity in each room to serve as beds to the Yankees) set it on fire, and before morning, the house was burned to the ground. The out-house, however, still remained; and La Gorgendière's house was then in pretty good repair; but when the siege was raised, it was pitiful to behold the desolation and waste that reigned about all my farms; the barns and stables torn to pieces and burned; the fences torn all to pieces; and though the house at La Gorgendière's was not burned, yet it was torn to pieces. In the inside, the floors torn up and useless, the windows all broken, and the offices entirely destroyed; that, however, must be my future residence,\* and I have given orders to have it repaired. That I have suffered in my fences and farms, &c; &c., including hay, carts, and ploughs, and, at my mill, in wheat and flour stolen, independent of the destruction of my houses and offices, which you can form an idea of, (and which must have cost you about £2,000)† is not less than £100 sterling, for I had just got every thing in order, and was beginning to put myself snug and comfortable, when those plunderers came to disturb me. However, they have not gained much by their expedition; and I flatter myself Government will take compassion on a poor ruined farmer who has not been inactive in their service. The burning of my house led me into this digression.

The day after this happened, my clerk, (Joshua Wolf) trying to save some more work, was taken prisoner by some of the enemy's flying parties; and a few days after, General Montgomery (brother to him, you might remember, at Quebec) and lately a Captain in the 17th Regiment, and your old acquaintance and friend, Colonel Donald Campell, Quarter-master-general, arrived at Holland's house (now the rebel head-quarters.)

We were not idle, in the meantime, in town: we got the merlons and embrasures repaired, platforms laid, guns mounted, the picketing at

\* La Gorgendière's house stood close to where the residence at Belmont has since been built.

† This sentence can leave no doubt that this letter was addressed to Genl. James Murray; as it is well that he had once owned, and sold, the estates in this neighborhood to Colonel Caldwell.

Cape Diamond and behind the Hotel Dieu repaired; barriers were made between the upper and lower town, and at the extremities of the lower town, at Sault-au-Matlot, and at the other side, at Près-de-Ville, which, you may remember, is on the further side of the King's Wharf, past the old King's Forges; these posts were strengthened with cannon.

In that situation, we were in the month of December; about the 14th, Mr. Montgomery got a battery formed of gabions, filled with snow and rammed close, with water thrown on it, which made it freeze, which, intermixed with fascines and snow, did not answer well; but as well as could be expected. On this battery, he mounted five guns, 12 and 9-pounders; and then sent a flag of truce, which the General would not receive, except on condition that they came to implore the King's mercy, which, indeed, was the way he treated several flags of truce that the enemy wanted to send in. Mr. Montgomery then contrived to have several letters thrown into the town on arrows, directed to the ——— and inhabitants of the town, full of threats and scurrility. He then opened his battery, which was erected on a rising ground, in a line with the tanners, who lived on the road to *Sans Bruit*, but without any effect: and Arnold's corps, which took post in St. Roch, under our walls, were continually firing at our sentries—the three Rifle companies in particular—these sometimes wounding a sentry. They also got seven Royals behind Grant's house,\* and threw a number of shells into town, also to no effect; and their battery was soon silenced, and some of their guns dismounted by the superior fire from the town.

About the 23rd, at night, my clerk made his escape, and brought with him one of their people. He effected it by getting a bottle of rum, and making the sentry over him drunk. He brought us the first certain accounts of their intention to storm the town; of their having ladders prepared; and of the different attacks that they were to make, as talked of amongst their troops; that Mr. Montgomery had declared his intention of dining in Quebec, on Christmas day; and, in public Orders, he promised the plunder of the town to his soldiers, which we afterwards found was true.

We had before kept a good look out, but this put us more on our guard. The few regular troops, such as they were, were off-guard, ordered to be accoutered, with their fire-arms beside them; the sailors, formed into a corps, under the command of Capt. Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, lay in their barracks in the same manner; and the two corps of militia, assembled at different points to take their rest, in the same manner also.

They remained quiet until the 31st of December; about five o'clock in the morning we were alarmed at our picket by Capt. Frazer, who was Captain of the main guard, and returning from his rounds, told us that there was a brisk firing kept up at Cape Diamond. The morning was dark, and at that time a drizzling kind of snow falling. McLean (who was second in command in the garrison, and who really, to do him justice, was indefatigable in the pains he took) begged that I would take part of my corps to Cape Diamond; and if I found it a false attack (as we both supposed it to be), after leaving the necessary reinforcements there, I might return with the rest. I accordingly went there, found the enemy firing at a distance; saw there was nothing serious intended; and after ordering a proper disposition to be made, proceeded to *Port Louis*. There I met Captain Laws, an officer to whom the General had given the command of an extra picket, composed of the best men of the detachment of the 7th and McLean's corps there; him I ordered back again to wait the General's orders, and proceeded to St John's Gate, where I first learned that the enemy had surprised the post at Sault-au-Matlot, and had got into the Lower Town.

I still had part of the B. Militia with me, and took upon me also to send some whom I found unnecessary on the ramparts, to the party, to wait for orders; and took an officer with a small party of the Fusiliers with me, by Palace Gate, just at the time when the officer I had mentioned to you, with about 70 men, was ordered to make a sortie and attack the enemy at the Sault-au-Matlot in the rear. I hastened, with what expedition I could, by the back of the Hotel Dieu, in the Lower Town; and on my way, passed by the picket drawn up under the field-officer of the day, who was Major Cox, formerly of the 47th, and now Lieut.-Governor of Gaspé. I got him to allow me to take your friend Nairne, with a subaltern and thirty men, and then proceeded to the Lower Town, where I found things, though not in a good way, yet not desperate. The enemy had got in at the Sault-au-Matlot; but, neglecting to push on, as they should have done, were stopped at the second barrier which our people got shut just as I arrived. It was so placed as to shut up the street of the Sault-au-Matlot from any communication with the rest of the Lower Town. As I was coming up, I found our people, the Canadians especially, shy of advancing towards the barrier; and was obliged to exert myself a good deal. To do old Voyer, their Colonel, justice, though he is no great officer, yet he did not show any want of spirit. However, my coming up with Nairne and a Lieutenant, with fifty seamen, gave our people new spirits. I posted people in the different houses that com-

\* Grant's house stood about the center of St. Roch.

manded the street of Sault-au-Matlot; some in the house where Levy, the Jew, formerly lived, others at Lymeburner's; the officers of the Fusiliers I posted in the street with fixed bayonets, ready to receive the enemy in case they got on our side of the barrier; they had on their side of it, fixed some ladders, and then another to our side, as it was to come down by. That was useful to us. I ordered it to be pulled away, and fixed it to the window in the gable end of a house towards us; the front of which commanded the street of the Sault-au-Matlot, and their side of the barrier. Then I sent Captain Nairne, and Dambourges—an officer also of McLean's Corps\*—with a party of their people; Nairne and Dambourges entered the window with a great deal of spirit, and got into the house on that side, just as the enemy was entering it by the front door. But Nairne soon dislodged them with his bayonets, driving them into the street; nor did they approach the barrier afterwards. They however kept up a brisk fire from back windows of the houses they had occupied in Sault-au-Matlot street, on our people in Lymeburner's house, on his wharf, and the street adjacent, from one of their houses.

I had a narrow escape; for going at day-break to reconnoitre on the wharf under them, just as they took post there, they asked, "Who is there?" At first, I thought they might have been some of Nairne's people, who I knew were next door to them, and answered "A friend.—Who are you?" They answered, "Captain Morgan's company." I told them to have good heart for they would soon be in the town, and immediately got behind a pile of boards beside me, not above ten or twelve yards from them, and escaped. Their fire, however, a good deal slackened towards nine o'clock, especially after I brought a 9-pounder on Lymeburner's wharf to bear upon them: the first shot of which killed one of their men and wounded another. I then called out to Nairne, in their hearing, so that he should let me know when he heard firing on the other side: our General had sent 500 men to hem the enemy in on that side; they soon after began to give themselves up and surrendered to Nairne, who sent them through the window to us. They then began to crowd in, in such numbers, that we opened the barrier; and they all gave themselves up on that side; while the party that made the sortie were busy in the same manner, on the other side of the post, and which had delayed so long from coming up, in taking and sending in by Palace Gate some straggling prisoners; but they had not a shot fired at them, and just arrived on that end of the post the enemy surprised, at the

time the officer I sent to take possession by Nairne with 100 men; thus ended our attack on that side, in which the enemy had about 20 men killed, upwards of 40 men wounded, and about 400 made prisoners.

Had they acted with more spirit, they might have pushed in at first and possessed themselves of the whole Lower Town, and let their friends in at the other side, before our people had time to have recovered from a certain degree of panic which seized them on the first news of the post being surprised.

In the mean time, Mr. Montgomery made his attack at *Prés-de-Ville*; rockets were thrown up as a signal to Arnold that both attacks might be made at same time. He got past some pickets, where we at first established our advance post; the guard was alarmed in time and prepared for his reception, but the post was much stronger than, I believe, he imagined; and defended by four cannons there and a 4-pounder. They were served by some seamen under the orders of the master of the transport; his name was *Barnsfare*. The guard was under the command of a\* Canadian officer of Militia; the men, Canadians and British, mixed. *Barnsfare* declared he would not fire till he was sure of doing execution, and with the utmost coolness, waited till the enemy came within his view, at about 30 yards distance, where they received a general discharge from the cannon and musketry. Nothing but groans were heard, and the rebels immediately retired: their General, his Secretary, two or three other officers, and about five privates killed on the spot; their wounded got off.

We had a block house on *Cape Diamond*, over *Drummond's wharf*, where the enemy formed. Had the officer of the Canadian Militia, who commanded there, done his duty, great havoc might have been made among the enemy, who was quite exposed directly under them, and not a shot fired at them.

Soon after the enemy was repulsed at that side, some old women brought an account that the rebels had surprised the post at *Sault-au-Matlot*, and had got into the Lower Town; part of the garrison that had lately behaved so well, were struck with a panic and began, some to hide their arms, some to throw them in the river; the — officer began to feel a little frightened, when a Mr. Coffin, a British gentleman, who with his wife and twelve children had taken refuge there, expecting to find there peace and quietness, and who had served previously in our militia, drew his bayonet, and declared he

\* It was there that an athletic Canadian, named *Charlant*, distinguished himself, together with Captains *Dumas* and *Dambourges*.

\* Error: two Canadian Militia officers were in command of this post: "alors le *Sieur Chabot* et le *Sieur Alexandre Picard*, "qui commandaient ce jour là la garde, donnèrent ordre de "mettre le feu aux canons chargés à mitraille"—*Sanguinet's Journal*.

would put the first man to death who laid down his arms or attempt to abandon his post, by which means he re-established order; and with the assistance of Captain Barnsford, who commanded the seamen, got two of the guns pointed on the opposite sides, in case Arnold's people, having got into the Lower Town, should attempt to force the post on that side: they, however, at that time were surrendering themselves prisoners; and immediately, having secured the post that had been surprised, I ordered all the rest of the men to the parade, to wait the General's orders, in hopes that we should have marched out directly, and completed our victory. But all that was done, was going out as far as Mr. Grant's, in St. Roch, and bringing in 7 Royals, that were placed behind his house; one small brass field-piece was also taken; and a few of the houses in which the enemy had before posted themselves, and from whence they had much annoyed us, were burned. The General did not choose to risk anything further; his ideas seemed entirely to centre in the preservation of the town, certain of succours arriving in the Spring; nor did he seem to carry his views towards the operation of the Summer Campaign, which might have been much forwarded by the entire rout of the enemy, as, in that case, St. John's might have been recovered, some of their craft and the entrance into Lake Chamblay secured.

Indeed, by the intelligence we received afterwards, their little army was thrown by our success into the greatest confusion. Above three or four hundred remained in a body together; and parties from them were continually on the march after large parties that were deserting with the intention of going homewards. We were, however, kept blocked up in the town; received little or no intelligence of what the enemy were about, except now and then by a deserter; indeed, such was the extent they obliged to guard, that, had I been in their situation, the expectation of having my quarters beat up would have prevented me from sleeping very sound.

From the 31st, things wore another face in town; the Yankees were no longer held in a respectable light; our success at least was equal to a reinforcement of 500 men; the garrison was in high spirits and wished for nothing more than a second attack. Never were people more alive or watchful: for my part, I never thought the enemy could be brought to a second attack; though, for example sake, I hardly ever lay at my own house at night; on duty for a great part of the winter every second day, never less than the third day, and nobody in the garrison ever took off his clothes, and the men of the militia who were not for guard the next day, always as-

sembled at pickets in the evening, in order to turn out if necessary, at a moment's warning. Thus we remained the remainder of the winter, always on the *qui vive*.

The army of the rebels retreating, for as they all had engaged only to certain periods, so, when their time was up, many insisted on going home, and those were replaced by others; nor do I think that troops of that kind can be ever formidable, for as they only engage for a year or a year-and-a-half, as soon as they know anything, they are discharged, and as their officers are very little their superiors in point of birth, they cannot enforce the respect which is necessary to keep up proper discipline; and, indeed, I believe also that the Quebec expedition will make them heartily sick of engaging in war out of their Provinces, as I do not think, by all accounts, they could have lost by sickness less than 500 men in the course of the winter: the small-pox also raged violently amongst them; and of those we had taken prisoners, not less than two hundred were cured of that disorder.

A great part of their army was also composed of Europeans; on these they had the greatest reliance, and with some reason, the same spirit that caused them to emigrate would naturally operate in every other circumstance of life. Of the prisoners we took, about 100 of them were Europeans, chiefly from Ireland; the greatest part of them engaged voluntarily in Col. McLean's corps, but about a dozen of them deserting in the course of a month, the rest were again confined, and not released till the arrival of the *Isis*, when they were again taken into the corps.

You can have no conception what kind of men composed their officers. Of those we took, one Major was a blacksmith, another, a hatter; of their Captains, there was a butcher, a ———, a tanner, a shoemaker, a tavernkeeper, &c., &c. Yet they all pretended to be gentlemen. They, as well as their privates, were treated well, had full allowance of provisions, and allowed as much liberty as the nature of our situation would admit; some of them abused that liberty and suffered for it. Some officers, tampering with the sentries, were discovered and put in irons; and their privates had actually laid a plot, named their officers, and proposed seizing one of the gates and endeavour to open it for their friends, who they found means of informing of the design, by one of them making his escape. The plot was discovered, and the delinquents put in irons; they were, however, all released on the arrival of the *Isis*.

Nothing very violent was attempted after the 31st. Their numbers, for two months after that period, did not, by all accounts, exceed 1400 men. Finding, however, that we attempted nothing against them, they were enabled effectually to



East comprising all the troops in Virginia and the States bordering on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, and that of the West, composed of those operating in the Valley of the Mississippi and the adjacent region. There is a prevalent belief that these armies mutually reinforced each other: that is, that troops were sent from the East to the West, and from the West to the East, very frequently at critical periods of the campaigns. But as a careful analysis of the ensuing tables will show, this took place only in a single instance: in September, 1863, when Longstreet, with his corps, was sent from Virginia to Tennessee, the remnants of this corps returning to Virginia in the Spring or Summer of 1864. In fact, there was a much greater interchange of troops between the Union armies of the East and the West than between those of the Confederacy.

### 1.—*The Confederate Armies of the East.*

Although, as will be seen, there were very considerable forces in the Carolinas and in Georgia, the bulk of the Confederate force in the East was throughout comprised in that of the "Army of Northern Virginia." This was fairly organized in the Spring of 1862, when McClellan had made his movement to the Peninsula. Previous to that time the Confederate forces in Virginia had been divided into a number of "districts." There was, for example, the "Army of the Peninsula," under Magruder; the "Department of Norfolk," under Huger; the "Aquia District," under Holmes, and several others at different times. These were finally concentrated in the Spring of 1862 at Yorktown and Richmond, under the command of J. E. Johnston. I have the full returns of these separate bodies, but I do not think it necessary to give them, as the condition and strength of the army concentrated under Johnston was furnished to me by the Commander himself. I may add, however, that the statement of General Johnston coincides wholly with the returns which came into my hands more than a year later. In answer to a letter of inquiry, General Johnston, under date of the third of January, 1866, wrote to me:

"In September, 1861, the effective strength of the army under my command in Northern Virginia was about 37,000. It occupied Leesburg, Centreville, Manassas, and the Lower Occoquan. On the thirty-first of December it had increased to 54,000, including Jackson's command. This army was much reduced during the Winter; but received some recruits in the early Spring. When, in April, 1862, it moved to Williamsburg, its strength (effective) was about 50,000, of which 6,000 were left with Jackson in the Valley, and 6,000 with Ewell on the Rappahannock. The remaining 38,000 were sent to

"the position near Yorktown. Magruder's own force was about 15,000, making our army at Yorktown, about the middle of April, near 53,000, exclusive of cavalry. Sickness and the fight at Williamsburg reduced this number by 6,000; our loss at Williamsburg was about 1,800. The strength of this army, when it reached the neighborhood of Richmond, was about 47,000. To these were added Anderson's and Branch's troops, about 13,000, and Three brigades of Huger's, not quite 7,000. This would make the effective of the army amount to about 67,000 at the time of the battles of Fair Oaks and Seven Pines (May 31)."

Johnston was severely wounded at Fair Oaks, and the command devolved upon G. W. Smith; but he had held it only for a day or two when he was attacked by a paralytic stroke, and R. E. Lee was placed in command of this army, which he retained as long as it existed. On the twenty-sixth of June he began his movement against McClellan. We have, in the official Confederate report of the Seven days, full means of arriving at the force then under his command. Including Jackson's command, which then joined him, and ever after constituted a part of his army, it numbered a little more than One hundred thousand effective men, a number which it never exceeded, and nearly equaled only upon Two subsequent occasions. Lee's first report of his force is of the date of the twentieth of July, more than a fortnight after the battle of Malvern Hill.

### DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, FEB. 28, 1862—FEB. 28, 1865.

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	Feb.	J. E. Johnston	47,617	56,896	84,225
	May	"	[67,000]	.....	.....
	June	R. E. Lee	[100,000]	.....	.....
	July	"	99,559	94,686	187,080
	Aug.	"	[95,000]	.....	.....
	Sept.	"	52,009	62,713	139,148
	Oct.	"	67,805	79,895	158,778
	Nov.	"	78,554	86,538	158,790
	Dec.	"	79,072	91,094	162,538
	Jan.	"	72,226	93,297	144,905
1863.	Feb.	"	58,559	74,495	114,175
	March	"	60,298	78,578	109,539
	May	"	68,352	88,756	188,689
	June	"	[100,000]	.....	.....
	July	"	41,185	58,611	117,602
	Aug.	"	56,827	71,964	133,264
	Sept.	"	44,367	55,221	95,164
	Oct.	"	45,614	57,251	97,311
	Nov.	"	48,267	56,088	96,576
	Dec.	"	48,553	54,715	91,258
1864.	Jan.	"	35,849	45,189	79,602
	Feb.	"	38,811	39,563	68,485
	March	"	39,407	46,151	79,202
	April	"	52,626	61,219	97,576
	June	"	51,863	62,571	92,685
	July	"	57,097	68,844	125,805
	Aug.	"	44,247	58,984	146,388
	Oct.	"	62,875	62,585	177,103
	Nov.	"	69,290	87,860	181,826
	Dec.	"	66,588	79,813	155,773
1865.	Jan.	"	58,445	69,673	141,627
	Feb.	"	59,094	78,849	160,411

The great difference between the returns of

the Army of Northern Virginia for June and July, 1862, shows the loss sustained during the Seven days; that between August and September, the losses sustained in the campaign beginning with Groveton and ending with Antietam; but of the Forty thousand quite half were stragglers, who never rejoined their ranks.

The difference (Fifty-nine thousand) between the returns for June and July, 1863, shows the losses of all sorts for the campaign of Gettysburg, lasting but Six weeks. There were many deserters; but the absolute loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was fully Forty thousand, almost half the army. The diminution in September was owing to the transfer of Longstreet's Corps to the West; the increase in the Autumn of 1864, to the calling to Virginia of every man that could be spared from North and South Carolina. The highest nominal number in this army was in November, 1864, when it showed a force of One hundred and eighty thousand; but of these more than half were absent, and little more than a third present for duty. These proportions had indeed existed for Six months, and continued to the close of the war. It is doubtful whether the army, when in April it finally retreated from Richmond, numbered, all told, Thirty-five thousand men; but the returns cease on the twenty-eighth of February, when there were still Fifty-nine thousand present for duty. The quarters from which came the troops composing this army are shown by the returns for the campaign of Antietam, where the losses in each regiment are given. Probably nearly every regiment was at one time or another brought into action. I found One hundred and seventy-seven regiments of infantry mentioned: of these there were from Virginia Thirty-nine, Georgia Thirty-seven, North Carolina Twenty-six, South Carolina Seventeen, Alabama Sixteen, Mississippi Twelve, Louisiana Nine, Texas Three, Tennessee Three, Florida Two, Arkansas One. At Chancellorsville, out of One hundred and twenty eight regiments Thirty-two were from Georgia, Twenty-six from Virginia, Twenty-five from North Carolina, Ten from Louisiana, Twelve from Alabama, Nine from South Carolina, Eight from Mississippi, Three from Texas, Three from Florida; but at this time there were Three divisions, containing, probably, Ten Virginia regiments in North Carolina with Longstreet.

#### DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA AND FLORIDA.

During 1861 the forces in this department varied from One thousand five hundred up to Five thousand. In the Spring of 1862 they were largely increased, as follows:

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. March	J. C. Pemberton.	29,172	84,443	40,955
April	"	26,471	82,796	88,472
May	"	13,184	22,524	25,984

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. June	J. C. Pemberton.	28,433	29,842	85,717
July	"	18,782	24,547	81,055
Aug.	"	16,281	21,618	28,914
Sept.	G. T. Beauregard	15,456	20,962	27,141
Dec.	"	21,858	25,819	82,212
1863. Jan.	"	18,888	21,625	27,052
Feb.	"	25,843	29,449	87,135
March	"	81,680	86,150	98,010
April	"	82,988	87,520	44,770
May	"	20,045	22,902	27,946
June	"	19,400	22,006	27,666
July	"	21,226	25,231	84,285
Aug.	"	21,471	29,919	42,192
Sept.	"	28,898	33,070	51,928
Oct.	"	29,866	35,235	50,277
Nov.	"	28,586	38,378	46,845
Dec.	"	29,552	34,064	47,421
1864. Jan.	"	38,287	38,222	51,858
March	"	28,672	32,652	42,802
April	Sam. Jones	25,498	29,084	83,752
May	"	11,719	13,282	17,510
June	"	12,421	14,273	18,838
July	"	11,190	14,079	19,562
Aug.	"	11,651	18,881	20,294
Sept.	"	11,586	18,561	20,967
Oct.	W. T. Hardee	12,446	15,085	23,605
Nov.	"	12,466	14,680	21,673
1865. Jan.	"	22,659	80,069	49,307

#### DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA.

Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862. Jan.	C. E. Gatlin	9,016	10,743	11,755
March	T. H. Holmes	19,924	24,085	28,022
April	"	16,042	19,868	22,507
June	"	17,217	21,261	26,356
Sept.	S. W. French	8,560	10,582	11,130
Nov.	"	6,069	7,559	9,070
Dec.	G. W. Smith	11,074	12,007	15,825
1863. Jan.	S. G. French	28,515	48,314	46,821
Feb.	"	14,984	19,338	26,584
March	J. H. Longstreet	42,103	52,708	73,116
May	D. H. Hill	22,149	26,538	84,469
June	"	18,607	22,322	80,757
July	W. H. C. Whitting	8,556	9,900	11,997
Aug.	"	7,891	8,367	11,889
Sept.	W. H. C. Whitting	14,758	17,591	28,015
Oct.	S. G. French	10,608	12,726	15,570
Nov.	G. E. Pickett	15,022	17,021	22,645
1864. Feb.	W. H. C. Whitting	19,398	22,952	80,317
June	G. T. Beauregard	12,592	17,180	22,785
Aug.	"	22,005	26,673	44,273
1865. Jan.	Braxton Bragg	11,548	13,164	23,807
Feb.	"	11,200	12,769	23,645
March	S. G. Marston	1,525	1,741	2,908

The great decrease in this department in March, 1863, was owing to the transfer of Longstreet's Corps from the army in Virginia. These returned to Lee in the Spring, but not in time to take part in the actions at Chancellorsville. Upon this corps, however, fell the heaviest blows at Gettysburg. During July and August North Carolina was almost stripped of troops; every man that could be spared was sent to Richmond, or to the army on the Rapidan. The reports for the Summer and Autumn of 1864 appear to be only partial. They indicate that there were only Two or Three thousand men left in North Carolina. All the rest had joined the forces at Petersburg and Richmond.

#### DEPARTMENT OF RICHMOND.

This department appears to have been organ-

ized in the Summer of 1862, at the time when Lee's army was away from the capital, engaged in the campaign against Pope.

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	Sept.	G. W. Smith	28,602	19,072	35,594
	Oct.	"	28,134	29,025	36,697
	Nov.	"	26,677	31,996	42,099
	Dec.	A. Elzy	6,225	7,516	12,033
1863.	Jan.	"	5,118	6,095	7,820
	Feb.	"	5,255	6,164	7,672
	March	"	5,789	6,099	7,485
	April	"	8,065	8,602	4,529
	May	"	8,533	9,237	11,762
	June	"	7,396	8,535	10,187
	July	"	14,406	16,419	20,790
	Aug.	"	12,501	14,554	19,188
	Sept.	"	4,925	6,200	10,235
	Oct.	"	5,354	6,753	10,817
	Nov.	"	5,122	6,228	8,535
	Dec.	"	6,206	7,553	11,601
1864.	Jan.	"	5,152	5,951	8,494
	Feb.	"	6,555	7,841	11,688
	March	"	7,500	9,025	18,023
	April	B. Ramseur	7,389	8,399	12,652
	May	"	5,746	6,956	9,989
	June	B. S. Ewell	6,176	7,127	9,198
	July	"	4,395	5,528	7,668
	Aug.	"	4,392	6,005	9,451
	Sept.	"	4,781	5,945	9,856
	Oct.	"	8,349	4,073	8,742
	Nov.	"	6,344	7,819	17,045
	Dec.	"	5,652	6,853	16,660
1865.	Jan.	"	5,596	6,442	16,229
	Feb.	"	4,692	5,431	9,675
	March	"	4,529	5,175	9,455

This department, after December, 1863, appears to have consisted of the local militia, composed mainly of Government employes, and exempts from the regular service. The returns are of special interest, as showing with what ease Richmond might have been taken by a sudden attack made up the James, or even across the Peninsula. Thus, in June, 1863, when Lee began his march to Pennsylvania, a demonstration was actually made by a force of some Fifteen thousand from Yorktown; it reached the Chickahominy, but finding the bridges guarded, it returned without making any attempt at going further. At this time, there were but Six thousand men there present for duty, and but Nine thousand, counting all, present and absent. Again, in February, 1864, when Kilpatrick made the raid in which Dahlgren was killed, having actually penetrated the lines of fortification, there were but Seven thousand five hundred of these militia in Richmond, besides about Two thousand under Winder, forming what was called "the Department of Henrico," who formed the guard for the prisoners. Had Kilpatrick kept his cavalry force together, he might have rode into the city and liberated the prisoners. Or had this cavalry raid been supported by a few thousand infantry, Richmond might have been taken and held. When the prisoners were removed to Andersonville, and elsewhere South, the Department of Henrico seems to have been given up, for I find no returns from it, except for the months of March, April and May, 1864.

In Western Virginia there was during 1863 a small body of troops, numbering at different periods from Seven thousand to Nine thousand, under General Sam Jones. These, in March, 1864, were placed under J. C. Breckinridge, but he was defeated and driven out of the region in April.

In the Gulf States there were few troops until near the close of the war. They were mainly in the "Department of the Gulf." The number was usually about Six thousand; the highest being in January, 1864, when there were Ten thousand, under Maury. The returns are full for 1863 and 1864, but it is not necessary to quote them in full. They were mainly in and around Mobile. At the close, there were here probably about Twenty thousand, made up from the remnants of other departments.

## 2.—Armies in the West.

In the various Confederate armies of the West, the departments and commanders were frequently changed in accordance with the shifting scenes of the war. The numbers at any one time can be ascertained by a careful examination of the dates of the returns which follow:

FIRST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT.					
	Date.	Commander.	For Duty.	Present.	Present for Duty.
1861.	Oct.	L. Polk	18,806	28,318	26,458
	Nov.	"	20,049	28,093	24,488
	Dec.	"	21,051	25,798	28,680
1862.	Jan.	"	17,606	.....	.....
	Feb.	"	15,465	22,061	24,784
CENTRAL ARMY OF KENTUCKY.					
861.	Nov.	W. H. Hardee	1,178	15,977	19,815
	Dec.	"	12,846	16,258	22,005
1862.	Jan.	"	22,660	30,739	39,558
	Feb.	"	11,650	.....	17,651
ARMY OF TENNESSEE.					
1862.	Nov.	Braxton Bragg	30,649	96,686	61,229
	Dec.	"	51,080	59,075	83,484
1863.	Jan.	"	36,981	49,381	83,750
	Feb.	"	42,083	55,193	87,788
	March	"	49,315	65,594	96,301
	April	"	52,069	67,942	98,217
	May	"	50,333	64,792	93,217
	June	"	45,974	59,545	89,597
	July	"	39,513	52,690	81,291
	Aug.	"	45,041	59,027	83,278
	Sept.	"	41,970	58,857	.....
	Oct.	"	46,496	65,609	102,990
	Nov.	W. H. Hardee	48,094	58,755	119,255
	Dec.	J. E. Johnston	42,439	57,428	98,215
1864.	Jan.	"	41,583	55,059	88,459
	Feb.	"	37,787	48,010	79,071
	March	"	42,125	55,118	85,953
	April	"	48,887	63,807	96,569
	June	"	54,085	77,441	137,192
	July	J. B. Hood	44,495	65,601	136,634
	Aug.	"	47,826	71,827	136,543
	Sept.	"	40,403	60,943	123,090
	Oct.	"	30,600	45,719	96,867
	Dec.	"	23,053	24,439	86,995
ARMY OF EAST TENNESSEE.					
	Date.	Commander.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	April	E. K. Smith	10,866	12,715	16,209
	May	"	11,066	14,469	20,402
	June	"	18,453	16,294	24,886
	Nov.	"	26,219	31,412	43,882
	Dec.	"	7,811	9,253	15,419

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1863.	March	D. H. Donalson	11,867	15,828	23,538
	April	D. H. Maury	14,153	17,678	25,554
	July	S. B. Buckner	15,335	17,328	26,411
	Oct.	Sam. Jones	7,975	9,471	17,057
	Nov.	"	10,546	12,592	18,580
	Dec.	J. Longstreet	15,362	21,256	44,173
1864.	Jan.	"	18,667	25,514	52,351
	Feb.	"	19,010	25,204	45,085
	March	"	18,357	23,917	44,042
	July	S. B. Buckner	14,907	17,843	25,618
	Aug.	J. H. Morgan	2,980	3,874	5,205
	Sept.	J. Echols	3,904	4,145	6,542
	Oct.	J. C. Breckinridge	3,001	3,752	7,188
1865.	Feb.	J. Echols	3,108	4,003	10,052

## DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	March	A. S. Johnston	85,147	44,524	55,977
	April	G. T. Beauregard	45,712	66,908	98,522
	May	Braxton Bragg,	49,873	72,280	108,054
	July	"	49,306	68,126	98,201
	Aug.	"	27,320	31,154	47,215
	Oct.	L. Polk	27,860	32,425	57,446
	Dec.	J. C. Pemberton	39,545	48,228	70,241
1863.	Jan.	"	40,902	51,580	73,114
	Feb.	"	46,012	58,464	77,997
	March	"	48,845	29,411	82,284
	May	J. E. Johnston	25,154	36,259	54,190
	July	"	23,879	30,411	53,976
	Nov.	"	18,942	24,569	44,497
1864.	Jan.	L. Polk	19,850	25,041	44,225
	Feb.	"	15,650	20,270	34,205
	March	"	15,224	19,765	33,994
	April	"	15,814	19,750	34,491
	May	L. D. Lee	15,113	18,307	30,932
	June	"	13,108	16,686	29,524
	July	D. H. Maury	8,622	11,934	22,407
	Aug.	"	10,263	13,656	26,596
	Sept.	Dick Taylor	16,578	21,999	39,271
	Oct.	"	15,024	21,106	37,649
	Nov.	"	10,459	15,592	32,148

## TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT.

	Date.	Command.	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
1862.	Sept.	Dick Taylor	3,851	4,702	5,845
	Nov.	T. H. Holmes	23,834	27,632	35,551
1863.	Jan.	Dick Taylor	3,536	4,775	7,233
	Feb.	J. B. Magruder	6,079	7,083	9,322
	March	"	13,354	16,152	26,991
	April	"	20,693	25,824	41,813
	May	E. K. Smith	19,186	22,274	34,584
	Sept.	"	26,047	30,459	46,121
	Oct.	J. B. Magruder	33,459	42,405	66,473
	Nov.	"	17,169	20,870	36,250
	Dec.	E. K. Smith	34,345	40,937	73,239
1864.	Sept.	"	33,046	52,367	76,384

The following tables give, approximately, and in round numbers, the strength and disposition of the different Confederate armies at several important periods during the war. It is not possible to make these out with perfect accuracy, because in a few instances there are no returns from all the armies, of the precise date. In such cases the return nearest to the date indicated has been adopted.

## JULY 20, 1862.

	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
Dept. of Northern Virginia -	70,000	95,000	139,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	19,000	25,000	31,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	17,000	21,000	27,000
Total Army of the East -	106,000	141,000	197,000
Dept. of Tennessee -	40,000	53,000	81,000
Dept. of East Tennessee -	15,000	18,000	26,000

	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
Dept. of Mississippi -	42,000	68,000	98,000
Dept. of the Gulf -	7,000	9,000	10,000
Total Army of the West -	111,000	148,000	215,000
Total Armies of East and West	217,000	289,000	412,000
SEPTEMBER, 1862.			
Dept. of Northern Virginia -	53,000	62,000	139,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	16,000	21,000	27,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	9,000	10,000	11,000
Dept. of Richmond -	24,000	29,000	36,000
Total Army of the East -	102,000	122,000	213,000
Dept. of Tennessee -	42,000	58,000	85,000
Dept. of East Tennessee -	15,000	16,000	25,000
Dept. of Mississippi -	27,000	31,000	47,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi -	24,000	28,000	36,000
Dept. of the Gulf -	7,000	9,000	10,000
Total Army of the West -	117,000	137,000	203,000
Total Armies of East and West	219,000	259,000	416,000

## MARCH, 1863.

Dept. of Northern Virginia -	60,000	73,000	109,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	32,000	36,000	43,000
Dept. of S. Virg. and N. Carolina	45,000	53,000	73,000
Dept. of Richmond -	6,000	6,000	7,000
Total Army of the East -	143,000	168,000	232,000
Dept. of Tennessee -	5,000	66,000	96,000
Dept. of East Tennessee -	11,000	16,000	23,000
Dept. of Mississippi -	49,000	59,000	82,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi -	2,000	25,000	41,000
Dept. of the Gulf -	8,000	9,000	10,000
Total Army of the West -	138,000	175,000	252,000
Total Armies of East and West	281,000	343,000	484,000

## JULY, 1863.

Dept. of Northern Virginia -	41,000	54,000	117,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	21,000	25,000	34,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	9,000	10,000	12,000
Dept. of Richmond -	14,000	16,000	21,000
Total Army of the East -	85,000	105,000	184,000
Dept. of Tennessee -	40,000	58,000	81,000
Dept. of East Tennessee -	15,000	18,000	26,000
Dept. of Mississippi -	28,000	36,000	54,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi -	22,000	30,000	46,000
Dept. of the Gulf -	5,000	6,000	8,000
Total Army of the West -	113,000	148,000	215,000
Total Armies of East and West	198,000	243,000	399,000

## APRIL, 1864.

Dept. of Northern Virginia -	52,000	61,000	97,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	26,000	29,000	39,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	5,000	6,000	7,000
Dept. of Richmond -	7,000	9,000	13,000
Total Army of the East -	90,000	105,000	156,000
Dept. of Tennessee -	44,000	64,000	97,000
Dept. of East Tennessee -	15,000	21,000	44,000
Dept. of Mississippi -	15,000	20,000	34,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi -	33,000	58,000	77,000
Dept. of the Gulf -	7,000	8,000	12,000
Total Army of the West -	119,000	165,000	274,000
Total Armies of East and West	209,000	270,000	430,000

## AUGUST, 1864.

Dept. of Northern Virginia -	44,000	59,000	147,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	11,000	14,000	20,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	22,000	26,000	44,000
Dept. of Richmond -	4,000	6,000	9,000
Total Army of the East -	81,000	105,000	221,000

	For Duty.	Present.	Present & Absent.
Dept. of Tennessee - - -	44,000	65,000	127,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - -	18,000	21,000	89,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - -	10,000	14,000	27,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi -	88,000	53,000	77,000
Dept. of the Gulf - - - -	6,000	7,000	9,000
Total Army of the West -	116,000	160,000	329,000
Total Armies of East and West	197,000	265,000	550,000
NOVEMBER, 1864.			
Dept. of Northern Virginia -	69,000	88,000	182,000
Dept. of S. Carolina and Georgia	12,000	15,000	21,000
Dept. of S. Va. and N. Carolina	8,000	4,000	5,000
Dept. of Richmond - - - -	6,000	7,000	17,000
Total . - - - - -	90,000	114,000	225,000
Dept. of Tennessee - - - -	80,000	46,000	96,000
Dept. of East Tennessee - -	8,000	4,000	7,000
Dept. of Mississippi - - - -	15,000	21,000	38,000
Dept. of Trans-Mississippi -	88,000	52,000	77,000
Total - - - - -	86,000	124,000	218,000
Total - - - - -	176,000	248,000	443,000

The Confederate army undoubtedly reached its highest point, both in numbers and efficiency, in the early Summer of 1863, when the movement into Pennsylvania was commenced. At the close of March, before all preparations had been made, the returns show a nominal force of Four hundred and eighty-four thousand, of whom Three hundred and forty-one thousand were present, and Two hundred and eighty-one thousand present for duty. Probably about Twenty thousand were added during the next Six weeks to the Army of the East; so that we may safely say that at the middle of June there were a little more than Five hundred thousand on the muster rolls, of whom Three hundred thousand were present for duty. The army, especially that under Lee, were in the highest state of efficiency. The recent victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had inspired them with perfect confidence in their own invincibility. The Confederacy was at that time like an athlete in the highest condition of training. Fully one-half of the men of military age were enrolled in the army. If we take into account those exempt by infirmity, those employed in the various civil departments, and those detailed directly to perform labor in the various military work-shops, it is hardly an over-statement to say that every able-bodied man was enrolled; of these Seven out of Ten were actually present, and Six out of Ten were "present for duty." No people could long sustain such a strain. In the first week of July they suffered losses amounting to fully One hundred thousand men. At the end of the month Lee had only Forty-one thousand for duty out of the One hundred thousand with which he had set out Six weeks before; and in a month by every exertion he could get together only Fifteen thousand more, and out of this Fifty-six thousand, all told, he was forced to send Fifteen thousand of his best troops

to the West. If the Autumn campaign of 1863 in Virginia had been prosecuted by the Union commander with anything approaching vigor, there is no reason to doubt that it would have closed the war; for Meade had an army fully double that of Lee. When in the Spring of 1864 Grant opened his campaign, Lee had only a little more than Fifty thousand, and in August, when the siege of Richmond was fairly opened, he had, counting in those present with him, though still nominally belonging to the Department of North Carolina, less than Sixty thousand. From this time the returns show how prevalent became desertions from the Confederate armies at the East and West. In August, out of a nominal force of Five hundred and fifty thousand, there were not Two hundred thousand present for duty in all the armies. At the close of February, the date of the latest report in our possession, Lee, out of a nominal force of One hundred and sixty thousand had present but Seventy-three thousand, and for duty but Fifty-nine thousand. More than half were absent wholly, and little more than a third were present for duty. When he finally abandoned Petersburg and Richmond, it is doubtful whether he had Thirty-five thousand men all told.

We judge that, in all, Six hundred thousand different men were in the Confederate ranks during the war. Of these we do not believe one-half are alive this day. Once in the ranks there was no escape except by death, disablement from wounds or sickness, or desertion. Of the Three hundred thousand of the Confederate soldiers yet alive, no man can say what proportion are wholly or in great part disabled by wounds or disease; but it is safe to say that in three years the South lost by the war alone, fully one-third of its able-bodied white male population. A great part of the accumulated wealth of the people was swept away; not merely changing from one hand to another, and so in the natural course of things certain to be redistributed, but absolutely annihilated. Not merely the created wealth, but the means of creating it has been destroyed. We think that there is not in all history the record of a war attended by such utter disaster. These facts are quite sufficient to account for the great cry of distress which surges up to us from that unfortunate region. The mills of the gods have ground swiftly, but they have yet ground exceedingly fine. With the ghastly array before us of the figures which have been set forth in this paper, we have little sympathy with any man—even though he may have suffered the loss of his best and dearest—who will now lift up hand or voice save to aid and console the suffering people of the South. If they committed—as we believe they did—a grievous wrong, most grievously have they answered for it.

## X.—EXPEDITION OF NARVAEZ TO CONQUER FLORIDA.

[This document, a curious relic of the past, exists in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, in the package inscribed "N.º ESPAÑA Descubrimientos, descripciones y Poblaciones. Leg. 1. años 1520 á 1527," a copy of which was brought to this country a few years ago by Mr. Buckingham Smith, and now, in a translation, is first published. It appears, in the original Spanish, to be the draft in blank for a formal authorization with the signature of Charles V., and is one of the earliest original papers extant relating to the history of this country. No appointment to the office designated seems ever to have been made; other offices were filled, as follows: Cabeça de Vaca, Treasurer and High-Sheriff; Alonso Enriquez, Comptroller; Alonso de Solis, Distributor and Assessor, and Juan Xuares, friar of San Francisco, Commissary.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

### INSTRUCTION TO THE FACTOR OF FLORIDA.

THE KING.

What you, \_\_\_\_\_, are to do in the office you take with you as our Factor of the Rio de las Palmas and land Pamphilo de Narvaez,—whom we have provided with the government thereof,—goes to settle, is as follows:

First: In the City of Sevilla you will present our provision, which you bear for that station,—to our officials, in the House of Contratación of the Indias, residing in said City, of whom you will ask an account of the notices that appear to them you should learn and have of the matters of that land, and, beyond this instruction, of the manner in which you should discharge the duties of that office for the perfect security of our Exchequer.

Likewise: In that land you will receive into possession all merchandise and property that at the present time are there, or shall be sent there under our order, from the officials of said City of Sevilla, as well as from the officials of the Islands of Española, San Juan, Fernandina and Santiago, for expenditure and distribution in those lands equally the things that appertain to our service as those for sale and exchange, all which you are to do under our Comptroller of that land.

So likewise: All the things of our Exchequer that shall be in your charge you will barter and sell and utilise in the manner most for the growth of the public treasure, and distribute by the orders and drafts signed by our Comptroller, whom we direct to take account and specification of the transactions, as well the time as the place thereof, that in our Exchequer there be proper security.

Also: The things that you have in possession not necessary for our service and that shall be for sale, you must acquaint thereof our Governor of the country, and our officers residing therein, that you all collectively determine what should be sold and at what price, and you shall try to dispose of them to the greatest advantage possible; but, since it might happen, as has been

known, that at the time things are appraised they are worth the price at which they are valued and then cannot be sold, they come incontinently so to depreciate, that if kept to be sold for the price at which they are valued, they would become injured, then in such event you will attempt and strive to dispose of such things at the highest rate that you can, in the opinion of said Governor and officers, and keep you specification and account of the price of each article sold, that when asked you may be able to state, as is reasonable and your duty to do.

Again: You will go, with all the money that may arise from such articles in your charge as you shall sell, to \_\_\_\_\_, our Treasurer in that land, so soon as they are sold, without any deduction from the money or price at which they may have been sold while in your possession and control, all which you thus deliver to be entered in the book of our Comptroller, that in it may exist the particulars and amounts of all.

So likewise: You will have great care and diligence in protecting and preserving our Exchequer to the extent it may be in your charge, and improve and benefit it to the extent possible, giving all the good care and solicitude requisite and for which I confide in you.

Likewise: You must take account, and in general particulars, of all the things that are sent or given to you, and of those you sell or deliver, each article by itself apart, that whenever worth while the entire account may be seen and understood. More than this, you will have a care to inform us of the profits there may be on each article and likewise those said officers at Sevilla, and of the Island of Española, of San Juan, of Cuba and of Jamaica, that the advantages, if any, on each article may be known, and whether it will be for our interest to send such merchandise or otherwise.

Also: You will be vigilant and make much effort to learn what things are most profitable and necessary to be sent to that land, as much for barter as sale and contract, holding first advisement with our said Governor and officers, and then informing us with particularity of all, as well those said officers at Sevilla and of the mentioned Islands, that they may provide therefor.

And in as much as the offices of our Governor, Treasurer, Comptroller and Factor of that land are separate, each in its sphere having for object whatever may be for the good of our royal revenue and well populating and pacification of that land, every one, consequently, should consider the offices of the rest as his, and on this account you should communicate and converse of all matters touching your office that are for our service and whatever else with said Governor and officers, joining with them that, collectively, you may see and commune respecting what in

every instance should be done, as well for matters there, as to serve and inform us respecting all.

So, likewise: You must have great care that whatever occurs touching your charge and office, wherein it may be necessary to resolve and determine by judicial proceeding, by free decision of a true man, or by agreement of friends, you will converse and communicate upon with our said Governor and our other said officers.

And, for the fulfilment of the foregoing and safety of our Exchequer, I command our said officials at Sevilla to take and receive of you, the said , before they allow you to depart in the exercise of the office, securities ample and approved; and, since it may be difficult for you to give such in Sevilla, before our said officials, our will and disposition are that you may give them in any part of our kingdoms, before the Board of Magistrates of the Province where you shall so offer them, and whom we command to receive them of you, full and sufficient, in ducats, which we order, with the evidences and obligations of the bonds you shall give, be put and kept in the archive, among the papers of said House, and, thus executed, they permit you to go freely to the exercise of said office, even though you may not have given the securities in said city.

And, that in our Exchequer there may be the requisite security, I command that all the gold, pearls and seed-pearl that shall come into the possession of our Treasurer of that land, as well our fifths as those of excise and dues of every other kind, be put in a chest with three different keys, of which you shall have one, and the two others our Treasurer and Comptroller of said land, that no gold be taken from that chest save by hand of the three, obviating by this arrangement the inconveniences and frauds that otherwise might ensue and recur, and thus may be sent to us at the times we have required, which we order you to observe and comply with, likewise our said Treasurer and Comptroller, under pain of forfeiture of your offices and goods to our tribunals and treasury, in which pains we will condemn you, and hold you condemned, the contrary doing.

Done at , on day of the month of , of the year One thousand five hundred and twenty . I, THE KING.

## XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

### 21.—THE "BOZ" BALL.

#### 1.—*The Preliminary Meeting of Citizens.*

It having been announced in the public prints that Mr. Charles Dickens had landed in the United States, a numerous meeting of citizens

was held at the Astor House, on Wednesday evening, the twenty-sixth of January, to take into consideration the propriety of tendering to him a suitable welcome on his arrival in New York. The meeting was called to order by William H. Maxwell, who nominated Robert H. Morris as Chairman. Prosper M. Wetmore named D. C. Colden and D. C. Pell as Secretaries. The officers being duly elected, the meeting was addressed by Philip Hone, Charles W. Sandford, J. W. Edmonds, J. R. Livingston, Jr., J. W. Francis, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Prosper M. Wetmore, and other gentlemen; whereupon, William H. Maxwell, after some appropriate remarks, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting it is proper and becoming in the citizens of New York to unite heartily in those demonstrations of respect and esteem which have been, and will be, everywhere in our land, called forth by the visit of Mr. Dickens to America; not because of his talents alone, but in consideration of the noble use he has made of those talents in vindicating the rights, and claims, and feelings of humanity at large, without distinction of rank or circumstance.

"*Resolved*, That in welcoming Charles Dickens to America, we feel that we are at once paying due homage to genius and fulfilling the demands of gratitude; for as individuals we owe gratitude to the minister of intellectual delight, and, as republicans, we are bound to thank him who has, in his writings, so eloquently maintained the cause of the humble and oppressed; who exhibits in every line his own keen sensibility to wrong; and the pervading spirit of all whose works is a touching illustration of the truth that in the elementary constitution of men there is no difference, whatever difference circumstances may have created.

"*Resolved*, That in the arrangement of a fitting reception for the visitor whom we delight to honor, regard be had to the participation therein of the ladies; for we feel assured that our countrywomen will look with little favor on any device which excludes them from joining in a festival given in honor of him whose imagination and heart gave birth to 'Little Nell.'

"*Resolved*, That all the gentlemen present, and such others as may be hereafter named, constitute a General Committee."

GENERAL COMMITTEE.—Robert H. Morris, J. B. Nicholson, Philip Hone, Henry Brevoort, Valentine Mott, W. H. Maxwell, David Graham, James W. Webb, Alex. W. Bradford, A. S. Doane, E. A. Duyckinck, Daniel B. Tallmadge, John C. Cheeseman, Henry Inman, A. M. Cozzens, W. B. Dean, J. M. Smith, Jr., Thos. J. Oakley, Chas.

Delaforest, Wm. L. Morris, P. M. Wetmore, J. Prescott Hall, James E. Cooley, W. K. Northall, Chas. W. Sandford, M. M. Noah, Alexander Hamilton, Jr., John W. Francis, George P. Morris, Duncan C. Pell, Hugh McLean, Gerard H. Coster, John S. Bartlett, Charles P. Clinch, William Turner, Moses H. Grinnell, W. Starr Miller, John Inman, Wm. Kent, Beverley Robinson, Jr., Robt. J. Dillon, Wm. H. Appleton, S. Draper, Jr., F. W. Edmonds, Saml. I. Hunt, H. G. Stebbins, Augt. Fleming, Francis F. Waddell, Wm. Grandin, Chas. A. Clinton, Joseph Hudson, Charles M. Leupp, J. W. Gerard, F. A. Tallmadge, Wharton Griffith, Edward S. Gould, N. G. Ogden, D. C. Colden, J. W. Edmonds, J. Philips Phoenix, Dudley S. Gregory, John O. Sergeant, Theodore E. Tomlinson, A. G. Stout, George S. Doughty, C. A. Stetson, Charles A. Davis, R. Fayerweather, Martin Hoffman, James Phalen, R. C. Wetmore, P. S. Townsend, Wm. L. Shuttleworth, C. C. Cambreleng, Andrew Warner, Saml. Jones Mumford, Alfred A. Smith, Marshall O. Roberts, James R. Whiting, Joseph Gaillard, Jr., Cornelius R. Savage, John D. Van Buren, Edmund Simpson, Samuel P. Lyman, J. R. Livingston, Jr., J. Beekman Fish, Thos. J. Cummings.

On motion, Messrs. Sandford, Maxwell, G. P. Morris, Wetmore and J. W. Edmonds were appointed a Committee to withdraw and report forthwith a suitable plan for a Ball to be given to Mr. Dickens.

The meeting then resolved, unanimously, that Philip Hone be requested to write a letter of invitation in behalf of this meeting to Mr. Dickens, and that D. C. Colden be appointed to deliver it in person. Mr. Hone immediately prepared the following letter, which was signed by all the gentlemen then present:—

“NEW YORK, Jan. 26, 1842.

“SIR,

“The citizens of New York having received the agreeable intelligence of your arrival in the United States, and appreciating the value of your labors in the cause of humanity, and the eminently successful exercise of your literary talents, are ambitious to be among the foremost in tendering to you and your lady the hearty welcome which they are persuaded is in reserve for you in all parts of our country.

“With this object in view we have been appointed a Committee, in behalf of a large Meeting of gentlemen convened for the purpose, to request your attendance at a public Ball to be given in this city.

“Mr. C. D. Colden, one of our number, will have the honor of presenting this invitation, and is charged with the agreeable duty of presenting their congratulations on your arrival. We shall expect, through him, your kind acceptance

“of this invitation, and your designation of the day when it may suit your convenience to attend.

“We are, Sir,

“With great respect,

“Your Obed't Serv'ts.”

The Committee, of which Charles W. Sandford was Chairman, appeared and made the following Report:—

#### “REPORT.

“With a desire of tendering to Mr. Dickens those hospitalities and courtesies due to a stranger of such eminent genius and private worth, and in order to afford the Ladies, as well as the citizens at large, of New York an opportunity of exchanging salutations with him, we deem it an appropriate compliment to invite him and his Lady to a Ball, to be given expressly for the occasion.

“To heighten the effect, and in compliance with the desire universally expressed, it is recommended that the Ball Room represent various ‘compartments of ‘Curiosity Shop,’ in which the productions of ‘Boz’ may be illustrated. In order to add a strikingly novel and agreeable feature to the intended fête, it is suggested that a number of Tableaux Vivants be formed by competent Artists in the intervals of the dance, drawn from the Novels, Sketches, Poems and Dramas of Mr. Dickens, and shadowing forth, in living pictures, the graphic and glowing delineations of this singularly gifted and original author.

“As it is believed that the demand for Cards of admission will be very great, and that no Ball Room in the City will be large enough to contain the numbers desirous of being present on the occasion, it is recommended that the Park Theatre be engaged, and that the Ball take place at the earliest date, of which due notice will be given in the public prints.

“The Committee also recommend the following sketch of decorations and devices for the Ball Room, and arrangements for the floor:—

“1. The inside of the Theatre to represent a magnificent Saloon, hung with Chandeliers.

“2. The audience part of the house to be ornamented with festoons of flowers, garlands, draperies, and trophies emblematical of the different States of the Union.

“3. The floor to extend from the front of the boxes to the back of the building, where, on an elevated stage, arrangements be made for the representation of numerous Tableaux Vivants from the works of Mr. Dickens, represented by Artists under the direction of the Committee.

“4. The stage part of the Theatre to be highly embellished with various designs from the writings of ‘Boz,’ illustrating many of his



"striking, original, novel, graphic, and familiar scenes.

"5. A full and efficient Orchestra, comprising the principal musical talent at present in the City, to be engaged, and so arranged as to add to the general effect, without diminishing the space allotted to the Company.

"6. The Ball Room to afford accommodations for upwards of Three thousand persons.

"7. The following arrangements are also recommended:—

#### "ORDER OF THE DANCES AND TABLEAUX VIVANT.

- " 1—Grand March.
- " 2—Tableau Vivant, 'A Sketch by Boz.'
- " 3—Amilie Quadrille.
- " 4—Tableau Vivant, 'The Seasons,' a poem, "with music.
- " 5—Quadrille Waltz, selections.
- " 6—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Oliver Twist.'
- " 7—Quadrille March, Norma.
- " 8—Tableau Vivant, 'The Ivy Green.'
- " 9—Victoria Waltz.
- " 10—Tableau Vivant, 'Little Nell.'
- " 11—Basket Quadrille.
- " 12—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Nicholas "Nickleby.'
- " 13—March.
- " 14—Tableau Vivant, 'A Sketch,' by Boz.
- " 15—Spanish Dance.
- " 16—Tableau Vivant, 'The Pickwick Papers.'
- " 17—Boz Waltz.
- " 18—Tableau Vivant, 'Washington Irving in "England and Charles Dickens in America.'
- " 19—Postillion Quadrille.
- " 20—Tableau Vivant, 'Curiosity Shop.'
- " 21—March.
- " 22—Tableau Vivant, 'The Club.'
- " 23—Contra Dance.
- " 24—Tableau Vivant, the book of 'Barnaby "Rudge.'
- " 25—Gallopage."

On motion, it was resolved, that the Chairman appoint a Sub-committee of Sixteen to carry the foregoing arrangements into effect.

The following gentlemen were then named by the Chair:—

Philip Hone, George P. Morris, Martin Hoffman, J. W. Francis, W. H. Maxwell, John W. Edmonds, Daniel B. Tallmadge, Charles W. Sandford, John C. Cheeseman, Charles A. Davis, James M. Smith, Jr., Henry Inman, Prosper M. Wetmore, Francis W. Edmonds, John R. Livingston, Jr., William Starr Miller.

The Chairman and Secretaries were subsequently added to the Committee.

The letter of invitation to Mr. Dickens being handed to Mr. Colden, the meeting then ad-

joined to meet again at the Astor House on his return from Boston.

ROBERT H. MORRIS, *Chairman.*

D. C. COLDEN, }  
D. C. PELL, } *Secretaries.*

#### 2.—Meeting of Committee of Arrangements.

The Committee of Arrangements met on Saturday evening, the twenty-ninth of January, at the Green Room of the Park Theatre, when the Chairman read the following letter from Mr. Dickens:

"TREMONT HOUSE, BOSTON, Jan. 28, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I beg to convey to the Committee of Gentlemen, whose organ you are, my hearty and cordial thanks for their most kind congratulations, and my glad acceptance of the honor they propose to confer upon me.

"I have had the pleasure of seeing your agent, and of explaining my movements and arrangements to that gentleman.

"Rest assured that I shall only be too proud and happy to meet you at any time you may appoint, after receiving his explanation of my engagements.

"With many thanks to you and the Committee generally,

"I am, My dear Sir,

"Yours, faithfully and obliged,

"CHARLES DICKENS.

"ROBERT H. MORRIS, Esq."

The Committee thereupon Reported that the Ball take place at the Park Theater, on Monday, the fourteenth of February next.

The following Rules and Regulations to be observed on the occasion:

The doors to be opened at half-past seven, and the dancing to commence at nine o'clock.

The Committee to appear in full Ball dresses, and wear rosettes with appropriate designs.

Military and Naval officers to appear in their respective uniforms.

All fancy dresses to be positively excluded, except such as are admitted under the direction of the Committee.

An ample supply of Refreshments to be provided for the company.

Cloak and Retiring Rooms to be set apart for the accommodation of the Ladies, and suitable attendants to be in waiting.

Tickets admitting a Lady and Gentleman to be \$5. Any gentleman whose party may exceed more than one lady, to be furnished with extra ladies' tickets, not to exceed two, at \$2 each.

Cards of admission to be obtained from either of the Committee, at the Committee Room, in the Astor House, where the name of every person

who purchases a ticket will be registered in a book provided for that especial purpose.

Gentlemen applying for tickets will please to give the names of their Ladies, in order that the same may be written in the cards of invitation.

Each member of the Committee issuing tickets will endorse his own name on the back of the Cards.

An early application for Cards of admission will be necessary, as no more persons will be admitted to the fête than the Ball Room can conveniently accommodate.

An awning to be erected in front of the Theatre, to cover the sidewalk.

Carriages on arriving and departing will comply with the City regulations for the maintenance of good order at Public Assemblies.

Gentlemen are requested to dismiss their carriages on arriving at the door, and to take the one opposite to the entrance on their departure.

The Superintendent of Carriages will be in attendance to preserve regularity, and to see that no imposition be practiced upon the company through carelessness, extra charges, or otherwise.

An efficient Police to be engaged to secure order in the arrival and departure of the company.

### 3.—Meeting of the General Committee of Arrangements.

At a meeting of the General Committee, held at the Astor House, on Monday evening, the thirty-first of January, the foregoing Report was unanimously adopted, and the Executive Committee was directed to carry the same into effect.

ROBERT H. MORRIS, *Chairman*.

JNO. R. LIVINGSTON, JR., } *Secretaries*.  
WM. B. DEAN, }

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## XII.—COINS AND COIN COLLECTORS.

### 1.—THE MICKLEY COLLECTION.

This collection, so widely known to our readers, having passed from the hands of its author, JOSEPH J. MICKLEY, Esq., of Philadelphia, into those of the Bonner of Roxbury, Doctor W. ELLIOT WOODWARD, the latter has determined to sell it at auction in the city of New York, during the coming Autumn, and thus separate what should be kept together, in some public Institution. In order, however, that the Collection may be duly recorded, for the benefit of those who shall come after us, we propose, very briefly, to describe some of its principal features.

Passing, for the present, such specimens as the Dollar of 1804, of which only *Four* copies are

known, the Half Dime of 1802, which is still more rare, and the multitude of Mint and Pattern-pieces, Colonial coins, and Medals, the rarity and commercial value of which, in each instance, are enough to give character to any ordinary collection, we shall notice, at this time, only those rare specimens of which not more than *Two* copies are known to us; and, hereafter, if space can be afforded, we shall allude more generally to what we now omit.

FIRST: The rare SOMMER ISLAND PIECE, is here. This piece has, on the *Obverse*, a Hog, on the field of the coin, with the numerals, XII, above him, outside of all of which, within Two circles of dots, are the words SOMMER ISLANDS. On the *Reverse*, is a Three-masted vessel, firing a gun, within a circle of dots.

All who have attempted to describe this piece have said it is of *Brass*; but their error will be seen from this specimen, which is indisputably *Copper*.

This rare coin was purchased from the celebrated Hollis Collection, in England, and, until within a year, it was considered unique; but that distinction no longer belongs to it, since another copy was discovered, a few months since, in a bag of copper coins in the city of New York. The report that a third copy is in a Museum in Bermuda is not credited.

SECOND: An unique PINE-TREE SHILLING OF 1650, on the *Obverse* of which is a Pine-tree in the field surrounded by a circle of large dots. Outside of the latter are the words MASATHU-SETS IN, the whole of which are, also, surrounded with another circle of dots. The *Reverse* of this piece has, on the field, the date, 1650, and the denomination, XI, outside of both which, between Two circles of dots, are the words NEW ENGLAND, AN. DO.

THIRD: Another unique PINE-TREE SHILLING OF 1650, of the same general character as that which we have just described, but wholly different from that in the details of its execution—the tree, in particular, is much smaller, with limbs less numerous but more sub-divided; and the inscription possesses a more slender or wirey appearance.

FOURTH: Another unique PINE-TREE SHILLING OF 1650, the *Obverse* of which, in its general features, resembles the Pine-tree and Oak-tree money; but the *tree* is quite unlike that on any other type—the limbs bearing a large number of Cones;—and the inscription is MASSACHU-SETTS IN. The *Reverse* contains the date and denomination in the center, surrounded by Two circles of dots, between the last of which are the words NEW ENGLAND AN DO.

This piece is of silver; nearly twice as large as the two specimens before referred to; and only one other specimen of it is known.

The Three Pine-tree pieces just described, differing in date from all other known types, are believed to have been struck as Patterns, before the coinage of the Pine-tree and Oak-tree money was authorized. They were all obtained, originally, from an old gentleman in New Hampshire, who declared that they had been in his family from the period of their coinage. It is true, that their genuineness has sometimes been questioned; but the weight of evidence seems to be greatly in their favor—they were sold by their original owner for so small a sum that fraud on his part seems to have been out of the question; and Mr. Mickley, whose judgment in such cases affords a pretty sure guarantee, paid a very high price for them and never doubted their authenticity.

FIFTH: The unique, SILVER PINE-TREE PENNY of 1662. This excessively rare specimen, in design, resembles the other well-known Pine-tree specimens—one side bearing a Tree, more resembling an Oak than a Pine; and the other, the Date and Denomination.

The existence of the Pine-tree Penny, *in silver*, has been questioned, however; but as it was both described and figured by Folkes, who wrote at a period almost contemporary with its issue, it is only fair to conclude that the coin was *then* known; and as this piece bears every mark of genuineness it is believed to be authentic, although it is the only specimen known to be in existence.

SIXTH: The unique NEW ENGLAND ELEPHANT PIECE, of Copper, on the *Obverse* of which is an Elephant; and on the *Reverse*, the words GOD PRESERVE NEW ENGLAND 1694, in Five lines running across the field of the coin.

Four varieties of Elephant Half-pennies are known—that now under consideration; another with the inscription, on the *Reverse*, GOD PRESERVE CAROLINA AND THE LORDS PROPRIETORS; and two bearing on their *Reverse* GOD PRESERVE LONDON—each of which has the same Elephant on the *Obverse*.

The Carolina piece and one of the London pieces are very rare; no other copy than this, of the New England piece is known; but the other London piece is quite common.

SEVENTH: The unique NEW ENGLAND STIVER, the following description of which, from Mr. Mickley's Catalogue, embraces all that is known or has been conjectured concerning it:

"*Obverse*, NEW ENGLAND. M. *Reverse*, 1 "S. V. C. Two lions, rudely executed, to Right "and Left, in field of the coin. See *Dickeson* "Plate XX., No. 14.

"No one acquainted with the coins of Holland "can hesitate for a moment as to the origin of "this: it differs in no respect, in its general appearance and particular style of workmanship "from the Dutch Stiver of Two hundred years "ago."

We are told, also, that Mr. Mickley, "with great "ingenuity and probability rendered the letters "on the *Reverse*, 1 S[tiver] V[on] C[onnecticut]," and that "here, for the present, speculation may "as well rest;" but, notwithstanding the *ingenuity* referred to, the *probability* of the case is not so apparent, since the Dutch neither recognized their Colony on the Connecticut, as in "New England" but in Nieuw Nederland;\* nor inscribed their coins in *English*, but good *Dutch* or *Latin*; nor had they any currency especially for New Netherland except Beaver-skins and Wampum.

Whatever may have been the origin of this piece, it possesses great interest to every American Numismatist; and its late owner regarded it not only as one of the most valuable, but one of the most important specimens in his vast collection.

It is of copper, a little larger in size than a Dime.

EIGHTH: The unique ANNAPOLIS SHILLING. The *Obverse* of this piece has, in three lines across the field, the words EQUAL TO ONE SHILLING, with a branch above, and clasped hands below, the legend. The words I. CHALMERS ANNAPOLIS, 1783, are also on this face of the piece, and probably designate the name of the artist by whom it was struck. On the *Reverse* are a pole with liberty-cap, an eye above Thirteen stars, and Thirteen rings arranged as an endless chain.

This piece is of Silver; and as it differs from all other known specimens, on both the *Obverse* and the *Reverse*, it is probably a Trial piece.

NINTH: THE LORD BALTIMORE PENNY, which is so celebrated among Numismatists.

This celebrated coin presents, on the *Obverse*, a profile bust of Lord Baltimore, facing the left, with the legend CÆCILIUS DNS TERRÆ MARIÆ & C.; and, on the *Reverse*, Two flags issuing from a Ducal Coronet, with the legend, DENARIUM TERRÆ MARIÆ.

It was formerly in the cabinet of James Bindley, Esq., of England; and as Mr. Mickley purchased it at auction, in England, for about £100 in gold, when American coins were little cared for, it may be considered, in a commercial sense, the most valuable of American coins. It is of copper; nearly as large as a half cent; and is widely known among Numismatists, both in Europe and America, as possessing unusual inter-

\* This is no where more apparent than in the Journal of the Delegates from New Netherland to the General Assembly at Hartford, in which, under date of "20<sup>th</sup> October," 1663, while answering the claim of Connecticut to part of Long Island as included in the Patent of the former, it is said that that Patent "contained a tract of land lying in America, in New England, "AND, CONSEQUENTLY, NOT IN NEW NETHERLAND." The Dutch made no pretensions of Sovereignty over New England, while they denied all rights of Sovereignty, claimed by others, in New Netherland.—H. B. D.

est. It is undoubtedly unique; and the struggle to obtain it will probably form one of the features of the intended sale.

TENTH: An unique FLORIDA PIECE, on the *Obverse* of which is a bust of Charles III. of Spain, with the legend, CAROLUS III. D. G. REX; and on the *Reverse*, a full-blown Rose, with a leaf and bud on a stem, and the legend, JUAN ESTEVAN DE PENA FLORIDA 1760.

It is of silver, about the size and weight of a Half Dollar, and was found by Mr. Mickley, in circulation. It is without a history; but some have supposed that it was struck for presentation to the savages.

ELEVENTH: An unique ROSA AMERICANA HALF PENNY of 1722, the *Obverse* of which presents a bust of George I., facing the Right, with the legend, GEORGIUS DEI GRATIA REX, the whole surrounded with a circle of dots; and the *Reverse* a full-blown Rose, with the legend. ROSA AMERICANA UTILE DULCI 1722.

It is of a compound, resembling brass, with its edge engrailed, the last rendering it unique, since all others of this Class have plain edges.

TWELFTH: The very rare ROSA AMERICANA FARTHING of 1723, the *Obverse* and *Reverse* of which resemble the last-mentioned piece, except in its size. It is peculiar, however, in bearing the date of 1723; since the *Rosas* of that date usually present a *Crown above the Rose*, which this does not.

Only one other specimen of this type is known.

THIRTEENTH: An unique ROSA AMERICANA HALF PENNY of 1724, bearing devices similar to that of 1722, just described, except that the Rose is Crowned, like the ordinary *Rosas* of 1723.

It is of a compound resembling Silver; and no other copy is known bearing this date.

FOURTEENTH: The unique ROSA AMERICANA PENNY, in *Steel*, which has been so often described and is so widely known to Collectors.

Its *Obverse* bears a laureated head, facing to the left, with the legend, GEORGIUS, II. D. G. REX. The *Reverse* is plain.

FIFTEENTH: The unique FUGIO, or FRANKLIN CENT, of 1787, showing, on the *Obverse*, a Dial with meridian Sun above; to the right, 1787; to the left, FUGIO; in the exergue, MIND YOUR BUSINESS. On its *Reverse* is a Sun, with depressed center, inscribed WE ARE ONE; on a label within the rays, but outside of the center, AMERICAN CONGRESS; around the Sun, an endless chain of Thirteen links, each inscribed with the name of an original State.

SIXTEENTH: The very rare FUGIO, or FRANKLIN CENT, of 1787, bearing on its *Obverse* the Sun and Dial, as in the last-named, but entirely without inscriptions; and on its *Reverse*, the same Sun, and Chain, and Names of States as

the last-named, but *without the central inscription* of WE ARE ONE.

The *Fugios*, or Franklin Cents, so named because they generally bear One of Franklin's sententious sayings, are very frequently seen; but the types are entirely unlike the Two pieces just described, the first of which is believed to be unique, and of the second, two specimens only are known.

SEVENTEENTH: The unique U. S. A. or BAR HALF CENT, which displays on its *Obverse* only the letters U. S. A.; and on its *Reverse*, Thirteen parallel bars, occupying the entire surface of the coin.

The Bar Cent, which has no known history, is of very great rarity, but is occasionally met with in collections of early American coins; but the Half Cent differs from it in being only one-half the size and weight, and in the arrangement of the letters on the *Obverse*, which, in the Cent, not only extend over each other, but together cover a large portion of the field of the coin, while, in the Half Cent, the letters are of more moderate size, stand entirely separate, and occupy only a small space in the center of the field.

EIGHTEENTH: The very rare MASSACHUSETTS CENT of 1787, on the *Obverse* of which is an Eagle, bearing a Shield, and holding in his right talon a bundle of arrows, and in his left an Olive-branch, with the inscription MASSACHUSETTS 1787; and on the *Reverse*, an Indian, standing with a Bow in his Right hand and an Arrow in his Left, and the legend COMMON \* WEALTH.

The Massachusetts Cents are not uncommon; but the peculiarity of this specimen consists in the *reversed position* of the Arrow and the Olive Branch—and of this type only one other specimen is known.

NINETEENTH: The very rare NEW JERSEY CENT of 1786, on the *Obverse* of which is a Horse's head with a band under it, under both of which is a Plow, with the date, 1786, under the beam, and the legend, NOVA CÆSAREA; and on the *Reverse*, a Shield, with the legend, E PLURIBUS UNUM.

The New Jersey Cents usually bear the date in the Exergue; and only One other copy of this variety is known.

TWENTIETH: The unique LIBER NATUS, bearing on the *Obverse* a Bust, facing to the Right, with the legend, GEORGIUS III. REX; and on the *Reverse*, an Indian, standing, with a Tomahawk in his Right hand and a Bow in his Left, with the legend, LIBER NATUS LIBERTATEM DEFENDO.

Among the rarest of our early Coins are Two varieties of the *Liber Natus*, One of which bears the arms and motto of the State of New York, the

other a design which is somewhat different. The *Obverse* of this, it will be observed, is entirely distinct from either.

**TWENTY-FIRST:** The unique **PATTERN DOLLAR** of 1783, showing, on its *Obverse*, the inscription, U. S. 1000., surrounded with a wreath, with the legend, **LIBERTAS JUSTITIA 1783**; and, on its *Reverse*, a Sun between whose several rays are Stars, Thirteen in all, the whole surrounded by the legend, **NOVA CONSTELLATIO**.

**TWENTY-SECOND:** The unique **PATTERN HALF DOLLAR** of 1783, bearing a design which is exactly similar to that of the Dollar, last described, with the exception, in this case, of a Mint-mark of Three leaves, a difference in the *arrangement* of the external legend, and the inscription within the wreath, which is U. S. 500.

These Two pieces, which are the earliest known Patterns and Designs for the Federal coinage, are probably the pieces referred to in the *Journal of Robert Morris*, under date of the second and twenty-second of April, 1783, published in **THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE**, for January, 1867. (*New Series*, i., 32.)

**TWENTY-THIRD:** The unique **PATTERN CENT** of 1792, having on the *Obverse*, a head of Liberty, facing the Right, with flowing hair, with the date 1792, just below the Bust, the whole surrounded with the legend, **LIBERTY BARENT OF SCIENCE & INDUSTRY**; on the *Reverse*, the inscription **ONE CENT**, encircled by a wreath, the whole surrounded by the legend, **THIRTEEN STATES OF AMERICA 1-100**; and on the *Edge*, the legend, **TO BE ESTEEMED, BE USEFUL**.

This is of Copper; bearing a beautiful design; and nearly twice as heavy and twice as large as the ordinary Copper Cent.

**TWENTY-FOUR:** The very rare **PATTERN CENT** of 1803, on the *Obverse* of which is a singularly miserable Eagle, the word **LIBERTY**, and, surrounding the Eagle, Thirteen dots with the date at the bottom; and, on the *Reverse*, within a wreath, the words **ONE CENT**, and, surrounding the whole, the legend **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. 1-100**.

We have no information concerning the origin of this piece; but it is probably unique.

**TWENTY-FIVE:** The extremely rare **WASHINGTON CENT**, on which the *Obverse* presents a Bust, facing the Left, with the inscription, **GEO WASHINGTON BORN VIRGINIA FEB 11 1732**; and the *Reverse*, a large Eagle, with the Shield, Olive-branch, and Arrows, and, on Two labels depending from its beak, the legend, **E PLURIBUS UNUM**; and with One star near the head of the Eagle and Twelve others arranged in a curve, above.

The Washington Cent bearing the naked bust has been sold at auction at prices varying from

Four hundred to Four hundred and eighty dollars; and, because of its extreme rarity, has been considered the most desirable of all the Washington pieces: hereafter this Cent, which is co-eval with that, and in all probability unique, must take precedence.

**TWENTY-SIX:** The unique **WASHINGTON CONFEDERATIO** of 1785. This very rare piece displays on its *Obverse*, a Bust, facing the Right, with the hair tied in a queue, and the legend **GEN WASHINGTON** surrounding them; and, on its *Reverse*, a Sun, with Thirteen Stars, with the legend **CONFEDERATIO 1785**, surrounding them.

The *Confederatio*, of which there are several varieties, are all of extreme rarity. This specimen, combining in One piece Two most important classes of American Coins, will be undoubtedly considered the most important of the series.

This celebrated collection contains numerous specimens, each of which is nearly if not quite as rare as the greater number of those to which we have referred; but our limits have been reached and we must forbear, until our next, any attempt to describe them. We shall endeavor, however, before the collection shall be separated, to secure a complete description of it; and our readers shall, in case of our success, have the benefit of it.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., July, 1867. H. B. D.

### XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hist. Mag.]

**A REMINISCENCE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—HIS LECTURE AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE IN 1860.**

OLD ORCHARD (SACO), Me., August 13, 1867.

*To the Editors of the New York Evening Post:*

In October, 1859, Messrs. Joseph H. Richards, J. M. Pettingill, and S. W. Tubbs, called on me at the office of the Ohio State Agency, 25 William street, and requested me to write to the Hon. Thomas Corwin of Ohio, and the Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and invite them to lecture, in a course of lectures these young gentlemen proposed for the winter, in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. I wrote the letters as requested, and offered as compensation for each lecture, \$5 I was authorized, the sum of Two hundred dollars. The proposition to lecture was accepted by Messrs. Corwin and Lincoln. Mr. Corwin delivered his lecture in Plymouth Church as he was on his way to Washington to attend Congress. Mr. Lincoln could not lecture until late in the season,

and a proposition was agreed to by the gentlemen named, and accepted by Mr. Lincoln, as the following letter will show :

"DANVILLE, ILL., Nov. 13, 1859.

"JAMES A. BRIGGS, Esq.,

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 1st closing with my proposition for compromise, was duly received. I will be on hand; and in due time will notify you of the exact day. I believe, after all, I shall make a political speech of it. You have no objection?"

"I would like to know, in advance, whether I am also to speak or lecture in New York.

"Very, very glad your election went right.

"Yours, truly,

"A. LINCOLN.

"P. S. I am here at court, but my address is still at Springfield, Ill."

In due time Mr. Lincoln wrote me that he would deliver the lecture, a political one, on the evening of the twenty-seventh of February, 1860. This was rather late in the season for a lecture, and the young gentlemen who were responsible were doubtful about its success, as the expenses were large. It was stipulated that the lecture was to be in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn; I requested and urged that the lecture should be delivered at the Cooper Institute. They were fearful it would not pay expenses—Three hundred and fifty dollars;—I thought it would.

In order to relieve Messrs. Richards, Pettingill, and Tubbs, of all responsibility, I called upon some of the officers of the "Young Men's Republican Union," and proposed that they should take Mr. Lincoln, and that the lecture should be delivered under their auspices. They respectfully declined.

I next called upon Mr. Simeon Draper, then President of "The Draper Republican Union Club of New York," and proposed to him that his "Union" take Mr. Lincoln and the lecture, and assume the responsibility of the expenses. Mr. Draper and his friends declined, and Mr. Lincoln was left in the hands of "the original Jacobs."

After considerable discussion, it was agreed on the part of the young gentlemen, that the lecture should be delivered in the Cooper Institute, if I would agree to share the expenses, if the sale of tickets (Twenty-five cents each) for the lecture did not meet the outlay. To this I assented—and the lecture was advertised to be delivered in the Cooper Institute, on the evening of the twenty-seventh of February.

Mr. Lincoln read the notice of the lecture in the papers, and, without any knowledge of the arrangement, was somewhat surprised to learn that he was first to make his appearance before a New York instead of a "Plymouth Church" audience. A notice of the proposed lecture ap-

peared in the New York papers, and the *Times* spoke of him "as a lawyer who had some local reputation in Illinois."

At my personal solicitation, Mr. William Cullen Bryant presided as Chairman of the meeting, and introduced Mr. Lincoln for the first time to a New York audience.

The lecture was a wonderful success. It has become a part of the history of the country. Its remarkable ability was everywhere acknowledged; and after the twenty-seventh of February, the name of Mr. Lincoln was a familiar one to the people of the East. After Mr. Lincoln closed his lecture, Mr. David Dudley Field, Mr. James W. Nye, Mr. Horace Greeley, and myself, were called out by the audience, and made short speeches. I remember saying then: "One of 'Three gentlemen will be our Standard Bearer in the Presidential contest of this year; the distinguished Senator of New York, Mr. Seward; the late able and accomplished Governor of Ohio, Mr. Chase; or the 'unknown knight' who entered the political lists against the Bois Gilbert of Democracy, Stephen A. Douglas, on the prairies of Illinois in 1858, and unhorsed him—Abraham Lincoln."

Some friends joked me after the meeting as not being a "good prophet." The lecture was over; all the expenses were paid; I was handed by the gentlemen interested the sum of Four dollars and twenty-five cents as my share of the profits, as they would have called on me if there had been a deficiency in the receipts to meet expenses.

Immediately after the lecture Mr. Lincoln went to Exeter, N. H., to visit his son Robert, then at school there, and I sent him a check for Two hundred dollars. Mr. Tubbs informed me a few weeks ago, that after the check was paid at the Park Bank he tore it up, but that he would give Two hundred dollars for the check if it could be restored—with the indorsement on it of "A. Lincoln"—as it was made payable to the order of Mr. Lincoln.

After the return of Mr. Lincoln to New York from the East, where he had made several speeches, he said to me: "I have seen what all the New York papers said about that thing of mine in the Cooper Institute, with the exception of the *New York Evening Post*, and I would like to know what Mr. Bryant thought of it," and he then added: "It is worth a visit from Springfield, Illinois, to New York, to make the acquaintance of such a man as William Cullen Bryant." At Mr. Lincoln's request I sent him a copy of the *Evening Post*, with a notice of his lecture.

On returning from Mr. Beecher's church on a Sunday, in company with Mr. Lincoln, as we were passing the Post-office, I remarked to him: "Mr. Lincoln, I wish you would take particular

"notice of what a dark and dismal place we have here for a Post-office, and I do it for this reason: I think your chance for being the next President is equal to that of any man in the country. When you are President will you recommend an appropriation of a million of dollars for a suitable location for a Post-office in this city?" With a significant gesture, Mr. Lincoln remarked, "I will make a note of that."

On going up Broadway with him in the evening, from the Astor House, to hear the Rev. Dr. Chapin, Mr. Lincoln said to me, "When I was East, several gentlemen made about the same remark to me that you did to-day about the Presidency; they thought my chances were about equal to the best."

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

**ANOTHER REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.**—In your paper of the tenth instant, I notice an account of the only remaining soldier of the Revolution, John Gray, of Hiramburg, Ohio. I beg leave to correct the statement by furnishing you a short history of another. There is now living near Spencerville, Allen county, Ohio, William Taylor, who was born in the year 1757, and is, consequently, One hundred and ten years of age. I called upon the venerable soldier, and learned the following facts from his own lips. He was quite feeble at the time, and gave but a brief account of his life: He was born, as is above stated, in 1757, in Somerset county, Maryland, Two miles from the city of Salisbury. His father died when he was Five years old, at which age he was bound to Captain William Traverse, of the tradeship *Eugene*, with whom he sailed until the breaking out of the Revolution. He then entered the Navy and served during the War. At the close of the war he continued to follow the sea until 1797, making in all Thirty-five years at sea. Immediately on leaving the sea he married Miss Ellen Martin, and settled upon a plantation in his native State, where he was engaged in the occupation of farming until the year 1810, at which time he emigrated to the State of Kentucky, and settled upon Cabin creek, where he lived until 1812. In that year he emigrated to the State of Ohio, where he joined the Twenty-sixth regiment of Ohio Light Infantry, in which regiment he served Eighteen months; was at Fort Malden, and afterwards at Niagara Garrison, where he was captured. On being exchanged he returned to his farm in Adams county, Ohio, where he lived until the year 1844. He then moved to Auglaize county, where he lived until 1865. Since that time he has lived with his daughter in Allen county. He has buried Three wives, having been married twice after he was Seventy-five. Age has dealt lightly with him,

and he enjoys very good health, and thinks he may yet need the fourth. His voice is as strong as when in early manhood he sang to his love by the ocean shore. He converses very well, and loves to relate the incidents of his early life, which he remembers distinctly.

G. W. HAMMOND.

[*Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette, July, 1867.*]

#### XIV.—NOTES.

**FORT HALIFAX, MAINE.**—As a protection against the Indians, who were often stirred up to hostilities on the frontiers of Maine by the French, even in times of peace, a wooden Fort was erected in 1754. It was situated near the place where the waters of the Sebasticook issue into the Kennebec. The strength and importance of this work were deemed enough to warrant some demonstration of joy at its completion, and a Latin inscription, which is here given. The Maine Historical Society has proposed measures for the preservation of the old, failing, and only remaining part of the defences, in the form of a Block-House.

[INSCRIPTION.]

Quod felix faustum quæsiit.

PROVINCIE MASSACHUSETTENSIS,

Hunc lapidem posuit

GULIELMUS SHIRLEY, GUBERNATOR;

Sub auspiciis

Nobilissimi GEORGH MONTAGUE DUCK,

Comitis de HALIFAX;

Provinciarum,

Quotquot sunt ditionis Britannicæ,

Per AMERICAM utramque,

Præfecti atq: Patroni illustrissimi:

Die 3 Septembris, A.D. 1754.

BRUNSWICK.

B.

**GEORGE WAYMOUTH.**—A long-mooted question as to the river explored by this navigator in 1605, on the coast of Maine, has involved the visibility of the White Mountains of New Hampshire from the island of Monhegan and its neighboring waters. This fact has been denied by some of the writers, who have thought the Penobscot or the Georges was the river, and has been asserted by the favorers of the Kennebec. To support the denial the aid of mathematics has been invoked to show that the rotundity of the earth must prevent the sight; while to support the

assertion the testimony of seamen and travelers has been called in, who declare that they have seen the summits at a distance even greater than Monhegan.

An intelligent gentleman of our State, interested in historical pursuits, has recently visited the island, and was gratified with an ocular demonstration of the fact asserted, though not at all claiming it in aid of the Kennebec theory. In a letter he says:

"You need not trouble yourself about the White Mountains further. There is no question about their visibility from this island. I saw Mt. Washington distinctly last evening from the light-house. Capt. D. and the light-house keeper and several others saw it. It was distinctly visible from sunset until dark. From the light-house I saw that and two other peaks. The keeper has seen them often."

In addition to this testimony it may be stated that the present writer, while recently on the island, was assured by at least a dozen persons that these mountains were so often visible as to occasion no special remark; and could be seen, not only from the elevation at the light-house, but on the shore, and by the fishermen while engaged in their work on the waters near by. This witness agrees with Christopher Levett, in 1623-4, and scores of others since his day. It does not, indeed, determine the river ascended by Waymouth; but it removes one of the difficulties in interpreting the obscure account of his voyage as to the Kennebec. B.

BUNSWICK, ME.

## XV.—QUERIES.

HESSIAN MUSIC-BOOK OF 1776.—The Hessian band of music, of Nine pieces, captured at Trenton, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1776, was present in Philadelphia at the celebration of the ensuing Fourth of July.

The prisoners taken on that occasion were transported across the Delaware, under guard of Colonel Patterson's Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment.

From one of the band, the Fife-major of the Regiment obtained a MS. music-book, now in my possession; the pieces in the book are all English, and among them we have the *Hessian Camp*, *Grenadier's March*, *Boston March*, and *Boston Delight*. The water-mark is peculiar, consisting of a lion crowned, standing erect, facing to the left, with a long staff bearing what appears to be a bangle over its left shoulder, and the animal is placed upon a low square pedestal, inscribed "Vry hyt." A circular legend, "Pro Patria Ejusque Libertate," surmounted by a large

crown, surrounds the whole. The Anspacher flag captured at Trenton bore the motto, "Pro Principe et Patria."

I should like to know where the paper of this book was manufactured? I. J. G.  
NEW YORK CITY.

APING RANK OR TITLE.—An American citizen who was United States *Charge* at a foreign court, is now traveling in Europe with his wife. Although he has left the United States service, he has his cards printed thus: "*The Honorable* Mr. and Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_." Pray what authority, propriety, or precedent, is there for this?

REPUBLICAN.

AMERICAN FLAGS.—A reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE would like to know where he can find a description of the early flags used in the United States, and as to when and on what waters they were first displayed? B. A.

JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA.—The first permanent white settlement in the United States took place in 1607. It was on an island or peninsula in Powhattan or James River, Virginia. Although the whole went to ruin, on account of the unhealthiness of the place, there was one solitary inhabitant who still clung to the spot and was alive in 1831.

It would be interesting to know all about this man; and so as to include when and under what circumstances he died. SWAMP.

WOODBIDGE.—What were the names and alliances of the 12 children of John and Mercy (Dudley) of Andover?

What is known of "Capt. Thomas 'W.'" son of the above? Who was "Mary W. wid. of Thomas 'm. to Jos<sup>h</sup> Coker'?"

What descendants exist of Joseph 'W. and Martha (Rogers) his wife?

Who was the "Mr. W. m., to Deborah Totten" in 1686?

Who and how many were the wives of Rev. Timothy of Hartford, with their respective children?

Answers too long for publication—please enclose to L. W., 128 E. 18th Street, New York. E. H. D.

COLONEL GLASIER.—There was a Colonel Glasier, who served under Sir William Johnson, and was stationed at Saratoga in 1756. Can any reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE furnish any information in regard to him?

WORCESTER.



## XVI.—REPLIES.

POPHAM'S MEMORY, (*H. M.*, New Series, ii., 42.)—A correspondent with a fanciful signature, perseveres in chasing the *small* game of a verbal criticism on the use of the word "consecrate," as connected with the memory of C. J. Popham. It is enough to reply from Webster's *Dictionary*, which gives as a proper meaning of the word, "to render venerable, to dignify;" and cites Burke as authority. This is enough to sustain its use by the Hon. Mr. Bourne.

He says that Popham had "so vile a memory," i. e. reputation. Not so thought his contemporary, John Smith, writing after his death, who pointed to him as "that honorable patron of virtue." Not so wrote Strachey of the same age, whose record is "the upright and noble gentleman," nor Hubbard, a little later, who presents him as the "honorable patron of justice and virtue." Is this the character to leave a "vile memory?"

He says that Popham's Epitaph "is a notable instance" of the "proverbially false" character of this kind of composition. I have never seen it, and therefore cannot judge. Has he?

He asks for the "original" of the word "consecrate." This he will find in Webster, and its several uses.

The Kennebec was not the "initial enterprise." Oh, no! Virginia was a little earlier, under the same Charter of 1606. But I was writing about New England. Gosnold's expedition had no Charter; did not occupy its small house for a day, probably not for a moment, after its completion; and abandoned the coast in less than Three weeks after its arrival at the selected place. The "initial enterprise" of a *Chartered* Colony in New England, was at the mouth of the Kennebec, under George Popham; who died in the service there.

The historian of *Ancient Pemaquid* gives him the good character of being counted by New England, as "among the earliest if not the very first of her illustrious dead."

Then he says that "Virginia was the other penal Colony." When? *Not till 1619, long after both the Pophams were dead.* And when was the Kennebec Colony a *penal* one? NEVER.

He says, too, "the great principles connected with it were only to solve the question, whether 'or not mynes were there;' and if 'they could be profitably worked by the enforced labor of criminals.'" Not so thought Hubbard and Williamson. They say nothing about "criminals" here; not did any one else, in the whole historic world, till less than Five years ago. The careful historian of Maine says: "This plantation was undertaken by its patrons with a determination worthy of great and enterprising minds,

"resolved on the accomplishment of their purposes; and sure of the greatest advantages to be derived from its establishment and prosperity." He refers to Hubbard as a support to his positions.

It is not difficult to see why some minds, whose writings are dated "Boston," should be ready to spring to verbal criticisms on the performances at the Kennebec; to indulge in personal reflections on the writers in behalf of the Popham Colony, as in the present article; and make assertions about the Colony itself, which no contemporaneous authority sanctions, with even the shadow of probability. In the mean time the "Popham Celebration" is gaining favor year by year. The true history of the Colony and its influence in the illustration of the principles set forth in the Charter of 1606, as afterward spread over all New England, are annually becoming more and more widely studied and willingly allowed. CUMBERLAND.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

DOCTOR RUSH.—At page Forty-two of your July number is a query as to "what authority exists for the charge frequently made, that Doctor Rush was the Author of the anonymous letter against General Washington which was sent to Patrick Henry."

I presume by "authority" the querist means "evidence," and this is abundant.

1. General Washington says that the letter is in Rush's well-known hand writing.

2. The anonymous letter itself shows it to be Rush's. It is extant and in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia.

3. The family of Doctor Rush admit the letter to be his, but claim, or at least Bancroft does, that Washington forgave him for writing it.

4. In the year 1804, when Chief Justice Marshall's biography was in the press, Doctor Rush and his family conceded the letter to be his, and supplicated Judge Marshall to suppress Washington's indignant comment on it. They so far succeeded that, with asterisks to indicate the omission, the passage was omitted. The correspondence on this subject is also in Mr. Dreer's possession. The writer of this communication has a copy of it.

5. It was Doctor Rush's persistent habit to write anonymous letters and anonymous libels.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

A. B.

THE RUNIC HOAX.—

NEW YORK, Sept. 5, 1867.

MR. DAWSON,

DEAR SIR: In answer to your note of inquiry, I would state that the Runic Inscription said to have been found on the Arrow Rock below Potomac Falls, is now known to be a shallow hoax,

by no means comparable to the Great Moon Hoax, which exhibited some genius and wit.

This Runic Hoax is a piece of pleasantry said to have been perpetrated by the son of a Pennsylvania Senator—who thus ventilates his Scandinavian lore.

It first appeared in the Washington *Evening Union*, a little penny paper, which has made great capital out of the sensation, and published so much about the "Great Discovery" and the mythical "Professor Raffinsen," that the newsboys dubbed it the *Evening Runic*. I trust the Potomac rock may not prove to all concerned, *Lapis offensiois, et petra scandali*.

The fabricator of this Pickwickian inscription is by no means a pioneer in this species of fraud. Such deceivers have appeared at different times, always adapting their efforts to the prevailing opinion of the day, on the origin of our aborigines. The discovery of America, with its numerous inhabitants, set the savans of the old world to work, to account for the peopling of this great Continent.

The theory of a Hebrew origin found the earliest and most numerous supporters, and was followed by the Scandinavian hypothesis.

The first inscription said to have been found in this country was about the year 1740, after the New England missionaries imagined that they had discovered traces of some Jewish rites amongst the Indians, and when the theory of the Lost Tribes had found many supporters. It consisted of a Hebrew inscription executed upon some rocks in Connecticut. The next was the pretended discovery of a Jewish shekel amongst some human remains at La Porte, Indiana. Then came the April hoax, the Louisiana Hebrew inscription, which deceived some of our astute antiquaries. This was soon followed by the wonderful Wyrick stones, so skillfully covered with Hebrew inscriptions, and said to have been found in the mounds near Newark, Ohio. Attempts were made to dispose of these stones to some of our Societies as genuine relics. Articles exposing their pretensions appeared in both the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*, yet it is said they found a purchaser at the West.

Since the discovery and translation of the Icelandic sagas, persons may be found who can see in the scratches on the Dighton, Tiverton, and Portsmouth rocks, evidence of an early Scandinavian visit to this continent. Hence the historic interest diverted in that direction may have suggested the Potomac hoax. E. H. D.

PORTLAND, ME., Sept. 4, 1867.

MR. DAWSON:

Your correspondent, "PHILO," (page 41, July Number, HIST. MAG.), asks for the answer to *War in Disguise* "published by Riley, N. Y., '1806."

I have that *Answer* now before me, in a bound volume of pamphlets, published and collected by Riley, of N. Y. I annex the title page in full:

"An||Answer||to||War in Disguise;||or||Remarks||upon||The New Doctrine of England,||concerning||NEUTRAL TRADE.

"Illud natura non patitur, ut aliorum spoliis nostras facultates, ||copias, opes, augeamus; et unum debeat esse omnibus propositum, ut||eadem sit utilitas unius cujusque et universarem, quam si ad se quisque||rapiat, dissolvitur omnis humana consortio." Cicero de Oratore, 3.

"New York: ||Printed by Hopkins & Seymour,||For I. Riley & Co. New York, And Edmund Morford,||Charleston.||— February, 1806."

On the next page is the Copy-right and Certificate to Isaac Riley. On the page opposite to this is the "PREFACE," in Ten lines italics, in which he says: "In the hope that these sheets may be impartially considered, the writer will not affix his name. He will however, to obviate unfounded objection, so far gratify the curious as to say, that he is not a Practitioner of the Law; he is not a Merchant; he has no interest in Trade; he holds no office; and has no connection with those who administer the Government." These Two leaves are not paged.

The fourth page is headed "An Answer||To||War In Disguise &c||".

It commences thus: "The Pamphlet, entitled *War in Disguise*, on which we are about to make some remarks, is the production of no mean ability. We have been told, that it was written by direction of the English Cabinet. This however, we do not believe."

The pamphlet is an octavo of Seventy-six pages.

After "*Finis*," is this note: "The first edition of *War in Disguise* in 8v, & the 2<sup>d</sup> edition in 12m, for sale, wholesale and retail, by I. Riley & Co No 1, City Hotel, Broadway."

I have, also, bound in the same volume, another pamphlet, entitled "*War without Disguise*;" or,||The Frauds||of||Neutral Commerce||A justification of Neutral Captures;||With observations||on the||Answer to *War in Disguise*,||&||Mr. Madison's Examination.||— Showing That The True Interests of America Require||The Rigid Application of the||British Rule of '56."

"Printed in America||1807."

Title, blank page, and Preface, Four pages; pamphlet, Eighty-seven pages. In the closing part of the Preface, the Author says: "With the positions of *War in Disguise*, the Answer to it, and Mr. Madison's pamphlet, it is presumed every one is acquainted. Should those of the little tract now published be assailed, they may, if deemed in danger, be defended."

Your obedient servant,

WM. WILLIS.

## XVII.—BOOKS.

## 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of the Post Roads on the Continent of North America, during his Survey of the Post Offices between Falmouth and Cusco Bay in the Province of Massachusetts, and Savannah in Georgia; begun the 18th September, 1778, and ended 26th June, 1774.* Brooklyn: Frank H. Norton, 1867. Quarto, pp. xxviii, 94.

The title-page describes very correctly the contents of this volume: it is simply a Journal of an official tour of inspection along the Post-routes of America, during the Colonial period, with memoranda of the Postmasters' mode of doing their business, of their settlements of accounts, and of their suggestions offered for the good of the service.

There is a very interesting sketch of the route from the Kennebec, through the Wilderness, to the River Chaudiere—probably that over which Arnold traveled, a couple of years later; and, sometimes, there are glimpses of the character of the roads and ferries, along the different Post-routes.

The *Journal* is prefaced with an elaborate Introduction, in which are several interesting documents concerning the Mail-service of that period; but the Editor has done little beyond the mere collection of the papers and the re-production of the letter of the manuscript *Journal of the Tour*.

There is very little in the volume which is of any real value to the historical student; yet it is an interesting work to every one who delights in the narrative of a tour through the Colonies, a short time prior to the War of the Revolution; and we can safely commend it to such a class of readers.

It is not, by any means, a handsome book, although what is known as "privately printed," and we understand the edition numbers a hundred and fifty copies.

2.—*Notes concerning Peter Pelham, the earliest resident artist in New England, and his successors prior to the Revolution.* Reprinted, with additions, from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1866-67. By William H. Whitmore. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1867. Octavo, pp. 81.

Mr. Whitmore is known to students as a most careful and conscientious writer of History and Genealogy; and we open whatever bears his name without doubt, either concerning the thoroughness of his research, the accuracy of his statements, or the elegance of his style.

In the tract before us, he has unearthed an old painter and engraver who lived and labored in Boston before Smibert appeared there, who married for his second wife the widow Copley, became the step-father and tutor of John Singleton Copley, and died in December, 1751; and he has followed with passing notices of John Smibert, Henry Pelham, Copley, Nathaniel Smibert, Greenwood, Jennys, Blackburn, Hurd, Mrs. Morehead,

Johnson, Turner, Lynde, Johnston, Dewing, Okey, and Revere, all of them resident artists in New England, in the ante-Revolutionary era.

The tract is crowded with the evidence of its own correctness; and fully sustains the well-earned reputation of its Author, as an earnest and diligent student and a faithful and graceful author.

It seems to have been privately-printed; but we have no information concerning the number of copies printed.

3.—*Letter of Horace Greeley to Messrs. George W. Blunt, John A. Kennedy, John O. Stone, Stephen Hyatt, and 30 others, Members of the Union League Club.* Privately Printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. ii, (unpaged) 13.

In a recent number, we referred to a very elegant re-print of Mr. Marble's celebrated Letter to President Lincoln: the volume before us is a companion volume containing Mr. Greeley's Letter to his brethren of the Union League Club, with which all our readers are perfectly acquainted.

It is a most sumptuous production, from the Bradstreet Press; and we have rarely seen a more beautiful specimen of printing. It was printed only for presents; and the edition numbered Ninety-nine copies.

4.—*The Publications of the Prince Society, established May 25, 1853. John Duntun's Letters from New England.* Boston: Printed for the Society, 1867. Small quarto, pp. xxiv., 840. Price \$6.00.

John Duntun, a son of a minister, a native of Huntingdon-shire, and by profession a bookseller, seems to have gratified a passion for roving by visiting New England in 1685. He reached Boston in February, 1686, and London, on his return, in the beginning of the following August.

He visited Holland soon after; and on his return to London he resumed his business as a bookseller; established *The Athenian Mercury*—probably the great original of the *Notes and Queries*, as well as of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*—in which he was assisted, among others, by his uncle, the father of the Revs. John and Charles Wesley; and was soon at the head of an extensive business. After a series of ups and downs, he died in obscurity, in 1733, aged Seventy-four years.

The object of this visit to New England was to collect debts amounting to £500, which the book-reading public in Massachusetts was owing to him and had not been very ready to pay; and he had "a great number of Books very proper for that place," including *Continuation of the Morning Exercises*, for which he wanted a market—it is not impossible, also, he was a voluntary exile, because of his sympathy with the discomfited Monmouth, a refugee from England for his own immediate safety, although even

then under bonds to appear and answer in the case before his Majesty's Justice.

The volume before us is composed of letters descriptive of this trip to New England. The first relates to his trip as far as the Isle of Wight; the second relates to the remainder of his voyage; the third to the seventh inclusive relate to the Town of Boston and its inhabitants, and to the surrounding country, and the eighth to his return voyage and concluding remarks.

These letters are crowded with descriptions of the manners, customs, etc., of the Indians, adapted from Roger Williams's *Key*, and often in his words; and they are exceedingly interesting to the local antiquary because of their minute descriptions of the leading inhabitants of Boston, of the surrounding villages, and of the manners, customs, and character of the Colonists.

There is little doubt in our own mind that the whole affair was a bookseller's job; but we have no doubt, also, that it is based on actual observation or, at least so far as the matter relating to the Indians was concerned, on such reputable authorities as Jocelyn and Roger Williams. There is no doubt, in our own mind, of the general correctness of the Author; and we are sustained in this opinion by Mr. Whitmore, the learned Editor of the work, who describes his letters as "unique sketches of New-England life, honestly drawn, and defective rather than erroneous," (p. xxiv.), and says "Dunton visited Boston, was received by the clergy and reputable citizens with friendship, and wrote a trustworthy account of what he saw;" and that "his sketches of New England certainly contain internal evidence of being the work of a resident here, and on the whole his testimony is favorable to the inhabitants." (p. 308.)

It is important, therefore, to know what so reputable an Author, thus endorsed by one of Boston's most enthusiastic admirers and most sensitive burghers, had to say concerning the Massachusetts men, the Boston men, of the olden time; and we turned over his pages with fear and trembling lest at the mouth of so honest and trustworthy a witness we should be convicted of "partiality" and "falsity," in what we had said on that great question. Our readers will find, on pages 69 and 70, these words: "There is no Trading for a stranger with them, which is, 'not to part with your Ware without ready money; for they are generally very backward in their payments, great Censors of other Men's Manners, but extremely careless of their own, yet they have a ready correction for every vice. As to their Religion, I cannot perfectly distinguish it; but is such that nothing keeps 'em friends but only the fear of exposing one another's knavery. As for the Rabble, their Religion lies in cheating all they deal with. When

"you are dealing with 'em, you must look upon 'em as at cross purposes, and read 'em like Hebrew, backward; for they seldom speak and mean the same thing, but like Water-men, Look one Way and Row another. The Quakers here have been a suffering Generation; and there's hardly any of the Yea-and-Nay Persuasion but will give you a severe Account of it; for the Bostonians, tho' their Forefathers fled thither to enjoy Liberty of Conscience, are very unwilling any should enjoy it but themselves. But they are now grown more moderate." Again, on page 71: "Their Laws for Reformation of Manners, are very severe, yet but little regarded by the People, so at least as to make 'em better, or cause 'em to mend their manners." Again, on pages 73, 74: "In short, these Bostonians enrich themselves by the ruine of strangers; and like ravenous Birds of Prey, strive who shall fasten his Tallons first upon 'em. For my own share I have already trusted out £400, and know not where to get in 2d. of it. But all these things pass under the Notion of Self-Preservation and Christian-Policy."

We have room for no more of Mr. Dunton's description of old New England, nor have we any disposition to revive the record of its peculiar traits of character in the days of the Fathers. We have not felt at liberty, however, when, as in this case, a New England association has placed a witness on the stand and endorsed him as *honest* and *trustworthy*, to allow him to leave it without a cross-examination on some subjects in which we have an interest; and we are quite as satisfied with the result as "*P.*" and *The Evening Transcript* can be. "The Truth is mighty and will prevail."

The Prince Society is doing good service in the cause of genuine History, in thus producing standard editions of authoritative works; and Mr. Whitmore has conducted this volume through the Press with his usual zeal and ability.

It is handsomely printed, and the edition numbered Two hundred and ten copies, Twenty of which were on large paper.

5.—*Microcosmography*; or, a Piece of the World Discovred, in Essays and Characters. By John Earle, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury; to which are added, Notes and an Appendix. By Philip Bliss. First American Edition, edited by L. L. Williams. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. 16mo, pp. xvi., 277. Price \$2.50.

This curious work was first printed in 1628, and had Six Editions during that century, under the pseudonym of EDWARD BLOUNT. Since then, several Editions have appeared; the last one in 1811, with Notes and Appendices, among which is a Bibliographical list of Books of this character. The present Edition is printed from a copy belonging to the library of the late John Taylor, and its variations from the First Edition are noted.

It describes Seventy-eight characters. "The language," says the Preface to the Edition of 1732, "is generally easy, and proves our English tongue not to be so very changeable as is commonly supposed. \* \* \* Here and there we meet with a broad expression, and some characters are far below others; nor is it to be expected that so great a variety of portraits should all be drawn with equal excellence; though there are scarce any without some masterly touches. The change of fashions casts a shade upon a few places, yet even those contain an exact picture of the age wherein they were written, as the rest does of mankind in general; for reflections founded upon nature will be just in the main, as long as men are men, though the particular instances of vice and folly may be diversified."

The character of the Author was delineated by Isaac Walton; and the Edition of his work which we are describing has been very carefully annotated and as carefully indexed.

6.—*Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution, chiefly compiled from the Journals and Letters of Colonel John Allan, with Notes and a Memoir of Colonel John Allan.* By Frederick Kidder. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. xi, 336. Price \$4.00.

The importance of the military operations on the Eastern frontier, during the War of the Revolution, is very little understood, because it is very little known. Mr. Kidder, therefore, has performed a very acceptable service, because of their importance, in bringing forward, even in a mutilated form, the papers which are contained in this work.

We are at a loss to understand, however, how so practical a man as Mr. Kidder is should have so far forgotten himself as to tinker his material, and thus leave his readers uncertain when they are reading Colonel Allan and when Mr. Kidder. If there is any value in what purports to be an original historical paper, as an authority, it is because that paper is supposed to furnish the best evidence, the most *authentic*, if not the most complete; and we are entitled, therefore, if we are permitted to use it at all, to use it in its purity, without Editorial pruning and without impertinent additions. No one knows this better than Mr. Kidder, yet he has "amended the Text" of these papers, he says, "so far as to correct apparent errors and to render the language in a few cases more explicit."

We like a refined taste in literature, yet we would not sacrifice, nor even jeopardize, the Truth to secure it; nor would we dare do more than add a note of explanation or illustration, when merely "apparent errors" seemed to impair the value of the text or obscurity of language seemed to have left in obscurity some interesting fact. In that, however, it seems, we differ from Mr.

Kidder; and we are contented to abide the judgment in the case of those who shall follow us.

The volume is from the press of the Albanian Disciple of Aldus, whose trade-mark is on the title-page; and it is, of course, well printed. The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

7.—*The Invasion of Canada in 1775: including the Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer, describing the perils and sufferings of the army under Colonel Benedict Arnold, in his march through the wilderness to Quebec: with Notes and Appendix.* By Edwin Martin Stone. Providence: Knowles, Anthony & Co., Printers, 1867. Octavo, pp. xxiv., 104, with insets, Two pages each between pp. vi. and vii., 46 and 47; slips between pp. xx. and xxi., 56 and 57; and Six pages between pp. 103 and 108.

The industrious and painstaking Secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in this volume, has furnished to students of our Revolutionary military history another exceedingly valuable collection of papers, and will secure from them their gratitude for his services.

The march through the wilderness has already found an unusually large number of historians, yet there is room for as many more, and all will be alike useful and welcome. Arnold, himself, kept a Journal of his operations which has been printed, either entire or in parts; and others by Henry, Heth, Melvin, Meigs, Senter, and Ware, have been printed while MSS. by McCoy, Haskell, Topham, Dearborn, Peirce, Badeux, Foucher, and Sanguinet, all yet unpublished, are known to have been written and in most cases have been preserved.

Captain Thayer, the writer of this particular Journal, was a native of Massachusetts, but a resident of Rhode Island. He participated in the old French War; was appointed a Captain in the Rhode Island line, in 1775; served with Arnold in Canada; was promoted to a Majority; served at Red Bank, under Colonel Greene, and at Fort Mifflin; fought at Monmouth and Springfield; and died in 1800.

The Journal before us possesses no particular literary merit; and is valuable only as an historical authority concerning one of the most interesting events of the War of the Revolution.

The Editor has discharged his duty with the greatest industry and fidelity; and, although we conceive that his conclusions are sometimes erroneous, and that injustice is sometimes done to worthy officers, we cannot withhold from him the credit which is justly his.

After a brief "Preface," Doctor Stone has given a Bibliography of the Expedition, in which reference is made to the literature of the subject with references to the inedited manuscripts—a good service which will not be soon forgotten by the working-men of the profession. An elaborate "Introduction" comes next, in which the operations in Canada are briefly described; and, with singular and unfortunate oversight, Arnold's

name is entirely omitted, although his capture of Crown Point and of the Two British vessels is elaborately described and the importance of that service is referred to. We think, also, that his allusion to Arnold, as particularly "the victim of a low moral sense," (p. ix.), in the earlier days of his career, is peculiarly unhappy, when by far the greater number of his companions in arms were even greater victims of "a low moral sense" than he.

We recognize an Ode by George William Curtis, inserted at the close of the Journal, as an old acquaintance; and we are rather surprised that the excellent Editor of this volume has not credited the volume from which it was copied. It seems to us that so slight an acknowledgment would have been nothing more than just.

The "Appendix" is very complete; and herein Doctor Stone has fairly displayed his love of hard work—a series of biographical sketches of officers who were in this expedition; numerous illustrative Notes; lists of those who were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners before Quebec; Rosters of Companies; and an elaborate Index, being among the features of this portion of the volume which will most attract the student of History.

We cannot close this Notice without entering our Protest against the injustice which Doctor Stone has done to Colonel Samuel Smith, in denying to him any portion of the honor of defending the Mud Fort. We feel very sure that our friend, the Editor of the work before us, would have been the last to do injustice to the gallant Marylander, whom he has depreciated, had he seen the materials which have come down to this generation; and we shall take an early occasion to present to our readers some papers on this subject, which were placed in our hands some years since by Colonel Smith's son, for the purpose of vindicating the Truth of History in this matter.

The volume before us was printed for private circulation by the Editor; and is one of a hundred copies of which the Edition was composed.

8.—*Proceedings of a Board of General Officers respecting Major John André.* New York: Privately Printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. vi., 21.

We have here a magnificent *fac simile* of the original Edition of the Proceeding of the Court of Enquiry to which General Washington sent the case of Major André. It has been thus printed by the Bradstreet Press, exclusively for presents, the Edition numbering only Forty-nine copies; and, although our readers are familiar with its contents, from the copies which were issued by Mr. McCoy and in *The Gazette Series*, by ourself, the beauty of this re-print and the

fact that it is a *fac-simile* will render it a very choice addition to the fine books of those who may be fortunate enough to secure a copy.

It is printed with old-style type, of course; on laid, tinted paper; and has a handsomely rubricated title-page.

9.—*Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga.* By Mrs. General Riedesel. Translated from the original German, by William L. Stone. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Octavo, pp. 285.

Every student of American history knows the interest which clusters around the Letters of Madame Riedesel, the heroic wife of the Baron who commanded the German troops in the Northern Campaign of 1777; and how much service they afford to every one who seeks a knowledge of that eventful period.

General Wilkinson first employed some of them, in a faulty translation; and, in 1827, the entire collection, also very inaccurately translated, was published in a small volume. In the beautiful volume before us, Mr. Stone has presented a new translation of the entire work; and, in doing so, his thorough knowledge of the German language has enabled him to detect and correct innumerable errors which had crept into the former translation. He has also enriched this version with Illustrative Notes, a good Index, a Sketch of the Life of the Baroness, and, not least, with a very fine Portrait of the lady, from a photograph of the original painting, furnished for that purpose by her family in Germany.

In this publication Mr. Stone has done a substantial service to American History; and Mr. Munsell has seldom turned out a volume which is more creditable to his skill as a printer. The Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

10.—*Address to the First Graduating Class of Rutgers' Female College:* delivered in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, (Dr. Crosby's) on Sabbath evening, June 20, 1867. By Henry M. Pierce, LL.D., President of the College. Published by request of the Trustees. New York: Agathynian Press. 1867. Octavo, pp. 19.

"What is the true position of woman, and what 'should be her education?' are the very important subjects of this, so called, "*Baccalaureate Address*"—a very sensible subject, also, it would seem, for the occasion which demanded it. We fail, however, to find what we conceive to be the true answers to these questions; and consider Doctor Pierce's effort as altogether a failure.

If the Doctor is right, a young woman should learn just what her brothers learn, because she was not made to become the *slave* but the *equal* of her husband; but while we admit that the husband and the wife should be equals, we see no more reason, because of that, that she should be taught his Classics, and Engineering, and Law, than that he, for the same reason of their equality,

should be taught her Needlework, and Cookery, and Nursery songs.

The Doctor's teaching, therefore, is simply, bosh. The education of woman, like that of man, should be adapted to the future of the scholar. It should be made to render her more intelligent and skillful in her peculiar duties: to qualify her the better to discharge the sacred duties of sister and daughter, of wife and mother: to develop the graces, to strengthen the mind, and to improve what nature had left unadorned.

We should be glad, also, to know just why an *Address* to a party of young women is called a *Baccalaureate Address*. Was it because the Doctor was a Bachelor; or because it was delivered when divers other *Baccalaureate* addresses are apt to be made—"on Sabbath evening?"

The copy before us is a very handsome specimen of printing, on laid, tinted paper, with rubricated title-page; and is highly creditable to the young establishment which printed it. It is intended, we understand, for private circulation.

11.—*A treatise on Emotional Disorders of the Sympathetic system of Nerves*. By William Murray, M.D., M. R. C. P., Lond. New York: A. Simpson & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 95.

A great many of the diseases to which mankind is liable are due to emotional disturbance; and Doctor Murray considers the subject with intelligence and discrimination. His book is well calculated to instruct men and women in the proper management of their emotions, and is a safe guide to the treatment of those affections which arise from a failure to keep them in due subjection.

To a great extent this entire matter has heretofore been in the hands of quacks who have derived their greatest profit from fleecing ignorant and unwary persons afflicted with emotional diseases; and we rejoice that a gentleman of Doctor Murray's skill and standing has taken it from their grasp.

12.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the year 1866-7*. In two parts. New York: J. W. Amerman, 1867. Octavo, Part I., pp. xvi, 112, 152; Part II., pp. 182.

The yearly volumes of this ancient corporation contain a vast amount of exceedingly important information which cannot be obtained elsewhere; yet they are seldom seen in the libraries of students, or elsewhere than among the neglected literature of the counting-room. This should not be so; and we earnestly hope that the Chamber will be more widely sustained in its useful work by those who may be most indebted to its invaluable collections.

In the neatly-printed volume before us we have the Minutes of the Chamber, for the year ending with May, 1867; a list of members of the Corporation—headed by Hickson W. Field, Esq.,

who was elected on the first of July, 1817; a list of its officers during the past hundred years; its By-laws, donations to its Library, reports on the introduction of Capital and Men into the Southern States; on the Banquet to Cyrus W. Field; on the Tax on Cotton; on the reception of the Brazilian and Argentine Ambassadors; on the Usury Laws; on the Wharves and Piers of the city; a series of Fourteen Trade Reports, and another of Twenty-six statistical articles of Trade and Commerce, all of which are elaborately constructed and possess great value.

With the exception of *The Manual of the Corporation*, by our venerable friend, Mr. Valentine, there is no series of volumes connected with the City of New York which we esteem as highly as the *Annual Reports of the Chamber of Commerce*, because there is no other from which we can learn so much.

13.—*Pawlet for One hundred years*. By Hiel Hollister Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867. Duodecimo, pp. iv., 284. Price \$2.50.

The Author of this neat little volume is a working man; and "in the intervals of severe and exacting manual labor, he has gathered "the material for this work, and collated and "grouped them together in their present form."

The plan which he has adopted is a good one, since by giving a series of independent articles, each embracing the history of some particular subject, there is less confusion and more methodical completeness; and the Author seems to have left little undone which he ought to have done in such an undertaking.

We have seldom examined a local history which has so completely satisfied us, as this.

14.—*The early years of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort*. Compiled, under the direction of Her Majesty, the Queen, by Lieutenant-general, the Hon. C. Grey. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 371.

Our readers have undoubtedly seen the very extended extracts from this volume, taken from the English papers, which have gone the rounds of the Press; and those who have glanced over those extracts will not require any information concerning the character of the work. To others, we have only to remark that it relates to the life of Prince Albert, from his birth until the birth of his oldest child, the Princess Royal of England; and includes his infancy and childhood, his education and amusements, his courtship and marriage with the Queen, and the incidents of the first year of his married life.

It is compiled from his Journals and Correspondence, the Journal of the Queen, and Memoranda furnished by her; and if the widowed monarch did not herself write it, it was written under her own eye, from knowledge which she

furnished, and not unfrequently in her own words—the translations were made entirely, if we do not mistake, by her daughter, the Princess Helena.

Of course, the accuracy of the narrative is beyond dispute; and it is matter of surprise that the Queen has found courage enough to lay before the world, thus authenticated, the details of her courtship and marriage, and subsequent life, even among a People which is noted for its devotion; although its importance, from a historical stand-point, cannot be too highly estimated, as original material of the greatest importance; and every student of English History, through all time, will remember her bravery with the deepest gratitude.

Nor is this the only reason that the volume is important. We have grown up to respect Victoria, as a woman, a wife, and a mother, as we respect few others; and a perusal of this narrative has confirmed our respect and led us to admire, still more than before, the unaffected simplicity and the purity of her character, even in the midst of temptations and hypocrisy, and senseless display.

We are sure our readers will find as much pleasure in reading this work as we have done; and the beauty of the typography will render it a welcome guest in any parlor.

15.—*The Life of William Woodbridge.* By Charles Lanman. Washington: Blanchard & Mohun, 1867. Octavo, pp. 236.

Governor Woodbridge of Michigan, one of the Pioneers of "the great West," was one of the race of Giants who lived and governed the Republic in the days of our boyhood; and Mr. Lanman has presented in this volume, a well-written Memoir of his life, a selection from his Correspondence, and some specimens of his learning—the latter in *Three Addresses* delivered by him at different dates.

As Mr. Woodbridge was the first Territorial Secretary and a Whig, the first Territorial Governor (Cass), who was a political opponent, has fared badly in more than one page of Mr. Woodbridge's papers; yet we are not prepared to deny nor even to doubt his correctness, in any respect, nor even to deny that his evident animosity against General Cass was entirely justifiable. We do regret, however, that in a volume which is essentially a History of Michigan, during the most eventful period of her existence, there has not been presented a detailed account of the secret history which led to the organization of a State Government in Detroit and to its exercise of every function of a State Government, for several months before Michigan was admitted into the Union, or even recognized by Congress—rather a severe dose for those wiseacres who talk so glibly about the Sovereignty of the Federal Government.

Mr. Lanman has certainly made a very interesting volume and its importance, as material for history, cannot be questioned.

16.—*The Career Centenary*; an account of the celebration by the Minnesota Historical Society, of the One hundredth Anniversary of the Council and Treaty of Captain Jonathan Carver with the Naudowessies, on May 1, 1767, at the "Great Cave," [now within the limits of the City of Saint Paul, Minnesota.] held May 1, 1867. Saint Paul: Pioneer Office, 1867. Octavo, pp. 24.

This is a very interesting account of the reunion of the members of the Society, on the occasion of a local anniversary in May last.

It opens with a minute description of the celebrated Cave in which the Treaty was made, in 1767; and this is followed with a narrative of the proceedings of the Society, including a very well-written paper, by Rev. John Mattocks, on *The Life and Travels of Jonathan Carver*.

The pamphlet is printed on tinted paper, at the expense of George W. Fahnestock, Esq., of Philadelphia; and the Edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies.

17.—*Ninth Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago, for the year ending March 31, 1867, reported to the Chicago Board of Trade,* by John F. Beatty, Secretary. Chicago: Horton & Leonard, 1867. Octavo, pp. 146.

In this volume we have the wonderful record of the rise and progress of that "Trade and Commerce" which, within Twenty-seven years, has transformed Chicago from a mere military outpost, with Seventy inhabitants, into a mighty municipality of nearly a quarter of a million souls; with a shipment of Seventy-eight bushels of grain, in 1838, to one of Sixty-six million, seven hundred and thirty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-nine bushels, in 1866.

Such a volume, crowded with statistics, and bristling with stern facts, is as formidable against mere theorists as "an army with banners;" and we know no more important volume to the collector of "local histories." We shall esteem it a particular favor if the preceding volumes of the series, or any of them, can be furnished to us by any of our readers.

18.—*The Railway.* Remarks at Belfast, Maine, July 4, 1867, by John A. Poor. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 61.

We have been favored by our respected friend, the Author, with a copy of this beautiful pamphlet, and have read it with considerable interest.

It seems to have been a Fourth of July Address, and contains some political paragraphs; yet the burden of the song is the "The Railway," its general advantages as an agent of civilization, and, locally, as an instrument for the improvement of the territory through which it passes.



It is well written, well sustained by authorities, and well enforced by argument.

The pamphlet is well printed, as all bearing Little, Brown & Co's imprint are.

19.—*Alec Forbes of Inverclyde*. A novel. By George MacDonald. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 171. 75 cents.

20.—*No man's friend*. A novel. By Frederic William Robinson. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 180. 75 cents.

21.—*Called to account*. A novel. By Miss Annie Thomas. New York: Harper & Bros., 1867. Octavo, pp. 152. 50 cents.

Nos. 294, 495, and 296 of *The Library of Standard Novels* are here presented to the American reading public by the enterprising Publishers in Franklin-square.

The first is a Scotch story, based on the customs, manners, and sentiments of North Britain. There is no intricacy of plot in the work; but the earnestness of the Author and the individuality of its characters give strength to the work beyond the usual measure.

The others are also by leading novelists of Europe; and their cheapness will ensure for them an extended circulation, both in town and country.

22.—*Harpers' Writing Books*. Symmetrical Penmanship with Marginal Drawing Lessons, for Schools and Families. New York: Harper & Bros. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Horace Mann said he believed a child will learn both to draw and write sooner, and with more ease than he will learn writing alone; and these books are based on that very sensible proposition.

Along the margin of each page there is a series of drawing lessons; and the theory which the Author proposes for imparting a knowledge of drawing is also peculiar, but exceedingly sensible.

It is undoubtedly the most valuable series of writing books that we have yet seen.

23.—*Thirty-five miles around Richmond, Virginia*. Compiled by Jed. Hotchkiss. Top. Engineer, Staunton, Va., 1867. Washington, D. C.: C. Bohn.

We have received from the Author a copy of this very useful Map, in pocket-book form.

It is from actual surveys made during the war, by the Engineers of the Confederate and Federal officers; and its Author, who was the Topographical Engineer of the Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia—"Stonewall" Jackson's—has done good service by noting the roads, streams, post-offices, churches, fortifications, etc., in this notable neighborhood.

Its accuracy is recognized by the local press of all parties; and it must be exceeding useful to the student because of the completeness of its details.

## 2.—MISCELLANY.

**THE FIRELANDS PIONEER.**—In our last number we referred to this excellent work, and regretted that Title-pages and Indices are not furnished with the complete volumes.

We have since been informed that Volumes III. and VII. contained these useful portions of the work, collectively, for the volumes which respectively preceded them; and that a similar *general* Title-page and Index for Volumes VIII., IX., X., and probably XI., will be printed with One of the latter Two. We earnestly hope that the publishers will so far change their plan as to make each volume perfect in itself, by giving to each its appropriate Title-page and Index.

—The public, for many months past, have been led to believe (from wide spread advertisements) that the Hon. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, was writing a Southern History of the War, and the same would soon be issued. To convince the public that Mr. Stephens is not writing a History of the War, and the publishing of his meditated work on the causes and results of the war is in the *distant future*, we have only to quote from a letter from William Swinton, author of *Army of the Potomac, &c., &c.*, and special correspondent of the *New York Times*, who has recently visited the distinguished Statesman:

[From the *New York Daily Times*, July 22, 1867.]

"CRAWFORDVILLE, GA., July 10th, 1867.

\* \* \* \* "Mr. Stephens immediately opened 'the subject of the war \* \* \* \* As you may be 'aware, he is engaged in writing a work on the "War between the States.' It is, however, as I 'gather, to be a MONOGRAPH RATHER THAN A 'HISTORY, and will treat only of special points 'in the cause, conduct, and results of the war of 'secession. *He shrinks from the amount of 'morbid anatomy that would be required in a 'complete history.* Stephens is perhaps the only 'man who could, if he would, write the secret, 'internal history of the Confederacy, and as he 'is not so minded, a great deal of it will die 'with him. The work on which he is now engaged cannot fail to possess a very high value; 'it need not, however, be looked for soon, as it is 'yet in no considerable degree of forwardness."

—Marshall, favorably known by his portrait of President Lincoln, is now engaged in engraving a likeness of General Grant.

—*Case and his Contemporaries* is the title of a new biographical history of early Methodism in Canada, soon to be issued at the Wesleyan Book Room in Toronto. It is written by Rev. John Carroll, and will contain a fine portrait of Rev. William Case, the pioneer itinerant of Canadian Methodism.



THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. SECOND SERIES.]

SEPTEMBER, 1867.

[No. 3

I.—A LETTER FROM NEAR FORT POPHAM.

SMALL POINT, NEAR FORT POPHAM,  
August 30, 1867.

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

Looking down, this bright morning, from the summit of Mount Morse (so-called), which, though comparatively high ground, is hardly entitled to the name of "mountain," the ancient province of "Sabino" was spread before me like a map. I had with me, as guide and interpreter, one of the "oldest inhabitants," familiar with the region from childhood, intelligent and well informed respecting its history and archæology. We could see the rising structure of the new fort, and the green slope of Horsecatch Point, where the remains of the primitive Colony are found. The general name of the little peninsula, or presqu Coast, which is claimed to be the seat of the earliest New England settlement, is "Hunniwell's Point." We could distinguish the country people, in their holiday clothes, wending their way thither, crossing arms of the sea in boats, and picking their steps over the marshes; but the assembled wisdom of The Maine Historical Society was nowhere visible. The twenty-ninth instant was the appointed time of their meeting, and the commemoration, which could not then take place on account of the rain, was expected to be observed on the first fair day.

Finding that our anticipations, and those of the scanty population of the neighborhood, were doomed to disappointment, I contented myself with a study of the geographical features of the scene, and the relation of these outlying, and almost insulated, patches of rock to the mainland.

Fort Popham is entirely surrounded by water in high tides; and the owner of the intervening marsh has contemplated making a permanent water communication through it for the passage of gondolas (gundalows) and floating timber. By this boggy marsh the fort is connected with another piece of rocky land which hangs by a slender neck to the township of Phippsburg. This township itself hangs by a slender neck to the township of Bath; and Bath hangs by a slender

neck to the mainland. There is a tradition that the water formerly flowed between Bath and Topsham and New Brunswick; and a canal has existed across the sandy marsh, once doubtless the bed of the sea, which the quicksands have now destroyed.

One might suppose that so much "hanging by" "a neck" would have suggested unpleasant associations among convict Colonists who had barely escaped a similar condition in their own persons. There was, however, a present security in occupying places easily defended, which probably influenced their choice of a site for habitation.

The region here consists of an archipelago of rocky knolls, separated from one another by arms of the ocean and salt marshes, and projecting about twenty miles from the mainland proper. The sandy basis of the marshes is thought to indicate that soil and vegetation have gradually accumulated where the sea once had full possession, rather than that the marshes have resulted from the erosion of harder soil above them.

In the July number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the President of the Maine Society enunciates two propositions. The first is, "that one of the material attributes of Truth is sharpness, and that when coming in contact with Error its pungency should be felt." The other, that it is among "the first principles of National and International Law," that "any action on any island is entirely irrelevant" to the question of possession of the mainland of New England, "as much so as if it were situated on the coast of England or France."

I have no objection to the pungency of Truth. The second proposition, however, if a truth, appears to need elucidation, and perhaps qualification. "Suppose," he says, "that De Monts did occupy Neutral Island, and continued to occupy it year after year: that his Company planted grain, built houses, erected a fort, and also a Church for the worship of God, what had all this to do with the shore or mainland?" "Or suppose that George Popham, Gosnold, Weymouth, or any English navigator, on the Elizabeth Islands, George's Island, Boon Island, or the Isle of Shoals, had done the same things under British authority; or suppose, as at Sa-

"bino, or either of those Islands, they had built fifty houses, a stone house, a strong fortification, a pinnacle, and also a chapel for the worship of God, and at the beginning proclaimed the laws of England for the government of the people—under what law, or what theory of right, could such action have been made to attach to the mainland or shores of New England?"

The statement of the learned President, and equally learned Judge, is a broad one. His words are "any island;" and he declares that "the possession of an island never draws with it the shore: but by the comity of nations the converse of the position is so far admitted that the shore draws to it the adjacent islands."

It is to be regretted that the exact meaning of the phrase "any island," as used in this important dictum, was not more clearly defined. Judge Sullivan, whose specialty was "Land Titles," supposed the Popham settlement to have been on Parker's Island, and says: "Upon this island the Europeans who first colonized to New England made their landing. Virginia was planted in the year 1606, but the Colony of Parker's Island, which has since been called Sagadahoc, was but one year behind her. Had the leaders of this little Colony survived the severity of the winter next after their landing, Plymouth might have been deprived of the honor of being the mother of New England." It is plain that he did not regard the fact that the colonists were on an island as affecting the validity of their claims to a prior settlement of the country if they had only remained long enough. This was the common impression during all the period when the Popham attempt at settlement was believed to have been on an island.

What kind of island would satisfy the conditions of Judge Bourne's *obiter dictum*? Is it enough to say that any land entirely surrounded by water is such an island? That definition would include Cape Ann and Boston, taking into account the creeks that once completed the circuit of the waters. At all events, it would include the original "Rhode Island," as distinguished from "The Providence Plantations." Is not something more required to fulfil the necessary insular conditions? Must there not be a considerable distance from the shore, and a decided independence of it? And are not the legal principles governing the possession of islands as incident to the possession of the shore also applicable to the converse of the proposition? I think Chancellor Kent considered that all islands necessary or convenient for purposes connected with revenue or defence were to be regarded as part of the main land; and by way of illustration referred to the islands within a line drawn from Cape Cod to Nantucket, and thence to Montauk Point, as constituting part of

the continent. It is probable that he would have held that a discoverer, who had followed the coast of a new country for many degrees, landing here and there, and giving permanent names to prominent points, and, finally, building, for security's sake, on a piece of land detached from the shore, did not fail to take possession of the country because the location he fortified happened to be surrounded by water. If the declaration of your correspondent is correct, then an occupation of Long Island, or Staten Island, or Manhattan, or all of them, however protracted, by discoverers and colonists, would give them no more possession or title to these western shores than if those islands were "situated on the coast of England or France." There is evidently something wrong here, in principle or in statement, and the learned lawyer's *declaration* apparently needs to be amended.

It seems reasonable to presume that an island, so situated in regard to the shore as to form a part of its configuration, commanding it and being commanded by it, is politically identical with it, and logically and legally a part of the continent, as fully as if the island were in an interior lake. It is claimed by legal authorities that the basis of law is common sense; and certainly International Law has no other criterion or sanction, as it consists of the opinions of publicists founded upon the reasonableness of things, and commended by their good sense to the general understanding of mankind.

The little string of islands called Elizabeth Islands, in the shallow waters of Vineyard Sound, constitutes the eastern boundary of Buzzard's Bay, an important harbor for vessels of light draft. It is, as the map shows, part of a cape or promontory, projecting from the town of Falmouth, which has been cut up and divided by the action of the waves. If the isles and presqu coast of Sagadahoc have any advantage over these detached fragments of soil as parts of the continent, in a political sense, or according to the principles of International Law, then a natural or artificial creek, or the division of a stream, may carve the face of a country into numberless naturally distinct dominions. For an arm of the sea is no more a natural boundary than a river, or a range of mountains: and are not these minor features always disregarded in determining the right of possession to a newly-discovered country?

The Popham claims, to whose support The Maine Historical Society has had the misfortune to be committed by a portion of its members, seem to me to be dependent upon an undue magnifying of minor and unimportant considerations, while under-estimating others of a higher character and greater consequence. The simple statement of the historian, that "the President's commission was read, with the laws to be observed

"and kept"—that is, their own Company regulations—is magnified into a Proclamation of "the Laws of England," as if it were part of a ceremonial procedure for taking possession of the country as representatives of England's sovereignty. The acting Chaplain of the Company, who, by the calculations, intended to display his possible high connections, is proved to have been little more than a boy, is always referred to with studied respect as "the Reverend Richard Seymour," a dignitary of the Church of England, an exercise of the imagination suggested by a very small basis of fact. The cabin where they met for religious services becomes a *Church*. Every hut is of course a *house*, and the rude encampment is a *village*. I have heard it mentioned as probable that the *streets* were *paved*, because flagging stones, apparently laid together, have been found in the earth where the encampment stood. As some leaden weights were disinterred at the same place, why not presume that the *Market House* was erected on that spot, while the Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace could not have been far distant? This tendency to exaggeration, a disposition to swell beyond the limits of a legitimate idealization, somewhat characterizes the proceedings recorded in the famous "Memorial Volume."

It would, perhaps, be wiser for the Society to drop the unsound and the unsavory points involved in their original pretensions, and to fall back upon the more modest and rational views of their former President, Mr. Willis. They have preferred, under the elation of a combative impulse, to be aggressive in matter and manner, and stand ready to do battle for the merits of their cause, without abatement or qualification, against all comers, after the fashion of a dogged knight of old, asserting the superior charms of an ideal mistress.

It was not a bad joke, to begin with, that such a jubilation should have been held over the advent of a penal colony to the shores of Maine. But the jest grew serious when it was attempted to trace to that circumstance the beginning of New England civilization, and the establishment of title to the country. A sentiment bordering upon indignation was naturally excited among persons who do not fancy such a national origin. It was a little as if The Historical Society of Botany Bay, now the seat of a respectable and flourishing community, should be seized with an insane desire to commemorate the twentieth of January, 1788, the date of the landing of Captain Phillip and his company of felons in that country, before unoccupied by white men; and to perpetuate the memory of that event as the glorious beginning of civilization on their continent. Like Popham, Captain Phillip carried with him a commission as Governor or President, which, after the landing, was doubtless read to the convicts, together with

the rules to which they were expected to submit. Probably religious services were had, and an organization commenced by assigning officers, previously selected, to their proper duties. Like the Popham colony, these "illustrious" men abandoned the place they had chosen for a habitation; but, instead of leaving the country, only removed to a more favorable location, and really secured to England the possession of the continent of New Holland. Unlike their prototypes in Maine, the Australian Society might not find among the Judges who promoted this original settlement one sufficiently prominent to be made the hero of the occasion; but then the historical claims of the celebration in general could be more satisfactorily maintained; if that could be called satisfactory which we should expect to find distasteful to the honest emigrants of a later period.

If the name of the fort, whose cannon are destined to repel the invader from the Kennebec, should at some future time be written Pop'em, instead of Popham, that appellation would suggest unpleasant reflections only to a foe within range of the guns. There would still remain a historical crime to be atoned for by removing the erroneous inscription which United States officers heedlessly permitted to be attached to the walls.

H.

## II.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

COMMUNICATED BY HIS GRANDSON, PROFESSOR GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, OF EAST GREENWICH, R. I.\*

### 1.—FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.

NEW HAVEN 10<sup>th</sup> April 1780.

DEAR SIR

The ill-state of health which has presented our old friend the General (with whom I had the honor of serving) from returning to Camp; has likewise subjected me, to a state of *inactivity* and *rustication* for several months past; this, I should have little reason to regret from the manner in which I have spent the time, during the inactive season of the year: but the idea of its being protracted into the active parts of the Campaign, might be rather irksome & disagreeable. However I shall not make myself, or friends anxious about my situation, for if my Country should have no farther occasion for my services, I shall be perfectly will-

\* Our readers will be glad to learn that our friend, Professor Greene, has acceded to our invitation to make this work the medium of publication of some of the most important papers of his distinguished grandfather; and in those which are now presented they have the first instalment.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

ing to retire, if otherwise I make no doubt of being permitted to serve it, in such a manner as will be most conducive to the public good; which is the utmost limit of my ambition—

In the interim, whilst I am amusing myself with subjects of Literature & Belle Lettres; I have presumed, upon the knowledge of your fondness for Letters, to trouble you with a small specimen of my attempts in Poetry—The Elegy on the burning of Fairfield, which is herewith transmitted was suggested (not inspired according to poetic custom), by a view of the ruins of that once beautiful Town; and was written to indulge, a pleasing kind of melancholly, and while away a vacant hour the other morning—Should it afford you a moments Amusement, it will be an additional gratification—And indeed, since I have proceeded so far in confessing my weaknesses; I may as well go on to acknowledge, some other of my poetical sins, & in the true style of a Penitent confess, that being instigated by the Devil & a certain Jere Wadsworth, I have some time since written & consented to publish a Peice in verse, Addressed to the Army, on the Subject of the present War, the prospects before us, And the future felicity, grandeur population & glory of the Country for which we are now contending—When the afores<sup>d</sup> Poem makes its appearance, a Copy of it will not fail of waiting upon you with the writers sincerest respects; unless you should have a surfeit of the enclosure; which being duly notified, will preclude any future efforts of presumption & vanity from the same quarter.

Now what could induce me to turn Scribbler, whether my own Sins, or those of my Parents (as Pope says) must be left to farther discussion; the I rather imagine the mischief, like a thousand others, will be found, to have originated, in a great measure, from keeping ill Company; such as the beforementioned Col<sup>o</sup> Wadsworth, a certain Mr Trumbull, a Mr Dwight, a Doct<sup>r</sup> Styles, & some other similar Characters, of smaller notoriety—These men are enough to corrupt half the youth of the State, and introduce them to the same evil practices—For instance, there is a hopeful Genius, of their fostering & cultivation in this Town, who is so far gone in Poetry, that there is no hope of reclaiming, & making him attentive to any thing else—to be moreserious about the matter—The person intended, is a young Gentleman by the name of Barlow; who I could wish was introduced to your notice—He is certainly a very great Genius, and has undertaken a work, which I am persuaded, will do honor to himself, & his Country, if he is enabled to prosecute it, in the manner he has proposed—It is entitled the Vision of Columbus, and in the course of the Poem will bring into view, upon a large scale, all the great events that have, or will take place on the Continent: from a sight of the first

Book which he has nearly finish'd, I have conceived an exceeding high idea of the performance—But the difficulty is, it will be a labour of three years at least; And his patrimony which consisted in Continental Bills, is by no means sufficient to support him—However a number of Gentlemen have undertaken to patronize him, and I hope will not relinquish the plan on account of the expence—Should they, he proposes to set out for the Southward & see what encouragement he can obtain there—

My friend Trumbull is in Town & informs me, he has had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you; to which he wrote an answer by an Officer, who has not yet gone to Camp; And therefore he presumes it will reach you, in a very depreciated state, which depreciation, he engages to make good, provided it is not more than forty for one—I shall spend next week with him at Westbury, & will put him often in mind of his promise—I have just Rec<sup>d</sup> a Line from Maj<sup>r</sup> Putnam, who acquaints me, that the General is better & proposes making a visit to Camp in May—

I am with great respect & esteem your most  
Obed<sup>t</sup> & very Hble Servant

DAVID HUMPHRYS.

[Addressed. To MAJOR GENERAL GREENE  
Head Quarters]

## 2.—FROM DAVID HUMPHRYS.

HARTFORD May 23<sup>d</sup> 1780

I will not undertake to describe to you, My Dear Sir, the pleasing and even exquisite Sensations which your most obliging Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> occasioned—It would indeed be an effort of more magnanimity than I am possessed of, and a Sacrifice of more value than I can possibly afford to suppress all the agreeable feelings which are excited by the approbation (I should say) the too favourable opinion, and partial commendation, of such a character as General Greene. That this is fully sufficient to make any mortal under my circumstances insufferably vain for his whole life must also be confessed, & shall be my only apology in future—For I can never induce myself to believe, that the man who writes so exceedingly well himself, can have but an indifferent taste, and be an ill judge of the writings of others; And I confess I am very far from imagining that a person of so much candor and liberality would wish to abuse one, at such a remove from him in every point of view, by making him believe he was much better esteemed and regarded, than he is in reality—

However diffident I may formerly have been of my own productions, I assure you I find myself in danger after all that has been said, of having my vanity get the ascendancy over my judgment, for I am now taking the liberty you was pleased to give me of exposing myself still farther, by

presenting you with a Copy of the Address to the Army which I mentioned in my last: All that I could presume to say in its favour, you will find recorded (as the Parsons say by way of introduction) in the Advertisement prefixed to the Poem. So far as an honest intention, and a zeal for my country can be urged an excuse for indifferent Poetry, I am determined to claim the indulgence of the Public in general, and the patronage of my friends in particular—But pray dont you think I have been guilty of an instance of impertinence, if nothing worse, by addressing a Copy of it to his Excellency the Commander in Chief without his permission or knowledge? I cannot but feel myself under very great obligations to you, for the generous Concern you are pleased to take in Mr. Barlow's affairs—There is one way in which I think he might be Serv'd effectually, and that in a manner reputable to himself & beneficial to the Public. I mean by having him appointed a Chaplain to some vacant Brigade: for tho' he is not in orders at present, he would I am well assured, from his character and some other circumstances, qualify himself for the office immediately, accept the appointment with cheerfulness, perform the duty with dignity, and have leisure enough to prosecute his favourite pursuits.—The Rhode Island & 4th Massachusetts Brigades I am informed are vacant—

We are this moment made happy by the arrival of the News from your quarter that a french fleet will be on the Coast in a few days; this, with many other things will induce me probably, to accept of the kind offer of coming into your family, in the manner you propose; for which & every other instance of your friendship, you will ever receive my most grateful acknowledgements—I am this day setting out to pay a visit to my venerable and honest friend General Putnam—Shall stay but a short time with him, as I wish to be present at more active and important scenes, tho' I know it will be with reluctance that we shall part with each other—

I am with great respect & esteem

Your most oblig'd & Hble serv't

D HUMPHRYS

G'N GREENE

{Addressed. MAJOR GENERAL GREENE Q MG  
Head Quarters}

3.—FROM DAVID HUMPHRYS.

NEW HAVEN May 30th 1780.

DEAR SIR

I beg pardon for troubling you with another Letter upon the back of my last; and scarcely know of any better excuse for it, than the invincible propensity I have to write to, and about the objects of which I am thinking, continually: did not your candor & liberality of sentiment and be-

haviour inspire me with almost unbounded confidence in your friendship, I should not have written with the same freedom I have already done.—And indeed I can hardly tell, what it is except this, which now prompts me to unbosom myself with so little reserve. I wish however it may not rather be considered as an argument of my presumption than a proff of my attachment & sincere affection.

The present moment, which is certainly big with great events; appears to me to be the most important as well as the most critical one, that has ever happened since the commencement of the war.—On the one hand, every prospect from abroad looks exceedingly favourable.—And every thing, except what depends on ourselves, & our own exertions, wears the most flattering aspect—On the other the ill state of our finances, the total want of credit, the impracticability of calling forth the resources of the Country in the ordinary mode, the stupidity & negligence of the people at large to their own interest, the knavery of some, and the want of ability in others, who are concerned in the administration of public affairs, and especially the unbounded, uncontrollable spirit of dissipation, licentiousness, & avarice, which predominates thro every rank and order of men, so far as they have any opportunity for its gratification; afford the most gloomy presage of what the event would be, if Providence should only leave us to ourselves or (as they commonly say) to our own destruction.—In the midst of this embarrass'd & distressing state of affairs, when we can neither assemble any considerable force; or support and keep together the shattered remains of the Army now in the field, for want of supplies, while the disposition of the Country is so unfavourable to every exertion: it seems to me that the certain prospect, of the immediate arrival of a formidable land and naval armament to co-operate with us, can serve only to augment and increase the perplexity and embarrassment.—

Heaven be thanked I am not a General, and never shall be, for my own sake!—for that of the Public 'tis most auspicious that they who have the management of our military affairs, have more ability, fortitude, perseverance and integrity than ever mortals had before.—You will pardon me for the boldness of the assertion, and allow this to be the case, with our glorious Commander in Chief, tho you may have more diffidence, and less justice, than posterity will inevitably have, in coupling your name with his—Good God! what must the feelings of that great & good man be, to find himself so ill seconded by his Country at such a crisis!

As to the plan of operations for the Campaign, I suppose it is determin'd upon before this time, and that it will be difficult, if not disgraceful to recede from the measures concerted in conjunction

with our allies—so that I presume all that is now necessary, is for the Country to be roused from its lethargy, to make those great efforts, of which we all believe it is capable—for my own part, to assist in effecting so important a purpose, I could wish to be invested with power, not inferior to be sure, to that which Milton bestows upon his Devils, to tear up Mountains by the roots, or wield some of these elements; at least I should want, for a little while, to be possessed of a voice of thunder, so that I might stand some chance to awaken those, who I fear nothing will except the last Trumpet.—

Apropos of the last Trumpet—You have undoubtedly heard of the dark day with us. the speculations on it were curious, and would, I dare say, be amusing to you, but time would fail me to innumerate them—Many who apprehended the last day was at hand, began to think of repenting. Other turn'd out as Volunteers to preach, and pray, and prophesy, and help their neighbours out at a dead lift—It is said the Assembly broke up not without some precipitation & indications of terror, that they might be sent for before they were quite ready, or had got their business in such forwardness, as that they could possibly leave it—Amongst the rest, there was a certain fat old Gentleman, known by the name of Colo<sup>d</sup> Deavenport, who having wrapped himself up in his corpulency and integrity, behaved with very great composure & firmness: observing, "that it was best for the Sheriff to order Candles, that they might go on with their business, that if they should be called for, they might be found in the way of their duty"—But I imagine the greater part of the Multitude, begun to think, that the Prince of the Regions of darkness, who is sometimes styled, the Prince of the Power of the air, was about uniting both his kingdoms into one, in the same manner as England & Scotland were formerly incorporated—And altho they had been his most faithful adherents & humble Servants, (as it was well known, that like other Monarchs, he was rather apt to be ungrateful to his best friends & benefactors) they were not without fear that it might be a dark day with them in more senses than one, tho they could not be under any apprehensions of being treated as Rebels, as being conscious they never had forfeited their allegiance & fidelity to his infernal Majesty—

I have just return'd from my visit to General Putnam, & left him in good spirits, & very cleverly in every respect, but his lameness—I have a Letter from him, to you, which I hope to have the honor of delivering with my own hand, soon after the arrival of this—

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obedt Hble Servt  
D HUMPHREYS—

### III.—A MEMOIR OF THE PINCKNEY FAMILY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

DRAWN FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS, AND COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, LL.D., OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Thomas Pinckney, the grandfather of the Generals Pinckney, was the first of the name in Carolina. He came over in the year 1692. His wife was Mary, daughter of Charles Cotesworth; and his three sons were Thomas (who died young), Charles, commonly known as Chief-justice Pinckney, and William.

Thomas Pinckney was a man of independent fortune and resided on the Bay, in a house which afterward belonged to General T. Pinckney.

An anecdote is told of him that, looking out on the Bay, which was not then disfigured by wharves or long rows of storehouses, he observed a vessel, just arrived from the West Indies, landing her passengers; and as they walked up the street, he was particularly attracted by the appearance of a very handsome stranger, gaily dressed, and turning to his wife, remarked: "That handsome West Indian will marry some poor fellow's widow, break her heart, and ruin her children." His words were in part prophetic, for, dying shortly after, his widow married the gay West Indian, George Evans; and though he did not break her heart, as she lived to marry a third husband, he often gave her the heart-ache by his extravagance, and squandered the patrimony of her children. A sufficiency, however, was saved, to enable them to have liberal educations.

Chief-justice Pinckney was educated in England, and married there Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Lamb, of Devonshire Square, London. He returned to Carolina and practiced law, was made Chief Justice of the Province, and King's Counsellor. Having made an ample fortune by his profession, as is seen by the rent-roll, in his own handwriting, and having been many years married without children, he took his brother William's eldest son, Charles, to live with him, intending to make him his heir.

In the year 1743, Eliza Lucas, daughter of George Lucas, a Colonel in the British army, and Governor of Antigua, came shortly after her arrival from England on a tour of pleasure with some friends to Carolina. The young stranger attracted universal attention; but by none was she more admired than by the wife of Chief-justice Pinckney, who declared that, rather than Miss Lucas should return to Antigua, she would herself step out of the way and let her take her place; which kind intention she actually executed the following year, and at no distant time Chief-justice Pinckney married the lady his wife was so solicitous should succeed her.

Eliza Lucas had been sent very young to England for her education, her father having a great dislike to the manner in which the ladies of the West Indies were educated. Passing a great part of their time in needle-work, their minds were consequently vacant and uninformed. He had a great aversion to the sight of a needle, and used to say he never saw women at work but he imagined they were plotting mischief. So ungallant a supposition would not have been adverted to by one of his descendants but to show that it was partly owing to this circumstance that the fine mind of his daughter was so highly cultivated. In compliance with her father's wishes, she never engaged in any of the feminine accomplishments of the needle, but spent the greatest part of her time in reading, and as there were no Reviews in those days to save the labor of thinking, to be well informed it was necessary to read deeply and think for oneself. She had no knowledge of Latin except the Latin Grammar, which she had learnt as a foundation for Grammar in general; but she was well versed in the French language and its literature, and spoke it correctly and fluently. She had been taught music, as it was an accomplishment as indispensable at that day as it is now; but as she did not possess the organ of tune, she was not a proficient in it, and amused herself in gardening, planting out trees, and agriculture. It was from her experiments in tropical fruits and plants that Carolina was indebted for one of its staples, in 1748.

She was eminently pious, strongly attached to her own Church (that of England), but her understanding made her tolerant of others. She did not consider religion as distinct from morality, but as it was the source of her motives it influenced all her actions. Had she lived at a period when "benevolent societies," and all the other philanthropic societies were the fashion, she would not have supposed that a strict attention to these and the mere outward forms of religion would have entitled her to the name of Christian, had she not exhibited the fruits of Christianity by her self-control, forgetfulness of self, charity toward others, and humility of deportment. No spurious Christianity found favor in her sight. She was a constant attendant on church, and she at stated times gave a public testimony of her having embraced the faith of Christ by partaking of the Eucharist, but she did not commune every month. She always obliged the young people of her family to recollect the text of the sermon they had heard at church, and search for it in the Bible as soon as they came home, when she explained to them those parts they did not understand or had forgotten. She also made them learn by heart the Collect for the day, which they considered a great task; but she never imposed on them a Jewish Sabbath. Addison's beautiful hymn on Gratitude,

"When all thy mercies, oh my God,  
"My rising soul surveys,"

was a great favorite of hers, and she used frequently to make them repeat it, dwelling on those lines:

"Nor is the least a cheerful heart  
"That tastes those gifts with joy."

She did not believe that a moderate participation in the recreations and amusements of civilized society was contrary to the precepts or spirit of the Gospel, that the relinquishing the ball-room or the drama, was a proof of the spirituality of any one's state; or that there were more dangers to be resisted than amidst the temptations, business scenes and every-day trials of life. She always spoke with pleasure of the gaieties in which she had participated during her second visit to England; of the celebrated actors and actresses she had seen; and that she had never missed a single day when Garrick was to act.

Respected, admired, at the head of society in Carolina, all that she thought and said and did was right; but this generation is wise in its own conceit, and Eliza Lucas, with all her acquirements and virtues and unaffected piety, might now be regarded as a light not sufficiently bright for the illumination of the times.

The happiness of Chief-justice Pinckney was completed by the birth of a son, which put an end to the hopes of his nephew Charles; but though it put an end to his hopes it did not diminish his affection for his uncle, or his love for his young cousin, whom he always treated as a younger brother. Nor did his uncle remit his care and attention to him. He continued to live with him, he educated him for the law, and sent him to England for five years, for the completion of his education. The Generals Pinckney and their sister were accustomed to speak of him with great affection, always designating him by the title of "My Cousin." He was the father of Charles Pinckney, one of the framers of the Constitution.

Chief-justice Pinckney had four children, Charles Cotesworth, born on the twenty-fifth of February, 1746; George Lucas, who, his father said, died of a clean room, his nurse choosing to perform her ablutions in it when he was only a fortnight old; Harriett, afterward Mrs. Horry; and Thomas, born on the twenty-second of October, 1750.

It may be imagined that a child so ardently wished for as was General Pinckney, would not only have every care and attention bestowed on him, but unremitted pains taken with him. Accordingly, he knew all his letters before he could speak—that is, if the letter was named and he was asked to point it out, he immediately put his finger on it—but he never in after life approved of such precocious accomplishments, and used to



dissuade all those over whom he had any influence from the premature instruction of their children saying that from an over-anxiety to make him a clever fellow, he had run the risk of being a very stupid one.

Of that firmness of character which he exhibited through life he gave a specimen when only three years old, in suffering himself to be whipped rather than betray a little companion. Of his strict regard for truth, several anecdotes are told of him before he was seven years old, at which age his father carried him to England with his mother, sister and brother, then three years old, in the year 1753. Upon his going to England, Chief-justice Pinckney rented what he called his "Mansion House," on the Bay, to Mr. Glen, who was then Governor; and from that time, and during the minority of his son, it was the residence of all the Governors of the Province.

Chief-justice Pinckney resided, when he was not in London, at a house he purchased in Surrey, called Ripley. On account of the war between France and England, he returned with his wife and daughter to Carolina in 1758, leaving his two sons at Westminster school, the one twelve and the other eight years old. He was taken ill immediately on his coming home, and died in a short time, leaving directions that his sons should have the most liberal education, and if, from the uncertainty of crops, the income should be inadequate, part of his estate should be sold, always reserving Pinckney Island.

General Pinckney had a most exalted opinion of his father, not from his recollection, for he was only twelve years old when he last saw him, but from the reflections and notes in his own handwriting, that he found dispersed through his books. Those books are no longer in being. At the commencement of the war between England and the Colonies, the greatest part of the library, papers of consequence, and everything that was valuable in the family, were sent to Ashepoo, to a place belonging to General Tom Pinckney, supposing it to be sufficiently remote to be out of danger; but the house was at length burnt, with everything in it except what had been plundered and carried off. The only memorial, therefore, of Chief-justice Pinckney, is a will which, in the language of one fully competent to judge, "will be read with delight by the patriot, the philanthropist, the parent and the Christian."

Such was the fascination of his manner, as described by his wife, the moment his footstep was heard before he entered the drawing-room, every eye glistened with expectation and pleasure. He was idolized by her, and a nervous illness of many months followed her bereavement; but she at length remembered she was a mother, and roused herself to direct the education of her absent sons and devote herself to that of her daughter;

and never was there a daughter that more fully repaid the thousand cares bestowed on her. She was everything that the fondest parent could hope or desire. Nor were her anxieties for her sons unrewarded. She was constantly informed of the progress they were making in classical attainments. The strict discipline of Westminster could not fail to bring forth every intellectual power. She had herself planted the seeds of religion and virtue in their hearts, and the friend, Mrs. Evans, under whose guardianship they were placed, did not spoil them. The penances she sometimes prescribed were rather uncommon. One that she imposed on General Pinckney he never forgot. She obliged him to sit down and unpick a quilted silk petticoat, which gave him as great an aversion to a pin as his grandfather had to a needle. There was also another friend who interested himself for them. George Keate, a literary man of fine taste, author of the *Pelew Islands*. Of this gentleman their mother thus writes to her eldest son: "Had there been anything wanting to convince me of his friendship and kind remembrance of your dear father, the trouble he has taken, his so kindly interesting himself in those most dear to me, and his last long and friendly letter, would be a sufficient proof."

The Generals Pinckney passed regularly through Westminster school with great honor to themselves, not only on account of their classical acquirements, but also for the strictness of their principles. The elder brother, in accordance with his seniority, preceded the younger by four years at college. General Pinckney entered Christ Church College, Oxford, and had for his private tutor, Cyril Jackson, a man of profound learning, who was afterward the Dean of Christ Church.

At Oxford he pursued his studies with great zeal, and quitted it at the age of eighteen, with the reputation of an accomplished scholar. This was an early age to leave college in England; but he had been qualified to enter it sooner than young men in general, from his assiduity while at Westminster.

From Oxford he entered the Society of the Middle Temple, and here also he was indefatigable in studying, as may be seen by the following letter from his mother:

"I am alarmed, my dear child, by an account of your being extremely thin, it is said owing to intense study, and I apprehend your constitution may be hurt, which affects me very much, conscious as I am how much and how often I have urged you from your childhood, to a close application to your studies. But how short-sighted are poor mortals! Should I, by over-solicitude for your passing through life with every advantage, have been the means of injuring your constitution, and depriving you

"of that invaluable blessing, health, how shall I answer to myself the hurting a child so truly dear to me, and deservedly so, and who has lived to near twenty-three years of age without having once offended me. Let me beg of you, my dear Charles, for my sake as well as your own, and that of your near connexions, to take care of yourself, and consider how small will be the advantage of learning, where health is wanting."

General Pinckney spent the last year he remained in Europe at the Royal Military Academy at Caen, Normandy, and in travelling on the Continent.

His brother pursued the same course of studies. A severe illness when at Oxford obliged him to suspend them, and a letter from his mother shows not only her anxiety for his health, but also for the suspension of his collegiate course.

"It was with extreme concern, my dear child, that I heard of your illness, though I was very apprehensive of it from your long silence, not having heard from you since the arrival of your brother, until your letter by Lady Mary Ainslie, [*afterward Lady Mary Middleton*]. Of the expediency of your going to France you may be sure I approve, as it was necessary for your health, and you had the approbation of my good friends on your side of the water, though I cannot help regretting that necessity, particularly at this time, as it must take you from your studies, and six months loss of application now must be of consequence. As you are in France you may perhaps be inclined to see more of the Continent; but I hope you will not think of gratifying that inclination at present. I therefore beg of you, my dear child, to return to Oxford as soon as your health will permit, and apply closely to your studies."

General Pinckney, after his visit to the Continent, was admitted to the bar in 1769, and returned home the same year, his mother having previously requested him to choose a good ship and commander, but not to inform her of either, or exactly the time of his leaving England, as her ignorance would prevent her much anxiety. General Thomas Pinckney completed his collegiate education, studied at the Temple, and returned home in 1772, the elder brother having been sixteen, and the younger nineteen years absent from their mother, who always declared that her sons were a living contradiction to the opinion that the affection of children was weakened by absence, and well was she rewarded for the sacrifice she had made for their advantage, for her every wish was a command to her sons.

As General Pinckney was seven years old when he went to England, he had some recollection of his country. He remembered the pleasure with

which his father had pointed out to him the first wagon that had arrived in Charleston from the interior, saying, "Charles, by the time you are a man, I don't doubt there will be at least twenty wagons come to town;" and when in after-life he met in travelling a long line of wagons, he would remark: "How happy my father would have been in the growth and prosperity of Carolina;" and notwithstanding their long absence from the soil, never had she two sons more devoted to her than were the Generals Pinckney. They had participated in all the indignation felt at home at the passing of the Stamp Act. A portrait taken soon after, for his friend Sir Mathew Ridley, represents him as arguing vehemently upon that arbitrary Act.

The brothers returned to their country with all the ardor of young men ready to promote her best interests and die in her cause. The sentiments of General Pinckney are expressed in the following extracts, written after the capitulation of Charleston, in 1780. To his wife he writes: "Our friend, Philip Neyle, one of General Moultrie's aids, was killed by a cannon ball coming through one of the embrasures, but I do not pity him, for he has died nobly in defence of his country; but I pity his aged father, now unhappily bereaved of his beloved and only child." To his brother-in-law and bosom friend, Mr. Edward Rutledge (the youngest of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), on the question whether if he were set at liberty he would rejoin the American army: "You, my dear Ned, may be assured that I will not do anything, however I may be oppressed, at which my friends may blush. If I had a vein that did not beat with love for my country, I myself would open it. If I had a drop of blood that could flow dishonorably, I myself would let it out. Whenever asked the question you mention, I will give it such an answer as is becoming an American officer, a man of honor, and a devotee to the freedom and independence of his country." To Major Money, a British officer, interested for him when a prisoner: "I entered into this cause after reflection and through principle. My heart is altogether American, and neither severity nor favor nor poverty nor influence can ever induce me to swerve from it." To Captain McMahon, another British officer: "The freedom and independence of my country are the gods of my idolatry. I mean to rejoin the American army as soon after my exchange as I possibly can. I will exert my abilities to the utmost in the cause I am engaged in, and to obtain success will attempt every measure that is not cruel or dishonorable."

Such were the sentiments of General Pinckney, which were re-echoed by his brother, who was his exact counterpart in strictness of principle, firm-

ness of character, purity of motive and undaunted courage; but here the resemblance ceased. They were dissimilar in temper and manner. The disposition of the elder brother was warm, with occasional ebullitions; but generous, frank and cheerful—so perfectly alive to the ludicrous that he frequently infringed on the Chesterfield code of politeness by a hearty laugh; jocular with children and young persons, who never felt any restraint in his presence. The disposition of the younger brother was mild and placid, with so much self-control that he at times appeared to strangers cold and unimpassioned, but his heart was as warm as that of the elder, and, like him, he would have made any sacrifice for a friend. He had a keen perception of real wit, which is said never to cause anything more than a smile, nor was he insensible of humor and pleasantry. With those with whom he was intimate he was even sportive, and his epistolary style was frequently so when he addressed his friends. Two short notes, written when he was near eighty, will give some idea of the playfulness of his manner:

"We are impatiently expecting you, my dear nieces, at Eldorado. The fatted calf is ready, the turkeys have had the run of the barn-yard, the pigs are wallowing in rice flour and potatoes, and the wild ducks abound in the river. You see, therefore, we are prepared for the immensity of your appetites, but the best treat you shall have will be the accounts you will receive of your friends in Charleston."

"MY DEAR SISTER:

"I find that old age has a remarkable effect on my memory, strengthening it in some cases and nearly obliterating it in others. For example, if anybody owes me money (an occurrence which, though rare, sometimes happens), I never forget a single cent of it, but if I am the debtor it totally escapes my recollection. I do, however, happen to remember that, when you were last at Santee, you procured some articles for me from Charleston, or paid money for me in some way or other. This, therefore, comes to request you to inform me how this last debt occurred and what is its amount, and, as I have money about me, you may chance to receive your own before an act of oblivion has finally passed."

General Pinckney always said that his brother's natural talents were superior to his, but that he had not indulged so much in study. General Tom Pinckney excelled his brother in Greek—he had always been at the head of his class, which was no small praise at such a seminary as Westminster. His thorough acquaintance with the Greek language gave him an advantage that many Christians do not possess. It enabled him to have

a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, which cannot be obtained by the English version. General Pinckney was deeply read in theology. In arguing on disputed points he not only knew the strongest arguments on his own side, but he would point out to his antagonist where to find those on the opposite. This was often a source of surprise to clergymen of a different persuasion. It is doubtful whether there was ever a more general or constant reader. Nothing in the shape of a book ever escaped him; a child's book, a cookery book, or an old almanac. He read from the moment he arose—that is, a page or a few sentences at a time, while he walked about and made his toilet. Locomotion, it is said, is conducive to thought; but he did not read without method. Until two o'clock his reflective faculties were exercised. After that hour, works of imagination, poetry, novels, plays (unless he was engaged with company), occupied him until he retired to rest. This appropriation of his time continued to the very last. Botany and chemistry he studied as an amusement. He had attended the lectures of Charles and Fourcroy while on his mission to France. Both the brothers, after their retirement from public life, employed themselves and took great pleasure in agriculture.

General Pinckney was twice married. His first wife, and mother of his three daughters, was Sarah, third daughter of Henry Middleton, second President of Congress, and son of Arthur Middleton, second royal Governor of Carolina. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Benjamin Stead, and a descendant of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, one of the proprietary Governors of South Carolina.

General Tom Pinckney was also twice married. His first wife, and the mother of his surviving children, was Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Rebecca Motte, who will long be remembered as the heroine distinguished among the daughters of Carolina. His second wife was Frances, widow of John Middleton (nephew of Sir William Middleton), who at an early age crossed the Atlantic to battle for his country.

Of the Generals Pinckney it may be said that they were patriots among patriots, and they were equally distinguished as good men, for "they had early pressed to their hearts the sweet peace of believing, and the needful supports of a religious trust."

On an unostentatious monument in St. Michael's Church is the following Inscription:

To the Memory of

GENERAL CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY,

One of the founders of

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC;

## IN WAR

He was the Companion in Arms  
And friend of Washington.

## IN PEACE

He enjoyed his unchanging confidence,  
And maintained with enlightened zeal  
The Principles of his Administration.

## AS A STATESMAN

He bequeathed to his Country the sentiment  
"Millions for defence,  
"Not a cent for tribute."

## AS A LAWYER

His learning was various and profound,  
His principles pure; his practice liberal.  
With all the accomplishments

## OF THE GENTLEMAN

He combined the virtues of the Patriot  
And the piety of the Christian.

## HIS NAME

Is recorded in the history of his country,  
Inscribed on the charter of her liberties,  
And cherished in the affections

## OF HER CITIZENS.

## IV.—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, COMMUNICATED BY HON. JOHN SULLIVAN, EXETER, N. H.

TO MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN.

SIR,

The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the six nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.

The troops to be employed under your command are—Clinton's, Poor's, Maxwell's and Hand's Brigades and ten independent companies raised in the State of Pennsylvania.—In Hand's

Brigade, I comprehend all the detached corps of Continental troops now on the Susquehanna and Spencer's regiment—Cortlandt's I consider as belonging to Clinton's Brigade. Alden's may go to Poor's & Butler's & the rifle corps to Maxwell's or Hand's according to their comparative strength and circumstances.

Clinton's Brigade you are informed has been ordered to rendezvous at Canojoharie, subject to your orders either to form a junction with the main body on the Susquehanna, by way of Otsege—or to proceed up the Mohawk river and cooperate in the best manner circumstances will permit—as you judge most advisable.

So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of the Indian Settlements—You will establish such intermediate posts as you think necessary for the security of your communication and convoys, nor need I caution you, while you leave a sufficiency of men for their defence to take care to diminish your operating force as little as possible. A post at Tioga will be particularly necessary—either a stockade fort or an intrenched camp—if the latter a block house should be erected in the interior.

I would recommend that some post in the center of the Indian Country should be occupied with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions, whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner; that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed.

I beg leave to suggest as general rules that ought to govern your operations—to make rather than receive attacks, attended with as much impetuosity, shouting, and noise as possible, and to make the troops act in as loose and dispersed a way as is consistent with a proper degree of government, concert, and mutual support—It should be previously impressed upon the minds of the men whenever they have an opportunity, to rush on with the war hoop and fixed bayonet—nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this.

I need not urge the necessity of using every method in your power, to gain intelligence of the enemys strength motions and designs; nor need I suggest the extraordinary degree of vigilance and caution which will be necessary to guard against supprises from an adversary so secret desultory and rapid as the Indians—

If a detachment operates on the Mohawk River the commanding officer should be instructed to be very watchful that no troops come from Oswegatchie and Niagara to Oswego without his knowledge; and for this purpose he should keep trusty spies at those three places to advertise him

instantly of the movement of any party and its force—This detachment should also endeavour to keep up a constant intercourse with the main body.

More than common care will be necessary of your arms and ammunition from the nature of the service—They should be particularly inspected after a rain or the passage of any deep water.

After you have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements; if the Indians should show a disposition for peace, I would have you to negotiate on condition that they will give some decisive evidence of their sincerity by delivering up some of the principle instigators of their past hostility into our hands—Butler, Brandt, & the most mischievous of the Tories that have joined them or any other that may have in their power that we are interested to get into ours—

They may possibly be engaged by address, secrecy and stratagem, to surprise the Garrison of Niagara and the shipping on the lake and put them into our possession. This may be demanded as a condition of our friendship and would be a most important point gained—If they can render a service of this kind you may stipulate to assist them in their distress with supplies of provisions and other articles of which they will stand in need, having regard in the expectations you give them to our real abilities to perform. I have no power at present to authorize you to conclude a treaty of peace with them but you may agree upon the terms of one letting them know that it must be finally ratified by Congress and giving them every proper assurance that it will be. I shall write to Congress on the subject and endeavour to obtain more ample and definite authority.—

But you will not by any means listen to an overture of peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected—It is likely enough their fears if they are unable to oppose us, will compel them to offers of peace, or policy may lead them to endeavour to amuse us in this way to gain time and succour for more effectual opposition. Our future security will be in their inability to injure us the distance to which they are driven and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive [*Two or three words are obliterated.*] Peace without this would be fallacious and temporary—New presents and an addition of force from the enemy would engage them to break it the first fair opportunity and all the expense of our extensive preparations would be lost—

When we have effectually chastised them we may then listen to peace and endeavour to draw further advantages from their fears. But even in this case great caution will be necessary to guard against the snares which their treachery may hold out. They must be explicit in their promises give substantial pledges for their performance and

execute their engagements with decision and dispatch. Hostages are the only kind of security to be depended on.

Should Niagara fall into your hands in the manner I have mentioned you will do everything in your power for preserving and maintaining it, by establishing a chain of posts, in such manner as shall appear to you most safe and effectual and tending as little to reduce our general force as possible—This however we shall be better able to decide as the future events of the campaign unfold themselves—I shall be more explicit on the subject hereafter.

When you have completed the object of your expedition, unless otherwise directed in the meantime, you will return to form a junction with the main army by the most convenient expeditious and secure route according to circumstances—The Mohawk river if it can be done without too much risk, will be most eligible on several accounts. Much should depend on the relative position of the main army at the time.

As it is impossible to foresee what may be the exigences of the service in this quarter, this united with other important reasons make it essential that your operations should be rapid and that the expedition should be performed in as little time as will be consistent with its success and efficacy—

And here I cannot forbear repeating my former caution, that your troops may move as light and as little encumbered as possible even from their first out set. The state of our Magazines demands it as well as other considerations—if much time should be lost in transporting the troops and stores up the rivers the provisions for the expedition will be consumed and the general scantiness of our supplies will not permit of their being replaced—consequently the whole enterprise may be defeated. I would recommend it to you for this purpose that the General officers should make an actual inspection of the baggage of their several Brigades and absolutely reject to be left behind, at proper places every article that can be dispensed with on the expedition—This is an extraordinary case and requires extraordinary attention—

Relying so perfectly upon your judgement prudence and activity—I have the highest expectation of success equal to our wishes; and I beg leave to assure you, that I anticipate with great pleasure, the honor which will redound to yourself and the advantage to the common cause, from a happy termination of this important enterprise.

Given at Head Quarters Middle Brook  
31 May 1779 G. WASHINGTON.

EXETER, Feby 26, 1860. I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original orders now in my possession, with the exception of the words above mentioned which are obliterated.  
JNO. SULLIVAN.

V.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMA-MENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE  
 "HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS,"  
 BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VAL-  
 DES.\*

[For the first time is here published a translation of the account given in Oviedo's history of the march of Narvaez, the earliest of Spanish expeditions for the conquest of Florida. That Captain, failing from mere carelessness to wrench from the hands of Cortez the equipment that Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, had inconsiderately intrusted to him, he came into Spain after his defeat, and there received as a sort of compensation, or in lieu of redress, the royal permission to invade Florida. He landed upon the Peninsula in the year 1528, as appears on the western coast in Sarasota Bay. There are four other Chapters—the last ending with the close of the march made by four survivors at Sonora at the end of eight years—to be given in succeeding numbers.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

CHAPTER I.

I \* \* \* Cabeça de Vaca, who went as Treasurer of the King, says that from Xagua, which is a port or harbor in the Island of Cuba, he wrote to His Majesty on the fifteenth day of February of the year one-thousand five-hundred and twenty-seven, concerning the loss of two ships and sixty men with all there was on board and of everything that had occurred until then. After this loss, which included twenty horses, it was determined to winter in Xagua, where, according to him, four ships and all the people remained from the sixth day of November of that year to the twenty-second of February following, when the Governor arrived.

\* The Roman numerals in the margins of the text show the matter corresponding to that in the Chapters of *The Shipwreck of Cabeça de Vaca*. The meditations of the old chronicler, which at times break the thread of discourse, have in some instances been omitted, as well some redundances, the same liberty that is taken by him with the original, though for no want of due reflection has any particle here of the text been suffered to escape that should be retained.

In the Proem which introduces the Chapters in the present account, as well as in an explanatory Chapter which follows them, are passages necessary to reproduce in their substance for a knowledge of the authorship and state of the Narrative.

"The hidalgos Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, Andres Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo, who were with Panfilo de Narvaez have given account of where they went and what befel them. After suffering shipwreck and escaping numerous perils, while on their way to give account to His Majesty by word of mouth concerning the things to be told here, they addressed the *Real Audiencia* of this City of Sancto Domingo in the Island of Espanola. From their letter, written at Havana, will be drawn the discourse, some repetitions and superfluous words rejected, but nothing wanting in the substance and essence of what that contains."

II. With an additional brigantine the voyage was continued, four hundred men being on board and eighty horses. On Tuesday of Holy-week, the twelfth of April, the vessels arrived on the coast and followed it along until Thursday, when they anchored by the shore in a shallow bay, at the end of which they saw some Indian houses.

III. The next day the officers went on shore, taking all the people they could to land in the boats, setting them down near the dwellings the owners had forsaken. One of the houses was large enough to contain three hundred persons; the others were small. Many fish-nets were found, and among them a little bell (*sonaja*) of gold.

On the following day the Governor ordered standards to be raised for His Majesty, and took possession of the country. He caused the King's officers to come together, the friars and people on shore, to whom he presented the Royal authorization, which was acknowledged, and he was obeyed accordingly as Governor and Captain-general. The officers presented their credentials, and they, likewise, were received as belonging to His Majesty. Presently an order was given to land all the people, and the horses, which were greatly fagged from being long on ship-board, the half nearly having died at sea. The next day, Sunday, the festival of the Resurrection, the people of the town came and spoke to the Christians; but they were not understood. They appeared to menace and order the Christians to go out of the country, making fierce gestures; they then went away.

IV. The following day, that he might see and explore the land, the Governor mounted, and taking five cavalry and forty of foot, went to the Northeast, until coming to a bay that enters up into the country, and thence he returned. The day after he sent the brigantine to coast the shore of Florida for a port. Miruclo said he knew whither the people might be taken (but about that the pilot erred; he knew not where to look for it), and, thus searching, he should continue on to the Island of Cuba and port of Havana for a ship that was expected from there, on which were forty men and twelve horses; that, finding her, the two vessels should bring from the town all the provision it were possible, to where the Governor and his people tarried.

This being done, the Christians departed. They struck the bay before noticed and followed the shore. Having gone four leagues from the point of starting, they found Indians, three of whom they took; and, showing them a little maize, asked where there was any. These guided them to a town at the end of the bay and showed them a little maize growing, which was the first that had been seen. Some large cases were found of the fashion of Castilla, in each of which was a

dead man covered with painted skins. These people appeared, to the Commissary and friars, to have been idolaters, so they caused the Governor to burn their bodies. Pieces of shoes and linen, of woollen, and some bits of iron, were likewise observed. The natives being questioned said by signs that those things had been found in a ship wrecked on the shore of the bay. When shown a little gold they said there was none in that country except a long way off, in a Province called Apalache, where it was in great amount. And so of every thing that was shown to those Indians, if they supposed the Christians coveted it at all, they would say it was to be found abundantly in Apalache.

Simply on this information the Christians took their departure, having those Indians with them. Ten or twelve leagues on the way they found a dozen or fifteen houses, where was maize, and remained there two days. Seeing no one, they agreed to return to the place at which they had left the Comptroller with the rest of the people and the ships; and, having come there, they related what they had found inland, the amount of which has been told.

Next day, the first of May, the Governor, having caused the officers of the King, with the Commissary, to come together, by official announcement, before a Notary, he said that he desired to enter the land, while the ships should sail along the coast; and on this he asked their opinions. The Treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, said it appeared to him that they ought not to abandon the ships before leaving them in a harbor peopled; and, this done, the Governor, with his command, should march inland, whence they might return to seek that settled point and people at convenience; that for many reasons he thought they should not advance; the land where they had entered, as well from what the natives informed them as from what they had themselves seen, was poor and unpopulated; that they awaited the return of the brigantine and ship with subsistence from Havana, and the pilots were ignorant of where they were, nor could they learn anything; for these, and for other reasons which appeared to the Treasurer good, he said that ought not to be done which the Governor proposed.

The Commissary declared his opinion to be that they should go inland, keeping near the coast until arriving at the port the pilots said was fifteen leagues distant on the way to Panuco, and which they could not over-pass without seeing, as it ran up a dozen leagues, and that there they would tarry for the ships, or the ships await them; and that by no means ought they again to embark, which would be to brave God after the many adversities and trials experienced on the way to that place.

The Comptroller and the Inspector agreed with

the Commissary, and the Governor resolved to act in accordance with their opinion. The Treasurer, seeing what was the intention, repeatedly required Narvaez not to march, because of those reasons, with others which he stated; and he asked the evidence that he did so under the hand of the Notary. The Governor responded that, as there was no port, nor source for subsisting a population, because of the sterility of the soil, he took away the people he had brought, and was going in quest of a port and country in which he might establish a town: of this he likewise required the evidence.

V. Thereupon all the men were ordered to be in readiness, and the ships to provide themselves with whatever was necessary for departure. The next day the Governor left, taking with him two hundred and sixty infantry and forty cavalry. There went the officers mentioned, the Commissary and the other friars. They journeyed inland fifteen days, subsisting on a ration of half a pound of salted pork with one pound of bread, until coming to a river, over which they swam. On the other side two hundred Indians beset them, with whom they engaged, and captured five or six persons. These took them to their houses near by, where in the field was found much maize, then fit to be beaten.

The next day, the officers and friars, having besought the Governor to examine the entrance for a port, he sent the Treasurer with Castillo and forty men, who went on foot, as horses could not be taken. They traveled among some shoals of the sea-coast, through oyster beds, a matter of two leagues, and came to where ran the river they passed over inland the day before; but as they could not cross it for its depth, they went back to the camp.

The following day the Governor ordered a Captain with six cavalry and forty infantry to go over the river by the way they had come, to search that bay for a port, and was accordingly done. He found the bay low, and the ships could not enter there. This report being made, the force left in quest of Apalache, taking the captives for guides, and marched until the day after Saint John, in June, when they arrived at the place they most desired to see in the world, as much because of the length of the way as the urgency for food; but, above all, for the great quantity of gold that was said to be in that Province. Although in some parts they had found maize, they oftentimes traveled four or five days without finding any.

VI. When the Spaniards arrived they pushed boldly up to enter the town; but finding no one to make resistance, the men being absent, they seized the women and boys. The place consisted of forty small houses, well covered against the severe cold and tempests of that region. Many

deer-skins were found, and some shawls of coarse linen; great many corn-fields were in the woods and much dry grain in the town.

VII. The territory through which the Spaniards went is level and covered with fine groves, the trees standing well apart. There are many lakes, and very many deer over all that country, extensive forests having fallen trees, caused by the great storms and hurricanes which often occur in that region. Many trees were seen split from top to bottom by lightning. Nowhere on the way, after crossing the river, did they find any natives who would venture to await their arrival.

At the close of the second day of arrival, the Indians came peaceably with their Cacique, asking for their women and children. They were all returned, and the Cacique kept. But the next day some two hundred Indians made an attack, and succeeded in setting fire to the houses which were occupied. The Christians, who were on the alert, sallied immediately, driving them into the woods and mountains, without, however, taking any of them, though successful in killing two or three. The day after came two hundred more Indians on another quarter, from other towns and people, against whom the Christians likewise went out, and they, like the first, drew off and fled.

The people remained in this town twenty-six days, in which time three excursions were made. The country was found to be very poor and thin of inhabitants, with very bad passage-ways and ponds, having dense thickets. The Cacique being asked, as well other Indians brought from a little way back, as to where were their towns and territories, said that altogether they contained less population and subsistence than the place they were in, which was the principal one of the country; that further on were many solitudes, swamps, lakes, and very dense scrub. Being asked if there were people and towns towards the sea, they answered that eight days journey from there was a town called Aute, the inhabitants were their friends, had much maize and beans, and the place was near the sea. From this information, and all they had seen, discovering that the land was not what they had been told it was, nor did it anywhere hold out a hope of anything better, the Indians where they were having begun to make war upon them, having killed a Cacique the friars brought with them from New Spain, wounding also some of their companions while going to drink, shooting from out those ponds and deep fastnesses of scrub at all passers, the Spaniards determined, at the end of twenty-six days, to depart for Aute.

Think you, Reader, that this was pleasant pastime these Christian sinners were engaged upon? Would that I could be told what those friars and Pamphilo de Narvaez preached to those men, who so blindly went on, leaving their countries under

false promises; for no matter how many die, none are ever warned. Who told them of having seen that gold they sought? What pilots must they have had, so expert in navigation, that they knew not the coast, and could not tell where they were; and what guides and what interpreters they took with them! Presumptuous madness! What greater crime can a leader commit than in conducting men to a land that neither he nor any one of his host has ever set eyes upon. I well believe that Pamphilo remembered, and more than once, of the counsel that I gave him in Toledo. Indeed, I often marvel and am often angry with these Captains, seeing, on the one hand, that they are astute, skilful and valiant men, while on the other, although they have seen foreign heads broken, by which they might learn some caution, they neither fear nor take heed of any peril whatsoever. I would that it might please God that those who thus suffer should pay for it only with their lives, without the soul receiving injury. But I doubt the salvation of the greater number; for I have lived a long time in these Indias, and have seen that in general the desires of these men are founded on this accursed appetite, postponing, until another season, all the scruples that to their consciences should be profitable and worthy of acceptance.

Since in the Proem I have lauded Narvaez as a dexterous soldier and afterward Captain, it is but reasonable to expect that I should here give account for him. I say, then, that I have known men very brave with lance and sword, who, apart from them, are unable to govern, yet others could direct with the finger. Fighting is the quality best to be looked after; for rare it is to find a man with shame who will not fight when it is for his honor; and more Captains there are who can fight and command a few than govern an army, more captains to be commanded than know how to command. Narvaez, so long as he was ordered by Diego Velazquez, within the limits of Cuba, knew how to serve and to do as he was ordered: after he went out from that Island to New Spain, in the XXXIII. Book may be learned the prudence that he exercised, and in the XXXV. you shall read in what his governing terminated. \* \* \*

## VI.—FIRST CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN NEW ENGLAND.

REPLY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY TO THE HON. E. E. BOURNE.

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

The introductory note to Judge Bourne's article on the "First Christian Worship in New England," in your July number, hardly does justice to the



*Congregational Quarterly.* The Judge's article was returned, with some hesitation, from a feeling that he was a little "too sharp" (for our pages) in its *personal allusions* to the writer of the article he criticised. When Judge Bourne thinks that "one of the material attributes of truth was its sharpness," we agree with him; but we do not consider the "sharpness" of an argument to be identical with "sharp" reflections upon the *individual* against whose views the argument is directed. Therefore the Judge's statement that the "editor takes a different view of the matter," i. e. as to the "pungency" of truth, is uncalled for and incorrect. Doubtless, also, when he said, "if he thinks that error had better go unanswered than to be corrected by the sharpness of truth," not only he misunderstood our objections, but he could not have known that his article was not returned until a clergyman of Maine, whom we supposed to be a friend of the Judge's, and who certainly warmly espoused his views, had forwarded to the *Quarterly* an article in reply to Mr. Cushman's, covering the precise points at issue, which was gladly inserted in the July *Quarterly*.

The editors of the *Quarterly* have never expressed any opinion whatever on the merits of the Popnam controversy; I do not know that they have any. The particular point in Judge Bourne's address which Mr. Cushman criticised, appears to be the statement that "Here was offered the first Christian prayer, in our own language, that ever broke from human lips on the shores of New England." Mr. Cushman says, and I believe Judge Bourne freely admits, that that prayer had been offered earlier on the near islands. Judge Bourne replied that he used "shores," in a marine sense, in contra-distinction from the island; and as synonymous with Main or the Continent; and every lawyer would so understand it, from the necessity of the case. To that definition of his meaning, no one can now object. But in a public oration not addressed to lawyers, would not people, even educated men, having so broad a statement as that I have quoted,—using, not "shore" but "shores,"—naturally get the idea which Mr. Cushman, and others got? If he had said "main-land," or had he alluded to the earlier worship on the islands appertaining to the main-land, all ambiguity would have been arrested. There seems no question as to the historical facts; but simply a question arising out of the use of a particular term in a restricted and technical sense, when many readers understood it in a general and ordinary sense. As Judge Bourne now explains it, of course the controversy is at an end.

A. H. Q.

## VII.—LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PARKER, OF NEWBURY.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ., OF BOSTON.

A few years ago, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., loaned me a copy of a small quarto book of 222 pages, entitled: *Lectiones Novem de totidem Religionis Captibus præcipue hoc tempore controversis prout publice habebantur Oxonia in Vespere. Per IOHANNEM PRIDEAUX Ezoniensis Collegii Rectorum, and S. Th. Professorem Regium. Oxonia, Excudebant Iohannes Lichfield & Gellimus Turner pro Henrico Crypps, An. Dom. 1625.*

The book had the following names and dates in various places, viz.: "NICH<sup>o</sup> GILMAN, 1735," "Ex Dono Dni W. Clark;" "TRISTRAM GILMAN, 1761;" "T. GILMAN, Oct. 1813;" "1837," "SAM<sup>l</sup> GILMAN." On one of the fly-leaves at the beginning was this note:—

"TO M. PARKER AT M. FOSTERS  
"IN NEW-BERY.

"GOOD SIR, be pleased to accept this small gift and the \*\*\* son of the giver, who respects you not a little for your fathers sake, whose graces, as zeale, learning, conscientious discharge of his calling, vndaunted resolution to speak for Christ, yea to dye for him, the world cannot so much calumniate and abhorre as I admire and reverence. For his virtues and your owne gifts sake, I much desire your acquaintance and familiaritie, and that our mutuall loue may be increased and expressed by intercourse of letters, if you stay at Newbery, where you may advantage god's church, and qualifie tender wittes with y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of Christ. These lectures I need not commend. You can quickly censure them. I cease; but ever will professe my selfe,

"Your affectionate friend,

"EDWARD COOKES.

"QUEENES COLLEGE IN OXON :

"March 14, 1624."

Of Mr. Cooke, the writer of the above, I have been able to learn nothing. The person whom he addresses, was evidently Rev. Thomas Parker, the only son of Rev. Robert Parker, a Puritan writer of great repute in his day. Thomas Parker was born on Whitsunday, the eighth of June, 1595. He was admitted into Magdalen College, Oxford; but, after his father's exile, removed to Dublin, where he was a pupil of the celebrated Dr. James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. From Dublin he joined his father in Holland. Here he was assisted in his studies by Dr. William Ames. His father died in 1614, at Doesburg, where he was preacher to the garrison.

Thomas afterwards returned to England and resided at Newbury, in Berkshire, where he taught the free school. He was evidently residing there in March, 1624-5, when the above letter was written. He continued there till he left for New England, where he arrived, in the *Mary and John*, in May, 1634. He soon after became minister at the new settlement of Agawam, now Ipswich. The next year he commenced, with his cousin, Rev. James Noyes (who had been an assistant in his school at Newbury), and others, a settlement at the mouth of the Merrimac, which settlement was called, in honor of their former home, Newbury. Here he was chosen Pastor, and his cousin Teacher of the Church; and here he continued to reside till his death, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1677, aged eighty-one years.

The book above mentioned, either before or after his death, probably came into the possession of his nephew, Rev. John Woodbridge, whose mother was a daughter of Rev. Robert Parker, or of his grand-nephew, Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, the second son of Rev. John W. The mother of Rev. Ward Clark, whose name is written in the book as a former owner, was Elizabeth, the only daughter of the above Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge.

J. W. D.

## VIII.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.

### 2. HERMAN E. LUDEWIG, LL.D.\*

Herman E. Ludewig, LL. D., Lawyer, Historian, Bibliographer, was born in Dresden, Saxony, on the fourteenth of October, 1810. His father was a subaltern officer in the Revenue Service in Dresden, and subsequently in Pirna. He had no great acquirements himself, but sufficiently appreciated the value of a sound education to devote all his scanty means to the culture of his children, who were two daughters, besides the subject of this sketch.

Herman E. Ludewig was sent to the best school of Dresden, where he soon evinced an extraordinary thirst for knowledge and an unusual fondness for reading, carrying home all the books he could lay hands on: often reproved for this exaggerated application, he found protection as well as guidance in the matter of the absorption of promiscuous literature from his mother, who was entirely devoted to his physical and mental education.

The end of the Napoleonic wars, the Restoration,

\* For this sketch of the life and writings of Mr. Ludewig, we are indebted to the pen of his most intimate friend, Rudolph Garrigue, Esq.; and we are sure that our readers will welcome it as a graceful tribute to the memory of one of the most diligent and unselfish of "our Historical Writers."—*Ed. HIST. MAG.*

the Philhellenic uprising, the fermentation among the youth of Germany, subsequent to the treaty of Vienna, by which Royal promises so lavishly made in the day of gloom were so largely broken, and many other influences of that eventful period, impressed the lively mind of Ludewig in the years of his development. His love of study, his taste for the beautiful, and his fondness for the picturesque in nature, were greatly assisted in their growth by the admirable collections in literature and art stored in the capital of Saxony, and by the proximity of some of the loveliest scenery in Germany, in Saxonian Switzerland, and in the Bohemian mountains. Favored by a healthy frame, large and handsome figure, a frank and open countenance, and exceedingly winning manners, he made warm friends wherever he went, and knew how to enlist the services of his friends to facilitate his own literary pursuits and general progress. He was fond of music, and not only became a very good pianist and singer, but thoroughly studied the compositions of the masters of all nations, the history of music and musical instruments, and took particular delight in the best of church music, well represented in the Royal (Catholic) Church of Dresden, which he on that account visited with great regularity, though he attended service in the Lutheran Church, to which his parents belonged.

At eighteen years of age he went to the University of Leipzig, and in 1831 to that of Goettingen, studying law with the zeal which characterized him in all his pursuits. Goettingen at that time was one of the great centres of culture and full of the most distinguished men of letters; whilst its University Library was one of the very best in the world. A young man of Ludewig's literary turn of mind and social talents would naturally experience a wonderful development under such circumstances, and Ludewig never neglected to profit by intercourse with men of worth, or by the largest use of literary means within his reach. His main studies were of law in all its branches, including the local laws of various nations, international law, diplomatic history, history and philosophy of law, etc.; but much of his time was nevertheless devoted to the curiosities of literature of various nations, to belles-lettres, modern languages, music and the fine arts. These pursuits and the influences of the refined society in which he moved, made him one of the most accomplished of gentlemen.

As the son of a free mason, he had been accepted by the fraternity of masons at the early age of eighteen, and entered into the spirit of masonry with his usual zeal, making its history an especial study, and bringing his large intellectual faculties to bear upon the work of the brotherhood. Very distinguished men, such as Baron Frankenstein, the renowned librarian of Dresden, and others of

equal rank and merit in other walks of life, belonged to the circle into which Ludewig was thus admitted, and greatly assisted him by wise counsel in his literary and professional career.

After finishing his studies at Goettingen and making a journey to France, whose collections of books and pictures he explored with the perseverance of an inveterate amateur in letters and the fine arts, he returned to Dresden, and began to practice law; and in 1836 was married to Miss Maria Rocks, a young lady of considerable fortune, an amiable, cheerful disposition, and such accomplishments as good society in Dresden generally affords its members. They were married at the house of his parents in Pirna, and immediately started on a very extensive wedding tour, embracing all the South German States, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and France. Intellectually prepared for such a journey as few men are, Ludewig's mind expanded under the historical, ethnological and climatological influences thus working upon him. All his youthful prejudices vanished. He recognized the good and the noble in man independently of nationality, language or religious creed, and returned to Dresden enriched in knowledge and in sentiment after an absence of nearly a year, during which time he had become personally acquainted with nearly all the prominent men of the countries he had visited; whilst the popular life of the masses had furnished him with rare material of comparative observation of nationalities, and the grand beauties of nature which had impressed him on his travels, particularly in Switzerland, had still more elevated his mind, already so appreciative of the true and the beautiful. An uncommon facility for acquiring foreign languages assisted him greatly. He spoke five or six languages with great fluency, although he never could master the native accent of any of them.

The extensive acquaintance formed in his travels among the highest classes of society, together with this command of foreign languages, proved of great benefit to Ludewig's business as a lawyer after his return to Dresden, which is a great centre of attraction to numberless travelers and the residence of hundreds of foreign families at all times. Ludewig's reputation for rare abilities soon penetrated this circle, and he derived from it a great number of his clients.

Although moving for the most part in the higher classes of society, and although outranking most men in acquirements and experience, he was entirely free both from a false pride and a cringing deference to power. His noble heart was open and accessible to the poorest and most lowly of men; whilst to Princes and their instruments he always exhibited a manly independence and a perfectly frank and easy deportment. He could not learn even to take off his hat in casually

passing the King in the street; and as his sparkling wit and keen criticism was as apt to include the court life of Saxony as other dark phases of society, such independence of speech and action gradually made him a number of enemies, and life in Dresden became disagreeable to him.

His attention had been early riveted by the wonderful development of the great Republic of the Western Hemisphere. His geographical, historical and ethnological studies had embraced even the remotest parts of the world; and he devoted as much energy to the study of the American Indians as to that of people much nearer home. But most of all was he attracted to the United States by the free institutions under which such a marvelous prosperity of an entire people had been called into life.

After several years of preparation for the step contemplated, he gave up his practice of law; resigned from all honorary posts which he filled; realized his property as far as practicable; and emigrated with his wife (children they had none) to the land of promise. Landing in New York early in 1844, he remained there just long enough to organize his plans for an extensive tour of observation; and then started out for what eventually turned out to be a two years' trip through the United States. Beginning with the New England States, he visited all the principal seats of commerce, industry and learning, making the acquaintance of great numbers of prominent men, and devoting particular attention to the institutions and laws of the various States, and to the literary collections, public and private. With untiring industry he travelled from place to place, always well recommended by prominent men who had been struck by his refined manners and by his rare profundity of knowledge, gathering as he went, with an amount of labor never yet truly appreciated, the material for his subsequent gift to the scholars of the United States, the *Bibliography of American Local History*. Everything appertaining to American History was an object of deep study to him, not only the History of the United States and its component States, but also the history of Indian Tribes, Indian Antiquities from Mexico, and particularly Yucatan, up to the Canadas, exploring expeditions, surveys for inter-oceanic canals or trans-continental railroads. All great questions of statesmanship, commerce, navigation, mining, agriculture, free-trade and protective tariff, interested and occupied his comprehensive mind. Probably no other foreign traveler has ever returned from a journey of observation so thoroughly posted on American matters as did Ludewig when he took up his permanent residence in New York, at the end of 1845. He immediately systematized the vast literary material gathered during his journey, and published at his own expense, the bibliography alluded to, sending

it to his literary acquaintance throughout the land as a free gift in token of gratitude for hospitality and assistance enjoyed by him during his trip. The book fell flat. Be it that Bibliography, then hardly known here, was considered a puerile waste of time; be it that those who were well fitted to appreciate the immense and well-directed labor embodied in Ludewig's book, were reluctant to accord to the foreigner the full measure of praise to which he was clearly entitled, the fact remains that for about two hundred and fifty copies of his book sent as presents to as many literary men or to libraries, the author received just twenty-seven letters of acknowledgment. He was seriously hurt by this slight; and, in course of time, took a characteristic revenge. Continuing his labors in collecting bibliographical material, he printed a supplement to his book, but struck off only thirty copies, of which he retained three, and sent twenty-seven to the gentlemen who had acknowledged his first gift. Meanwhile, the value of the book had become very generally acknowledged; copies occasionally appearing in book sales being always bid in at very high prices, and the supplement was in great demand. But nothing was elicited from the author by applicants but the politest regrets that it was entirely out of print.

Having settled in New York, Ludewig began the regular course of study for the American bar in a lawyer's office; and with his general knowledge of law he very soon mastered the questions of local practice, and opened an office of his own which he continued till he died.

All his leisure time was devoted to literary labor, but his leisure time commenced when ordinary people go to bed, for he considered it as much a matter of business to devote his talents to the good of his fellow men in associations, clubs, lodges, singing unions and public enterprises of every description as to attend to his law business during the day; and his general presence as well as his incomparable intellectual superiority made him the very soul of all social gatherings which he attended. Returning home late at night he would then steal the midnight hours for correspondence with literary societies or celebrities in all parts of the world, or in preparing communications to the periodical press of Europe and America. He was an honorary member of a number of learned societies, and never failed to pay in ample contributions for all the honors he received. Among these contributions was a very valuable "History of Political Parties in the United States," from the adoption of the Constitution until the party of Native Americans, which was so active at the time of his arrival in this country. Numerous papers on Indian subjects were also prepared by him; and he kept up a running correspondence with the editors of the

*Augsburg Gazette* and of the *Ausland*, furnishing them political and geographical information.

During all these labors he kept open house for all literary celebrities visiting New York, and had always the warmest welcome and practical aid for poor men of merit. Thus his expenses were much greater than his income from his law business, and his property gradually decreased. It is presumed that much of it was actually destroyed by a fire which occurred in his office in Wall street, a safe which he had trusted proving unsafe. At all events, from that day he was obliged to work much harder for money than he had ever done before. But none of his friends ever heard a complaint from his lips. He continued to be the same cheerful companion he had ever been, but he would leave the social circle sooner and work deeper into the night. Thus he undermined his health and died after a painful illness, in the forty-eighth year of his life, in December, 1857. Even during his last illness he continued his literary labors, reading as carefully as his sufferings would permit the proofs of his *Bibliotheca Glottica*, being a bibliography of American Indian Languages, published by Trubner, in London, and expressing great joy that he lived to finish it. He died like the wise man he had always been in life, quietly assuring his friends that he was perfectly ready to go, having been early taught to be ready at any moment.

It is to be regretted for the sake of literature that he did not live to collect his works, which were as multiform as they were numerous. He was beloved by all who knew him; and if vast acquirements devoted with utter self-abnegation to the service of his fellow men entitle a man to the love of his neighbors, he was deservedly beloved.

R. G.

## IX. — EARLY METHODISTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

### REPLY OF *The Methodist* TO THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

[By an agreement with *The Methodist*, we published in our May number, *in extenso*, all that its editors had to say, in answer to our former articles on this subject, on condition that an equal space in *The Methodist* should be devoted to our reply, which was printed in our June number.

After attempting, unsuccessfully, to mutilate our article, without previously obtaining our consent, *The Methodist* published a *portion* of that article, without intimating to its readers, as we requested it to do, that there were other portions which it did not thus re-produce; and, soon after, without alluding to the omitted portions of that reply, or seeming to recognize the existence of those portions, it rejoined, in defence of the founder of its sect, and of his followers in America, in an article which speaks for itself concerning the peculiar integrity to the Truth, *per se*, of those who control the columns of that peculiarly religious sheet.

The following is that rejoinder—our readers will not fail to compare it with our reply, to which it is responsive, in the June number. We shall pay our respects to it at an early day.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*]

## I.

[From *The Methodist* of August 17.]

Some time ago we answered, in these columns, the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE on the loyalty of the early Methodists to the American Revolution. Its editor has published our reply, on condition that we allow him an equal space to respond to it in our pages, and we have now given in instalments his rejoinder. In commenting upon it, we shall be as brief as possible; if our readers will recall our former arguments, they will save us the necessity of much repetition. While we shall repeat them far enough to meet the new forms of statement made by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we must refer to our first papers for fuller facts. The editor of the *Magazine* gives us great advantage in his evident loss of temper and attempts at severe language, but as historical truth alone is concerned in the question, we shall not waste our space in retaliating his small sarcasms.

He first accuses us of "concealing the fact that the article in question (the one in his periodical, "which we reviewed), was one of a series of articles "on the early history of Methodism, which had "appeared in the *Magazine*, month after month, "and insinuated that it was merely a special "article, written for a special occasion." Now, we affirm that this is the first time we have heard of any preceding articles. We knew nothing of the editor's former discussions, and after what we have read from him, we do not now care to expend time in reading them. The one which we answered was specific; it presented a particular topic, and argued it at great length, without an allusion to any that had gone before. The latter are obnoxious to the charge we brought against this, for they were written during the Centenary year.

"So, also, when *The Methodist* spoke of the "decisive evidence of Wesley's early change of "opinion in favor of the Colonists," and told the "world that we 'must have read' it in Dr. Stevens' *History of Methodism*, although it knew "THERE WAS NO SUCH EVIDENCE THERE, it supposed, we have no doubt, that it was acting as "became a Methodist journal."

Now, here is a point-blank denial that there is "any such evidence of Wesley's early change of "opinion in favor of the Colonists." Now, a curious fact about this denial is, that in the very article that the editor is thus answering, we presented, in Wesley's own words, the proof of that "change of opinion in favor of the Colonists." And yet, the editor persistently repeats his denial, and defies the *The Methodist* to show any such proof. What can be done with such a controversialist? We said, too, that the editor, in his charge against Wesley, accused Methodist historians of unvarnished accounts of Wesley's opinions

on the subject, "referring particularly to Stevens' *History of Methodism*, vol. ii., pp. 129, 130," and that he must have been aware of Wesley's change of opinion, because Stevens gives Wesley's own words on the subject in the very place referred to, while acknowledging that at an earlier period he had imprudently published his "address" to the colonies against the Revolution. Wesley's own words are so important on this point, that we repeat them here again, and again affirm that they are there, where the editor says they are not. Here is the passage in the *History of Methodism*, as above:

"It is due to the memory of Wesley to say that "he, meantime, wrote a letter to the Premier, "Lord North, and to the Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth, remonstrating against "the war, and pleading for the Americans. He "declares in it that, in spite of all his long-rooted "prejudices as a Churchman and a loyalist, he "cannot avoid thinking, if he think at all, that "these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing "more than their legal rights, and that in the "most modest and inoffensive manner that the "nature of the thing would allow. But waiving "this, waiving all considerations of right and "wrong, I ask," he adds, with prophetic foresight, "Is it common-sense to use force toward the "Americans? My lord, whatever has been "affirmed, these men will not be frightened; "and it seems they will not be conquered so "easily as was at first imagined. They will probably dispute every inch of the ground, and, if "they die, die sword in hand. Indeed, some of "our valiant officers say, 'Two thousand men "will clear America of these rebels.' No, nor "twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, nor "perhaps treble that number. They are as strong "men as you; they are as valiant as you, if not "abundantly more valiant, for they are, one and "all, enthusiasts—enthusiasts for liberty. They "are calm, deliberate enthusiasts; and we know "how this principle breathes into softer souls "stern love of war, and thirst of vengeance, and "contempt of death. We know men, animated "with this spirit, will leap into a fire, or rush "into a cannon's mouth.' The letter is long, and "full of sagacious views and statesmanlike counsels."

This important letter has, within a few years been given to the public, from the manuscripts of Lord Dartmouth's family. The American historian, Mr. Bancroft, deemed it of so much importance that, when it appeared, he cancelled several stereotype plates of his seventh volume, that he might insert quotations from it, correcting some of his earlier intimations of Wesley's opinions. It settles the question between us and THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, so far as a change in Wesley's

opinion of the colonial controversy is concerned.

In his former article, the editor accused Wesley of "coldly absolving the American Methodists (after the Revolution) from their obligations to the English Church, authorizing them to organize an independent church, without a single supplication of Divine favor in their behalf; he had not even a natural wish for their success, nor a kind word of brotherly regard at the parting, so repugnant were the prevailing ideas in America, so distasteful the position of affairs in this country, to him and his friends!" All this we disproved, showing that Wesley was thoroughly cordial, and heartily energetic in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, declaring in his letter on the occasion: "We judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has made them free!" Now, while this *Historical Magazine* professes to be scrupulously devoted to the record and conservation of pure historical facts, its editor entirely ignores (in his reply) this important point; he makes no correction of his former statement about it, and does not even mention our refutation of his misrepresentation!

This is all we see it necessary to say on our first instalment from the *Magazine*. On its remaining ones we shall hereafter comment.

## II.

[From the *Methodist* of August 31.]

The second instalment of the attack of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, on the loyalty of the early Methodists, is given in our number for July 27th. We must refer the reader to it, to save waste of space in quoting its allegations. This instalment however, requires but little comment. All it avers, particularly all it cites, from the old Methodist Discipline, or Minutes, is sufficiently correct, and no Methodist will demur to anything in the article except its inference from its citations, which is altogether false, historically and logically.

The substance of the article amounts to this: that anterior to the organization of the Church at the Christmas conference of 1784,\* the preachers did not administer the sacraments, but then people generally received them at the English Church, and the preachers, in annual conferences, opposed any innovation on this arrangement, until Wesley could provide, "decently and in order," for these means of grace by the hands of Methodist pastors. All this is very true, and it is an honorable evidence of the good sense and orderly disposition of the primitive societies. "Toryism," to which the *Magazine* ascribes it, had nothing to do with it,

and never entered into the policy of the societies on the subject. There is not an allusion of the kind in any of the contemporary documents, official or unofficial. It was an accidental state of things which had grown up from long antecedent circumstances; and having no motive whatever connected with the Colonial Revolution, was corrected as soon as the Revolution allowed of such communication with Wesley as could admit of the correction.

Before the Revolution, American Methodism was essentially a part of the British Methodist movement, and, like the latter, was under the control of Wesley. He had not ordained preachers in England, but his people there received the sacraments in the National Church, at least such of them as had been connected with the National Church did so, and such as had been Dissenters went to their former chapels for these ordinances. Of course the same policy extended to the British Colonies. Wesley did not wish to complicate himself with the existing ecclesiastical authorities by any obtrusive or unnecessary measures. But every Methodist who knows the history of his Church knows, what the *Magazine* editor seems not to be aware of, that these very citations he makes from the old Minutes had reference to a disposition prevalent in certain quarters, to provide themselves with the sacraments without ordination; a policy that was deemed by the preachers, and is still deemed by most religious bodies, disorderly. The Conference proposed to postpone the question, and receive the sacraments elsewhere, till the return of peace, when Wesley could be appealed to, and ordination provided; and this was effectively done by Wesley himself ordaining men for America. As the colonies were British, and of the early Methodists had been in the British Church, of course they usually resorted to that Church in the colonies for the sacraments, but such of them as had been Dissenters were not required to do so; they went for these ordinances where they pleased, and suffered no penalties for so doing.

These are the historical facts. But from these very simple, natural, and harmless, not to say very commendable facts, the *Magazine* draws the following sweeping inference:

"We have a right, in view of its silence on the subject, to consider *The Methodist* as conceding the truth of the averment, thus sustained, that 'every Methodist of that period was necessarily an Episcopalian,' and as necessarily a daily suppliant for a bestowal of the Divine favor on George III., his Parliaments, his Armies, and his Fleets, as were Drs. Seabury and Inglis, Chandler and Wilkins, and all other Episcopalians of the period; and we have a right also, in view of the same silence, to treat our oppo-

\* The *Magazine* says 1785; it has been led into this error, however, by an error in the title of the old Minutes, which places the Conference in that year; it surely overstepped the year; the organization was in 1784.

"nient as conceding the claim, thus sustained, "that it was not until the Conference of January, 1785, that George III., ceased, in law, to be the "supreme head, in ecclesiastical affairs, of every "Methodist 'Society' in America; and that, "until that time, the Canons, and Liturgy, and "Common Prayer promulgated by HIS authority "were their supreme law."

All this is sheer sophistry. The Methodists did not so pray for the King and his armies and fleets. Very few, if any of them, knew anything or cared anything about the "Canons," etc., of "the Church." They had not the sacraments in their own humble meetings, most of which were in private houses or barns. They went for them occasionally to other churches, but had no other relations whatever to the latter; these had no jurisdiction over them, and had nothing to do with them, save to persecute them. Moreover, during most of the time to which the *Magazine's* citations refer, there was no such praying for the King, and his army and fleet, in the English churches of the colonies. That would not have been tolerated by the colonial authorities during the Revolution.

This is a fair showing of the facts of the case, as every student of Methodist history knows. Quite a schism was threatened in the Virginia Methodist Societies, in favor of providing the sacraments for their families; but they were induced to accept them from the Established Church of the colony, till Wesley could be consulted. The citations of the *Magazine* all have reference to these local facts. The forbearance of the Methodists had nothing to do with the Toryism of the Established Church; they had no thought of the kind; their forbearance was simply owing to their deference to the usage of all Christian denominations, a regard for established Church order. It was conditioned expressly on a pledge of the preachers, that Wesley should be appealed to when the war might admit of it, to provide for them. At the end of the war, the appeal was made to Wesley, and he forthwith ordained a Bishop (Dr. Coke) to ordain their preachers, and had them organized as a Church. They were thus constitutionally established even before the colonies had adopted their own Constitution.

N. B.—We shall refer to the other portions of the *Magazine's* article hereafter. We should remind our readers, however, that we have published, not the whole of the article, but only a certain stipulated portion of it. For the rest, we must refer to the *Magazine* itself.

### III.

[From the *Methodist* of September 14.]

In our reply to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we have already reminded our readers that it but re-

peats, though with increased emphasis, the statements and arguments which we reviewed and disproved in some former papers. We must again refer to the latter for any fuller refutation of its charges. It would be an imposition on the reader to recite the statements there answered, and repeat their refutation in detail. Yet, this is all that would need to be done in order to meet completely the reshaw of the argument now given by the *Magazine*. The last three instalments from its pages, which we have inserted, and which remain for our notice, fill several columns, but, for the above reasons, we must review them rapidly, and here conclude the review. As a mere repetition, it is becoming tedious; we must treat it, therefore, with dispatch, though not with disrespect.

The third instalment from the *Magazine* (given in our number for August 3d) consists mostly of extracts from Wesley's famous *Calm Address to the Colonies*. They show that he was then decidedly opposed to the Revolutionary project. Of course they do. What else could be expected from a loyal Englishman, as he was at the time! But we have shown, from his letter to two of the cabinet ministers of George III., that after the events of Concord and Lexington, he changed his view of the contest, and declared that he was "convinced that then an oppressed people asked "nothing more than their legal rights, and that "in the most modest and inoffensive manner that "the nature of the thing would allow." These are his own words, authentically given from the papers of the Earl of Dartmouth—words which the historian, Bancroft, has taken special pains to give. Wesley proceeds to argue against the expediency of war on the part of Great Britain, and predicts the success of the Colonies.

Now, this important documentary evidence was under the eye of the editor of the *Magazine*, in the very book from which he quotes other things, and yet he continues to affirm:

"We say, plainly, that we never knew and do "not now know that Mr. Wesley ever ceased to "be loyal to the King of Great Britain, in the "broadest sense of the term; and that we never "knew and do not know now that he ever entertained the least sympathy for the American "Revolutionists or their cause, or ever, even by "implication, 'vindicated the Colonial cause.' "We say, also, just as plainly, that neither Dr. "Stevens nor *The Methodist*, nor both combined, "ever knew or now know any such thing of Mr. "Wesley; and that neither the historian of "Methodism nor its exponents in newspaper form "can produce any *authentic* testimony to establish "such an averment as *The Methodist* has thus put "forth."

Now, we ask again, what can be done with a

contestant like this?—a man who is professionally devoted to the collection and conservation of historical materials, and who, after a document like Wesley's letter to the British Ministers, is placed directly under his nose, utterly ignores the evidence, and furiously drives on with his wreckless asseverations? He does not dare to deny the authenticity of the document—that would be preposterous; he does not even mention it, though it is again and again thrust into his face; he simply ignores it, as if it had not been adduced, and vociferously writes on in the above strain.

The fourth and last instalment (given in our number for August 10th), like all that precedes it, is a repetition of charges which we have already answered. It relates to a vindication of Wesley by a preacher of John-street Society, New York, against the charge of disloyalty to his King. Of course, Wesley lived and died a loyal man, and the fact is honorable to his memory. The Society in New York was entirely isolated from the General Church during the war; the Conference sent no preachers to it, received no returns from it, had in fact held no communication with it. Its pulpit was supplied by an undordained local preacher, an Englishman. When Wesley was accused, in a New York paper, of inciting the famous "Lord Gordon" riot in London (an anti-Catholic riot), and of thereby showing disloyalty to his King, the New York preacher published letters from him, proving his hearty loyalty. These facts the *Magazine* cites as proof of his hostility to the Colonial cause!—a very funny syllogism certainly. One of the letters given does, however, bear on the war, but it is without date, and is evidently an old one, which had been in possession of the New York preacher, or some other person at hand, and was hunted up for the occasion, as proof that this recent New York slander was incompatible with the antecedents of Wesley. Wesley's letter to the Government in favor of the Colonies qualifies it entirely. He was always loyal to his King, like a good Christian, but disapproved the royal policy toward the Colonies.

So much, then, for this extravagant attack on American Methodism. After the full review we have heretofore given the *Magazine*, we need add no more. No Christian body of this nation has more demonstratively proved its loyalty than the Methodist Episcopal Church; none less needs vindication.

#### X.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

61. GOVERNOR J. BELCHER, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO MR. SECY WALDRON, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.\*

SIR,

I am glad to find by your's of 27: p'sent, That the Gov<sup>r</sup>: can do even accidental Good to the Province; I wish they wou'd mend their Wayes as well as the Roads; I long to See my Friends—have no Expectation from the Assembly, nor do I much concern myself about 'Em.

The Warrant is in this Day's *Gazette*—The P-st-m-st-r & his Lady lodge at Madm's Sister's, and I give him up for a gone Man.

I shall free the Young Man from his *prodigious* Uneasiness, and from Something else, if he does not learn more Sense.

I hope to see you at Haverhill on Fryday next, and am alwayes,

Your Friend & Servant

BOSTON,

J. BELCHER

SEPT: 30; 1784

Mr. SECY WALDRON

62.—REV. J. H. LIVINGSTON TO ———.†

NEW YORK 18 March 1784.

REVEREND & DEAR BROTHER

The affectionate and confidential Letter which you favored me with of the 1<sup>st</sup> Instant would have been answered immediately if I had not, when I received it, been very unwell & had the next day to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, since which I have had no conveyance to drop you a line. I was disappointed in not having the pleasure of seeing again & called at your Lodgings a little while after you left them upon your return home. That Evening—when I parted with you, the Gov<sup>rs</sup> of the College met and a Bill for erecting a University in the State of New York was read to us. many observations upon the Bill in the form it then bore were then made, and some alterations were strongly urged since which the Bill has remained and so many Acts of various kinds are constantly before the Legislature that this Bill has not yet been called for. the alterations insisted upon were not essential with respect to the Basis of the University but only the form in which the matter was managed. there is no opposition from any Quarter which Occasions the least doubt but the Busi-

\* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Washington, D. C.



ness will be conducted with that spirit of catholicism & harmony which will insure a Litterary foundation of importance to the Church & State. as soon as the bill has obtained its proper alteration & gone through its different Stages, I will endeavor to obtain a Copy for you and send it over to you unless you should find Leisure to pay us a visit, which I wish may be in the end of some Week, so that you might spend a Sabbath here and assist me with a Sermon, which to me not only but to the whole Congregation would be very acceptable.

I congratulate you my dear friend upon the calls which you have received, which, whatever may be your determination with respect to acceptance, are doubtless very high testimonials of the public voice in your favor. your referring an answer to the Synod is very prudent & reflects honor to your judgment and piety,

You have my thanks for the extracts of Brother Hardenbergh's Letter and I fully agree with you that he is rather too positive & attached to his own private Judgment to make the result of his own opinion the test of Orthodoxy for others. for my part I wish only for information, & if I know my own heart I am perfectly impartial & without the least prejudice in favor of one place or Seat of Learning above another. my only enquiry is which place can be rendered most secure for maintaining our blessed truths unadulterated and which, provided there are several methods which in that respect are equally secure, is most easy, practicable and advantageous? I am too much a friend to the College at Brunswick to take up any argument against it, but if another door should be opened which will answer every purpose sooner and better I would desire to be such a friend to truth and providence as not to refuse an acceptance. you know my sentiments upon this head & I would wish not to conceal a thought on the subject from a Brother in whom I place the fullest confidence.

the repeated mention you have made about the necessity of forming a Classical meeting of the Southern district notwithstanding the Smallness of the Body has induced me to try if I can bring such a measure about; I have not yet seen Mr Schoonmaker of Gravesend, and whether Father Van Sinderen can attend, I do not know, but I shall endeavor to form the poor suffering congregations again into a body and get our Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions once more established. be assured of my most sincere regards & affection, and prayers for your welfare & future happiness. the Lord be with you and bless you. remember me at the throne of grace

Rev'd & very dear Sir  
Your affectionate Brother  
J. H. LIVINGSTON.

have you received any Answer from Mr Van Voorhees? by a Letter from Dr Westerlo I find

that poor Dr Vroman is very weak again & will not probably labor much longer in the Vineyard. O that the Lord of the harvest would please to send out many new & useful Laborers! where is your nephew? I shod be glad as soon as he has fulfilled his previous engagements, that he would come to this City and preach for me.

68.—CHAS. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON, TO RICHARD CATON, Esq.\*

1821 JULY 20—

DEAR SIR—

By my Books there were due two quarters divid on U S 3 per ct Stock on 1<sup>st</sup> April last amounting to \$65<sup>75</sup> I am not certain if I gave you a minute of that sum—If those owing me interest & rents, & if the Bank of the U S should not make a larger divid in Janry than during the present month, it will be impossible for me to pay my debt to the Mess<sup>rs</sup> Olivers, to continue the same annuities to my children, and to meet my own expenses.

I think it high time Th<sup>o</sup> Calwell should receive an answer from J<sup>o</sup> Calwell, & that Mr Colt should get an answer from the persons, who applied to purchase the property mortgaged by Rob<sup>t</sup> Collet—When may I get the money Graffin was to pay to Calwell Herring's mortgage? When will the year interest \$120 due 15<sup>th</sup> May last from the Turnpike be paid. Get Mr Foster to collect the monies of which I gave you a minute

We have had a fine rain this morning between 4 & 5 o'clocke I hope we shall have more; the corn, Tobacco, & young clover wanted rain, and more than has yet fallen here.

I hope your health is better than when you left me, and that my daughter and Mrs Patterson are well. My love to them—Mrs Patterson no doubt gave you my letter covering my letter to Mr Neth, y<sup>e</sup> letter to Mr Harper on the same subject, the printed advertisement, the certificate of Lot No 87, & check for \$110 to pay city taxes. Mr Harper left the business as you left it unfinished, tho' in his letter to me he promised to endeavour to get it settled; but after that letter I have reason to believe he thought no more of the matter.

When will the bricks, & plank, & scantling for the Catholic Chapel at Annapolis be forwarded to that city? On the 23<sup>d</sup> instant Taylor's to give possession of the Lot—

I am with sincere attachment

Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most hum, Serv<sup>t</sup>

CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

\* From the collection of C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

64.—SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, TO GOV. JEFFERSON.\*

PHILADELPHIA April 29, 1781.

SIR,

Your Excellency will receive inclosed a Resolve of Congress of the 20<sup>th</sup> Instant, recommending to the several States therein named to make good the Depreciation of the monthly Pay of the Officers & Soldiers belonging to Colonel Moses Hazens Regiment, that are considered as Part of those State Quotas, in the same Manner they have made good the depreciation to the Officers & Soldiers in the Battalions belonging to the Line of those States respectively—I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Your Excellency's most obedient  
humble Servant,

SAM. HUNTINGTON, President.

His Excellency  
GOVERNOR JEFFERSON

65.—MAJ. GEN. WM. HEATH, TO MAJ. GEN. W. PHILLIPS, OF THE BRITISH ARMY.†

HEAD QUARTERS BOSTON JUNE 18, 1778.

SIR

Your Two favors of yesterday are before me. I gave Seasonable and Explicit orders for the reform of such Things as you represented to me as grievances in a former letter, and I dare say it will be Done as soon as Circumstances will admit.

As Early as the 9<sup>th</sup> Instant I wrote to Capt Gooch that none of the Officers belonging to the 9<sup>th</sup> Regt were to be Quartered at Hardwick That Letter some how unluckily miscarried. The Day before yesterday I received a Letter from him by Express representing that he was taking up Quarter in the Town of Hardwick but met with Opposition from some of the Inhabitants I wrote him back the same Evening to Desist from taking up Quarters in Hardwick and to Quarter the officers in Rutland.

You may be assured that I shall Endeavour to have the officers as well accommodated and as near to the men as circumstances will admit and Every attention will be paid to it. But where the Houses are scattering not withstand our wishes it will be impossible that some of them should not be at a distance from the men, and it never can under such Circumstances be Contrued any Infracton of the Convention which does not require Impossibilities—you are undoubtedly right when you Protest against the removal of the Troops if you are instructed so to do, and I flatter myself that you will think me so when I remove them in

Consequence of Express orders received for that purpose from those whom it is my duty to obey.

I have received no directions relative to the Departure of the Troops of the Convention Neither am I authorized or can I make any proposition towards admitting the Troops going for Europe neither can I receive any on that Head, unless it be in order to their being forwarded to the Hon Congress You are sensible Sir upon what condition only that Hon Body have resolved that the Troops of the Convention shall Depart Agreeable to your desire I have delivered my self without the least reserve, upon those principals of Honor which it is my Determination shall Ever Mark my Conduct

I am Sir

Your Obt Sery<sup>t</sup>  
W HEATH

M GEN<sup>l</sup> PHILLIPS

66.—GENERAL M. GIST, TO CHEVALIER D'ANMOURS, CONSUL OF FRANCE.\*

CAMP, BUTTER MILK FALLS  
24 July 1779.

DEAR SIR

Before this reaches you I Suppose you will be informed of the Surrender of the British Garrison at Stony point, which consisted of two Companies of Grenadiers the 17 Reg<sup>t</sup> of Foot and Robinsons Corps—amounting in the whole (officers Included) to 606 men, 63 of which were Killed on the spot & 543 made prisoners, Including the wounded & 28 officers. On our side 15 were Killed—and between 70 & 80 wounded, which is more than we first Immagined.

The following Ordinance fell into our hands at the Fort (viz)

3	Brass 12 pounders on Travelling Carriages Compt.	
1	Do 8 pounder	Do
1	Do 10 Inch Mortar	
1	Do 8 Inch Howitz	
2	Do 5½ Inch Royals	
2	Do 4½ Inch Cohorns	
2	Iron 24 pounders	
2	Do 18 Do	
1	Do 12 Do	
	Do with a large quantity of fixed amunition,	
	Shot, Shell, Stores, &c. &c.	

On the 18<sup>th</sup> an attack was Intended on their works at Verplancks point, under Command of Major General Howe, who was on the point of Investing it, when Sir Harry, with his main army of Plunderers, advanced so near as to be able to throw his succours to that Fortress which occasioned General Howe to retire to West Point without coming to action.

One of our Galleys on her return from Stony Point, was so effectually damag'd by the Enemy's fire from Verplancks, that the crew were oblig'd to desert her—after setting her on fire; since this we have Levelled the works on Stony Point and

\* From the original, belong to C. C. Helmick, Esq., Washington, D. C.

† From the collection of Nath. Paine, Esq., of Worcester, Mass.

evacuated the post, which the Enemy have again taken possession of, with about 1500 men (among which are the 38<sup>d</sup> & 42 Regiments) under command of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sterling (lately promoted)—they have also reinforced their Garrison at Verplanks, and retired below Dobs's Ferry, with their Main Army.

We have received advice at this place that our Privateers from the Eastward have lately fallen in with a fleet from Cork, with Provisions for the British Army, of which they captured nine sail, several of which had arrived safe at Boston.

You will please to make me respectfully remembered to the French Gentlemen of my acquaintance in Balt<sup>o</sup> & believe me, with due Regard

Dr Sir

yr. mo. obdt. servt.

M. GIST

CHEVALIER D'ANMOURS

Consul of France.

67.—COLONEL BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO COLONEL WADSWORTH.\*

PINES BRIDGE July 3<sup>d</sup> 1780.

DEAR SIR

As Gen<sup>l</sup> Glover intends riding thro Hartford, I have only time to write you a line.

Two days ago a party of *Delancys* Horse, together with *Frink's* Corps, came up as high as round hill & in their Circuit took a number of Cattle, but on their return Capt Sacket of this state, & a few of Col Barber's Levies, fell in with them, killed a few, & retook the Cattle. It is said that *Frink* was shot in the hip. Unfortunately for us a Detachment of near 60 of our Regt left the Plains but a little before the Rascals passed thro. We are as a Regt, tied down by special order on the north side of Croton. I am preparing for a small Expedition with about 80 or 100 down on the lines & I hope the next letter I send you may afford you some account of our attchievements—

Pray give me some good news from our Allies & with Compliments to your lady & friends, believe me

Yours Sincerely

BENJA<sup>A</sup> TALLMIDGE.

COL WADSWORTH,

P. S.—Col Sheldon Presents his Compliments.

68.—DOCTOR RUSH TO MR. OWEN BIDDLE.†

DEAR SIR—

Agreeable to your request, I have drawn out our Acc<sup>t</sup> but have left the sum to be allowed for

\* From the collection of Nath. Paine, Esq., Worcester, Mass.  
† From the original, belonging to F. S. Hoffman, Esq., New York.

our Services to the generosity of the Committee of Safety. I beg leave only that the Surgeons in our provincial battallion are allowed 28 dollars and their Mates 18 dollars *Each* p. month. The Continental Surgeons are allowed nearly & their Mates Exactly the same each

Yours etc

B RUSH

[Addressed MR. OWEN BIDDLE]

## XI.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF CITIZEN GENET.

### I. — *Correspondence concerning his Recall to France.*

#### 1.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, M. GENET, DATED "PARIS, MAY 16, 1796."

I have seen in the journals many Motions made to grant some exceptions to the Emigration law, in favor of individuals who from horror of tyranny have not returned to France, or who left it after the reign of Robespierre. These Motions have been referred to a Committee. There will be a report, and then a decree, which will fix a time for the reclamation of individuals or families; although I have not in a single instance acted for you or mentioned your name, my reason tells me that this will be an opportunity to take some action with the Legislative Committee. Mr. Monroe knows some of the members, Auguie others; it must not be that a Decree should hang over so good a citizen as you—in this event I will go to Paris, and will act with prudence, that is to say in speaking to your true friends and you have many—They have preserved a great friendship for you at Versailles; even at the moment when you were torn to pieces in the journals, two administrators of the District very zealous patriots stopped me in the street to say to me, "Citizen do not fear any of the horrors that they charge upon your brother, they are jealous and wicked people, we love him we esteem him, and we shall always feel honored to have him for a fellow citizen." These sentiments are very general in that City.

#### 2.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, AUGUST 20, 1796.

Our uncle is a little better—but this Winter may be his last. At the moment of inheriting, if this brave man arrives at the End of his peaceable career, some steps must be taken, or the nation may interfere in our affairs, on your account—During my sojourn at Paris, at the house of Mr. Monroe, I wrote to Freron praying him to receive me, that We might consult together upon

the means of preventing a citizen such as you are, from being considered an *Emigre*, for it seems to me, that the decree always Weighs on you. Freron did not answer—the Deputies do not receive any one; they fear to compromise themselves, Mr Monroe advised me to wait.

3.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, FEBRUARY 8, 1797.

I have taken an active part relative to your affairs, before long I hope there will be a suitable decision on the part of the government on your account, Mr Monroe will give you the details, for in a few months he will be in America his Embassy being finished.

4.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, MARCH 8, 1797.

Mr & Mrs Monroe, are about to leave for New York. There they will see that brother so dear, so tenderly loved, the pleasure of living near whom I have been deprived of for ten cruel years. Life is too thickly strewn with pains and privations—it is a cruel secret that one learns in making a Voyage, in which will can neither advance, nor carry you back a single step. Pardon this little outbreak of sentimentality and morality, but I cannot see persons leaving who will see you, and hear you speak, without being moved to a point which draws me out of my usual mode of expression. I regret Mrs Monroe very much, she is a rare woman in every way who has acquired a general respect and friendship in France. You will see my Eliza, who is full of wit and agreeable talents, and who I love as my own Daughter. Embrace her tenderly for me.

5.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, JUNE 20, 1797.

The Minister La Croix and the Minister Cochon, charged with the Police have both told me that they would report on what concerned you as absent.

6.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN, OCTOBER 28, 1797.

The steps you have taken, and which I never should have lowered myself to take towards men who are indebted to me morally and materially, and to whom I owe nothing, merits all my gratitude—I will only say that the word "recall," which is used in your Petition, is not well founded. I was assassinated, meanly displaced, and never recalled. They even ordered me to render my accounts to my successor, which I did in an honorable manner, which he and all those who came with him and after him, have said, and will say, have written and will write; and which my

present Poverty confirms too well—I detest speculation, commerce even, which requires what I have not, money, and love of money; and I only find charms in liberty, peace, and the purity of rural life.

7.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, JULY 26.

I see that you are ignorant of the steps I have thought it my duty to take in order that Justice may be done to your situation—These steps were simple, as they ought to be for a cause which has no need of a pleader—The Minister La Croix had answered me that it was just, and that he would give it his attention—The Minister Cochon the same. Since eight days they are no longer in place; and it is necessary to begin again. They speak of a family petition. If it is necessary, they will do so.

8.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN, MAY 20, 1798.

You have wished it and I have obeyed the counsels of your friendship—After five years of silence I have written to the Directory; and I charge my friend collaborer and partner in persecution, Citizen Capua with the letter. I leave it open so that you can read it and inform those other generous people Who take an interest in my fate of what it contains.

You can agree with Capua and my friends upon the means of bringing the Directors to repair the injustice of the Reign of Terror—My demand is indefinite. I have made it so designedly. I have wished neither to extend or restrain the act of Equity which I claim—but I shall be content if I receive with some consoling expression, the official assurance that I am not considered as an *Emigre*.

9.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, APRIL 1, 1799.

In a very few days, and without any delay, dear friend, we will send you the Decree that concerns you. I commence by saying to you that it is given by the opinion and the esteem of all the members of the Government—Directory, Ministers, Member of the Council: if there are any who oppose you they are very much in the shade, for your relations cannot find them—This pronouncement of the Directory was made and ready to sign when your Petition was presented—but at the last labor of Charles Deuval, Minister of Police, on the subject, a difficulty arose which adjourned the travail.

Citizen Rion, a Deputy from the Department of Fieresterre, was kind enough to conduct me to Citizen Deuval—It was his day to receive the Deputies and we were three hours waiting our turn—

I was sorry to cause him the loss of so much time because he works a great deal ; but he has exhibited a zeal and activity in the matter which is perfect and he loves you much although he does not know you. Charles Deuval said to me, "Citizen you present yourself with a very fine Cause. Some indispensable formalities have alone retarded, what we all desire—I have known Citizen Genet and I have endured in France, the misfortunes of persecution, such as they attempt in America. We have conversed about you"—He then desired me to go to find the Chief of Division, who was to make the report, and to ask for it for the twenty-second of March.

10.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, SEPTEMBER 12, 1799.

I do not know if the resolution of the late Directory, which recalled you, has reached you. I have not received a letter from you since an answer written to one from me in July, 1798.

11.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN, MARCH 20, 1800.

The official communication of my recall has not yet been made ; and some events which with another people would have embraced many Centuries, here precipitated themselves so rapidly since that act of strict justice has been done, that my mind, weakened by a mode of life, simple only, having for its support uncertain gifts of Providence and incomplete relations, cannot yet seize the whole of them to fathom their objects : My heart nevertheless, which has always burned with patriotism notwithstanding all the wrongs of my country towards me, would break through these clouds, would smooth down these doubts, would traverse the seas and dissipate the rest of the *debris* of a little fortune expended in the service of the State, to go to see once more and embrace all those who are dear to me in France, if my reason did not counsel me to trace some more furrows in the peaceable fields of America, while waiting for further news from you, while awaiting more facts ; and to enjoy upon my farm, the domestic happiness with which Providence has recompensed the purity of my intentions.

The health of Cornelia\* would be all that I could wish, if a fatal loss did not weigh upon her. Madame Clinton†—her Mother, her friend, and mine,—has just been taken from us. She died in my arms three days since, giving to her children the most touching example of virtue, and piety, and true courage—After paying to her our last duty, all our cares have been directed to the good General.‡ He charges me to excuse him

to you, if he does not respond to your charming letter ; to say to you that he has received with the most lively gratitude the bust of the extraordinary man who has fixed the eyes of the world upon him and who holds in his hands the happiness or the misery of humanity—

12.—M. GENET TO M. MONROE, DATED JULY, 12th 1800.

I reading over, lately, some old letters of my sister, Made Campan, I saw that she had taken the liberty of charging you with a cabarat of Sevre porcelain for me, this little *euroi* should be with your baggage ; and my wife believes that she remembers that Mde. Monroe told her, when she passed through New York, that it would arrive momentarily—Since then we have nothing from it, and we unite in asking you to inform us of its fate—I have learned with great pleasure your election to the government of Virginia—Perhaps you will also feel some interest in learning that the Directory of the French Republic has recalled me, as I should have been in 1794, in the most honorable and the most consoling manner.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my most respectful attachment, and also be kind enough to present our homages to Mde Monroe and our friendship to the charming Eliza.

13.—MADAME CAMPAN TO HER BROTHER, M. GENET, JULY 17, 1800.

It is now eighteen months, dear Friend, since we have received any news from you except indirectly—It is now fifteen months since your Government recalled you to the bosom of your Country—The Minister and your family sent you that dispatch in quadruple copies—Has anyone reached you ?—Your silence as well as your determination leaves us in ignorance of it. Judge of our pain in remembering our attachment, which time and distance have not weakened. We shall pass then a part of the voyage on this life without seeing you—What a privation.

14.—MR. MONROE TO M. GENET.

RICHMOND, July 30th 1800

DEAR SIR

I lately received your favor of the 12th inst, and was much gratified, to hear of yours and the health of your lady—Mrs Monroe is now in the Country whither she was carried by the attention which was due to the health of our youngest child, which as it was cutting teeth and had the whooping cough it was necessary to move to a purer air.

The box of porcelain which was intrusted to us by our amiable friend Mde Campan for you, was carried with our baggage to Albemarle, where it has since remained unpacked—I would have for-

\* Mrs. Genet.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

† Mrs. Clinton, wife of Governor George Clinton, and mother of Mrs. Genet.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

‡ Governor George Clinton, who had been, also, a General in the army of the Revolution.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

warded it to you long since, but declined it lest in the then state of the public mind it might be considered as the proof of Conspiracy against the Government and of a Treasonable Correspondence with France, &c. I shall however hasten to have it brought here and forwarded to the care of some friend in New York of which you shall be advised.

I am happy to hear your Gov<sup>t</sup> has recalled you to its own and the bosom of your friends—As a friend to free government, your name will be recorded in the history of the present day; and your patient submission to the censures you incurred in the station of a frugal and industrious farmer will be a proof of the uprightness of your heart and integrity of your conduct, while a victim to pure principles—I considered it my duty not to injure your fame or detract from your merit while I was in France, but to anticipate and prevent as far as I could any ill effect which your collision with our Gov<sup>t</sup> might produce in the French Councils—It was natural, had you returned, that you should have gone into a detail with your Gov<sup>t</sup> of the incidents attending your mission, and more than probable that the communications you would have made to it would have increased the jealousy which it then entertained of the views of ours. It was my desire and endeavor to dissipate completely all those jealousies, and to bring the French Gov<sup>t</sup> into a system of conduct towards us through the whole of the war, great and magnanimous, which would have done it honor to the latest posterity—I have no particular reason to conclude you would not have united in such a plan, other than the strength of human passion and the knowledge I had you thought you were injured.

Hence I was persuaded your return at the time might be injurious and was in fact adverse to it—But I did not oppose it by any direct or indirect agency. But such was the state of things growing out of my standing with the principal members of the Gov<sup>t</sup> that they would take no steps in it without speaking to me on it—When the subject was opened I was always silent, testifying in favor of your integrity only; and thence it was inferred, and truly, I was opposed to your return at the time. The whole of this has passed and is only interesting to ourselves. I too have had my day of suffering. I served with zeal the cause of Liberty and my Country, and was requited by every act of injustice which could be rendered me short of imprisonment and death—This too has passed, tho' it can never be remembered by me but with disgust. Be so good as to make my best regards to your lady, to which I add with pleasure those of Mrs M., who will be happy to hear of her, and believe me

Sincerely your friend and servt

JAS MONROE.

15.—M. GENET TO HIS SISTER, MADAME CAMPAN,  
DATED JAMAICA, L. I., JULY 4, 1801.

Many occasions present themselves at once of writing to you, my faithful Friend, and I take advantage of them to speak to you a little more freely than I have dared to do for a long time—Pichon has sent me your letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> November last and has since come to see me—We have conversed much about France, where he presses me to return, where he pretends that I will be well received by the Minister: that I would promptly receive the recompense of my former service. Deceived by friendship, blinded by his illusions, he has not considered that at the very moment he was speaking the Revolutionary globe was making perhaps a movement of rotation which would reverse all his calculations. The letter that the Monseigneur Talleyrand wrote to me, by order of the Directory, already belongs to another Century. My services have a still greater antiquity; they were rendered at the end of the Monarchy to the Republic. Would they give me any right to favors and these favors, what price would they put upon them? What doubts, what dangers, what hazards, for the father of a family to incur when the slightest prudence might plunge me into an abyss of misfortune. Yet if I was assured without compromising my principals, without lowering myself, without degrading myself by vile solicitations, of being again useful to my country and of being able to ameliorate the lot of my wife and children, I would resign myself to resume the chains which eight years of independence and happiness have taught me to despise; but as that hypothesis is not very probable, as my feeble talents do not merit to be distinguished in the crowd, as my opinions have been too pronounced perhaps in favor of liberty, it seems to me that I ought to continue to consider myself as politically dead, and ought not to entertain, except under the sole relation [*rapport*] of fraternal love and friendship the probability of my return to a people whom I have idolized, but whose continual ingratitude to its most faithful public servants must inevitably deliver over to the enemies of its rights—*Malleur aux peuple recomapante*—Misfortune to a grateful people, said Mirabeau to them—They believed him and would have assassinated him if he had lived a little longer—

16.—M. GENET TO MR. MONROE.

JAMAICA, Aug<sup>t</sup> 10, 1800.

SIR

I have received by post the letter you have had the kindness to write to me the 30<sup>th</sup> July—It contains some things which have enlightened me, flattered me, filled me with admiration for your talents, with respect for your candor, with esteem for your patriotism, and with contempt for those

who for silly reasons of State have had the sterile cruelty to abandon a faithful agent to the iniquity, to the rancor, of a foreign government. But there is found in that letter a suspicion that you have nourished, that others of your fellow citizens have without doubt conceived, and which wounds me too deeply not to hasten to destroy it—You feared if I returned to France, the force of human passion and sensitiveness to injuries with which I was loaded would prevent me from joining myself to those who were seeking to bring France to adopt towards this country, magnanimous and generous measure. Imbued with this idea you adroitly allowed to grow blunted and die the desire that they testified to you to make reparation for the atrocious injustice which had made me flee a country, then ferocious, to seek here repose in the obscurity of isolation and emptiness. You were in error, Sir. Permit me to convince you of it by a simple exposition of the following facts. More attached than to my own glory, to the success of the grand liberal magnanimous Treaty, which I had suggested, reduced, proposed the basis, and the negotiation of which had not yet been seriously placed in any hands but mine, at the same time when my passions, irritated in every sense by the contradictions, the disgusts, were most exalted, I buried in secret the most justificatory portions of my instructions, so that the appearance of wrong, if it existed, should fall on me alone, in my official relations—I was the first to offer myself to France as a victim to calm your Washington; supposing there was but one virtue wanting to him, that of knowing how to forgive. When the Members of the Committee of Public Safety, allured by the bait contained in the official letter of Mr Jefferson, would have deposed me without examination or inquiry of the recompenses that I had acquired by eighteen years of service in the career of Foreign Affairs, by loyal conduct from the commencement of the Revolution; and as a climax of atrocity, would have demanded me from your Government for fear that my blood might not be mingled with that of their proscribed, I held to the satellite of those monsters who disclosed that infamy to me, the language which an impurtable attachment to the Union of our two peoples would have dictated, and I excited him to fulfill his sanguinary orders if he believed them to be useful. When satiated with the troubles and fatigues of political tempests, I disrobed myself to the world. I did not cease to form, with all my soul, vows for the maintainance of concord—Finally, when the savage discourses pronounced in your Congress, when the inhospitable laws which have been the result, offered no other alternative to the French Republicans spread over this Continent than flight, chains, or death, I addressed to the Directory a letter which was carried to it by one of my former co-laborers, to engage them to

throw a fraternal regard on our position and as unfortunately, I could not speak of myself without speaking also of politics, I profited by that occasion to say to those chiefs of the Empire not to listen to their resentments, and to seek only in the bosom of moderation means to ameliorate the future. My letter, coming from a pen, of which time had taken care to make known the veracity, was read attentively: it did no injury to those who have since held the language of peace; and if I deceive myself with that illusion my heart refuses to destroy it.

May these details preserve me your friendship; give you some regret for having been obliged by your place to contribute to having lost to the cause of liberty seven years of the life of a man who cherished it; and efface the last doubt on your mind of my attachment to the good American People, who distinguishing with equity the public man from the private man, covered me with the ægis of its laws, whilst mine, which I had served with all my faculties, wished them to be violated to punish me with assassination for having obeyed its supreme will.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my devotion the most sincere and the most respectful,

GENET.

NOTE.—If you see Mr. Giles, dear Sir, please tell him I shall never forget all his kindness to me and his precious confession in the Winter of '93-'94; but that I wonder how it came to pass that the 25th of May '97, he thought proper to lift up the tomahawk and the hatchet against my political ghost in Congress. Had I not torments enough? Another Citizen, in a late passion, has not spared me much more; but the revolutionary tribunal of his heart involved all my successors in the sentence; and we were jointly accused of being totally deficient in latent and diplomatic skill—a judgment which if swallowed down by the French Government as mine was by Robespierre, might have deprived them of their living—I could mention also a number of Republican scribbles electioneering stuff, and pamphlets proudly decorated with the majestic title of History, which would have deeply corroded my wounds, had I possessed less philosophy; but as is said in the song of the dying Indian: "The son of Alhomah has scorned complaint."

17.—M. GENET TO MR. MONROE.

JAMAICA, Jan. 1, 1803.

DEAR SIR:

The very prudent motives which prevented you, under the administration of Mr. Adams, to forward the set of China you had the kindness to bring from France existing in all probability no more, I take the liberty to put you in mind of that small object before your departure for the Continent;

and to request you to send it to New York, to the care of John Broome, Merchant, Hanover Square. Though sensible of the injustice I had suffered here, but distrusting my generosity, you have, dear Sir, employed your influence to prevent my undeceived and repenting fellow citizens from recalling me honorably after your Government had obtained from their ignorance the punishment of my fidelity to their own full orders. I wish you well. I have heard your appointment with great pleasure, and hope your new embassy will be crowned with every desirable success for the good of this country, the last refuge of true liberty.

GENET.

18.—MR. MOMROE TO M. GENET.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5th 1803.

DEAR SIR:

I have yours of the 29th ult, and have the pleasure to inform you that when lately in Richmond I sent round the box of China belonging to you, with some boxes of my own, to New York, to the care of Mr Gelston the Collector. On my arrival at New York which I expect will be about the 13th, it shall be separated from my baggage and placed as you direct. You have, I think, very much mistaken the import of a former letter from me to you, relative to my conduct towards you while in France. You certainly entertain an impression very different from the fact; be the letter what it may—Nothing ever escaped me, or was to be inferred from my deportment, unfriendly to you—Your nearest connections can satisfy you on that point. I meant to state to you that my situation laid a restraint on me, so as to prevent my promoting the object of your recall and to impose a reserve, in certain cases, where, had I been free to act, the good opinion I entertained of your moral and political principles might have suggested a greater freedom of action—I never mentioned you in my life, but in terms of respect, as a friend of your country and of liberty I found, by your former letter, that you had mistaken my idea on the subject, and should have put you right had I not wished not to multiply communications in the then state of the p. office (according to report) upon a subject which it would be easy in a short communication to place on its true ground—I hope to see you in New York, and will be happy to have your commands to your friends in France. Mrs Monroe is now in New York. With respectful compliments to Mrs Genet,

I am sincerely  
Yours

JAS. MONROE.

## XII.—THE CROSS AS AN ANCIENT AMERICAN SYMBOL.

By HON. THOMAS EWBANK.

In the Mexican Tribute tables (*Talegas*), small pouches or bags frequently occur. Appendages to dress, they are tastefully formed and ornamented with fringe and tassels. A Cross of the Maltese or more ordinary form is conspicuously woven or painted on each. They appear to have been in great demand; a thousand bundles (*mil atados*) being the usual Pueblo tax. Some were made of the Maguey plant (*de papel*), others, probably for the higher classes, were set off with precious stones (*pedras finas*). The figures of a couple are subjoined:



See *Cordillera de los pueblos que antes de la Conquista Pagaban Tributo a' el Emperador Muc-tezuma y en que especie y cantidad*. Plates 5, 6, 16, 22, 29; *History of New Spain*, by Don T. A. Lorenzand. Mexico, 1770.

The practice of marking the cross on their persons and wearing it on their garments was once common with some, if not with all, the occupants of the Southern Continent. I am indebted to Dr. Davis for the following interesting extract from Martin Dobrizhoffer, a missionary in South America, from 1749 to 1767, and author of *The History of the Abipones of Paraguay*; London, 1822. He says: "They tattoo themselves by pricking the skin with a thorn. They all wear the form of a cross impressed on their foreheads, and two small lines at the corner of each eye, extending toward the ears, besides four transverse lines at root of the nose, between the eyebrows, as National marks. . . . What these figures signify, and what they portend, I cannot tell, and the Abipones themselves are no better informed on the subject. They only know that this custom was handed down to them by their ancestors, and that is sufficient. "I saw not only a cross marked on the foreheads of all the Abipones, but likewise black crosses woven in the red woollen garments of



"many. It is a very surprising circumstance that they did this before they were acquainted with the religion of Christ, when the significance and merits of the cross were unknown to them." E.

### XIII.—HOOKER'S CAMPAIGN REVIEWED.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, VA.,  
 Wednesday, May 13, and  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1863. }

President Lincoln, accompanied by General Halleck, last week, made a visit to the Commanding General of the Army of the Potomac; and since his return a semi-official utterance has been communicated to the public press, amounting as the result of his investigation into the late campaign that the President is "*satisfied*."

General Hooker a few days ago issued a congratulatory order on the seven days' operations, in which he says that the recrossing of the Rappahannock was "for reasons well known to the *army*."

Mr. Lincoln "*satisfied*," and the army "*knowing* well the reason why" it retreated before a foe whose "*certain destruction*" had been promised three days previously—is not that enough? So at least have the political and military principalities and powers judged. Why should twenty million longing, anxious hearts, who have no other interest in knowing what has happened and how it stands with that army save that *their* sons and brothers make part of that bloody hecatomb of twelve thousand souls,—why should *they* be enlightened? Is it not enough that Mr. Lincoln is satisfied, and that the army knows why?

And now, lest this army, which knows so much, should communicate what it knows to the country, it is judged advisable to hermetically seal it, and isolate the army from the country, the country from the army. The public mind, plunged in darkness—not "*satisfied*," and *not* knowing "*the reason why*"—is a prey to doubts and to fears worse than any reality of disaster, inasmuch as present fears are less than horrible anticipations. This season of darkness and uncertainty is the opportunity of bad men; and now, as Milton said of a similar period in his own time: "The whole flock of noisome and timorous birds with those that fear the morning, hover about, and in their senseless gabble, prognosticate a day of sects and schisms."

Whether Mr. Lincoln was really "*satisfied*" at the time, (and back of that, whether he had the opportunity in the course of a gossipy lunch with General Hooker and the corps commanders—he *had no other opportunity of seeing the latter*—to arrive at any conclusion, satisfactory or otherwise), and whether he has, since then, had occasion to be dis-

satisfied, are questions which, for the nonce, may as well be waived. But as to the other statement—that the army knows why it recrossed the Rappahannock—I beg leave to say that there never was a more unfortunate assertion, for if there ever was a thick, hopeless, impenetrable *mystery* common to a hundred thousand men, and to every individual man in the hundred thousand—a universal mystery, extending from corps commander to the meanest private, it is *why that army recrossed the Rappahannock*.

I have for many months been a careful student of the interior moods of the Army of the Potomac, and think to have acquired the faculty of catching its spirit. I never saw it as it is now. It is not what is called "*demoralized*." It is puzzled, bewildered—in a state of mental chaos. The men say they were not "*whipped*;" that they could have gone on any day—Friday, Saturday, Sunday—and smashed the rebel army; that less than one-half of our whole force was engaged; that any of the three positions we held—the position of Friday and Saturday, the position of Sunday, or the position of Monday—was impregnable; that there was no lack of supplies, and no sign of rain till twelve hours after the order for the retreat was given;—and they ask *why they were ordered to retreat!* No man can give the shadow of a reason, and General Hooker tells the army that *they* know well why.

### II.

Before proceeding with the recital of what a week's assiduous study of the late campaign on the spot, and contact with the leading commanders in the army, have taught me, I wish to make a word of reference to my last letter published in the *Times*, of the fifth instant, as it has been copied by nearly all the leading journals of the country.

I left headquarters at Chancellorsville between five and six o'clock of Sunday morning, May 3, and took the cars at Falmouth for Washington via Acquia Creek at eleven A. M., bringing intelligence of events up to date. I had, therefore, a personal experience of affairs only up to that time. I had seen all the preliminary movements attending the throwing of the main body of the army to Chancellorsville. I had seen the events of Friday, when we were feeling the enemy, and of Saturday, when the enemy were feeling us. I witnessed Jackson's bold attack on our right flank at seven o'clock of Saturday evening, when he turned our position and routed the Eleventh Corps. Remaining on the ground with the commander during the night watches, I saw the new dispositions of his troops which General Hooker was obliged in consequence to make—contracting his right and drawing it from Hunting Creek, where it rested, a mile nearer the river. I left on Sunday morning, just as

Lee again opened the day by a renewed attack on our extreme right. Riding over the interval of seventeen miles that separates Chancellorsville from Falmouth, I saw, as I neared Fredericksburgh, from the commanding heights on the Falmouth side, Sedgwick's Sixth corps (which had the day before worked its way up from the crossing, two miles below, and taken possession of Fredericksburgh) developed on the plain in the rear of the town, on the same ground where Sumner's men last December suffered such slaughter. I saw the heroic line charge up those heights—a sight never to be forgotten by me—and gallantly take those formidable works.

Such is what I personally knew at the date of my writing. I shared, in common with every man in the army, the joy and hope inspired by the brilliant manner in which the preliminary operations were conducted by General Hooker. I expressed this sentiment with ardor. I have nothing of all this to retract. *Quid scribitur scribetur.* Unhappily, what was true up to a certain point, ceases at that point to be true. Superb in his combinations up to the time of meeting the enemy, the moment he confronted that enemy he failed utterly—wilted and withered as it were. The immediate staff and advisers of General Hooker all marked, with special wonder, the interior change which overcame him like a Summer cloud. I leave aside all attempt to explain this psychological phenomenon, or explore whether it arose from defects inherent in his mind, or whether it was an abnormal and exceptional action. The melancholy fact remains that, after the first stages, his course was ill-advised and unfortunate throughout. It was not only bad—it was the worst possible; and in all the cardinal operations, where there were a half-dozen different modes of action, he not only chose a bad course—he chose the *only bad course*.

I make these statements, and proceed to substantiate them, with the greatest pain and reluctance. Since the day when, on receipt of the tidings of the retreat, I left New York and came to the army, confident that I should find material for a full and clear defence of General Hooker's conduct, I have desired nothing so much as to be able to make that defence. With opportunities of information accorded, perhaps, to no one else, official or unofficial, and with a diligent use of these opportunities, during the past six days, it only remains to acknowledge that I am unable to make out a shadow of a case. I have been able to see no one, in any station, who thinks General Hooker's conduct capable either of explanation or of justification. I am bound, further, to say that it is the clear and assured sentiment of the army that we owe it to him alone that, with victory positive in his hands, he should have allowed that victory to drop from his grasp; and to him alone we owe

that all the lavish expenditure of the rich bloodwine of the nation's life, and all the precious, priceless value of this army should have been in vain—alas! in vain!

This is not a case for epithets or rhetoric. It is too deep for that. I hope to write calmly, and I shall leave out much—much more than I shall set down. I give the facts. Let the country draw its own inference: the army has drawn *its*.

### III.

In my letter of last week I gave, with great fullness of detail, the history of the concentration of the army at Chancellorsville, and the movements of the other column in the vicinity of Fredericksburgh. There is, therefore, here, no occasion for anything more than the briefest reference to times and places.

On Thursday evening, when General Hooker, having left his old Headquarters to take the field, rode up to Chancellorsville, he found concentrated at that point four army corps, the Second, (Couch,) the Fifth, (Meade,) the Eleventh, (Howard,) and the Twelfth, (Slocum.) The Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth corps had crossed the Rappahannock by one of the upper fords, (Kelly's,) and the Rapidan at Germanna and Ely's fords, and having thus uncovered United States Ford, enabled the Second, and other corps which might be thrown up from below, to make the passage at that point. These four corps had reached Chancellorsville on Thursday night, and the Third corps (Sickles') was ordered to have the head of its column at the United States Ford by seven o'clock the next morning.

The other two corps of the seven corps that compose the army of the Potomac, namely, the First, (Reynolds) and Sixth, (Sedgwick,) remained meanwhile below Fredericksburgh, to perform the *role* assigned them.

By this rapid, secret and brilliant movement, Lee was thoroughly surprised. There can be no doubt whatever of this. The proof of it is furnished by such material evidence as that the rebels were picketing the Rappahannock after we had crossed the Rapidan, but still more clearly by the documentary evidence found in the note from General Lee, discovered in the Chancellor House, (and which I gave in my former letter,) announcing to the rebel Commandant of the Post, that (eighteen hours after we had crossed) he (Lee) had just heard of our having made the passage.

At the time of this concentration of our force on Chancellorsville, what was the distribution of the rebel army?

And let me remark, in passing, that General Hooker had very thorough information on this point—knowing the precise location of every regiment, brigade, division and corps in the rebel army, and even down to the exact kind, quantity and quality

of rations issued that morning from every rebel brigade-commissary.

The Confederate centre rested on Fredericksburgh, thus throwing their right down the Rappahannock, their left up. Jackson's corps was distributed along a line of fifteen miles, down to Port Royal, where their extreme right, formed by Early's division, rested. The left wing rested on United States and the upper fords, where two brigades, under command of General Anderson, were stationed.

We return to our own position. It is Friday morning. Five of our corps are concentrated at Chancellorsville.

From Chancellorsville to Fredericksburgh is ten miles. From the former place two excellent plank-roads run out, coming together four miles on, at Tabernacle Church, and thence continuing in a united line in Fredericksburgh.

It was General Hooker's original intention to push on and establish his headquarters that very night at Tabernacle Church, making that the point of concentration of the army. Well it had been for us if he had done so! You will see that this would have uncovered Banks' ford, thus shortening the line of communication between the main body and Sedgwick by eight miles, (four on each side of the river.) You will also see that it would have given us possession of one of the two rebel lines of retreat—namely, the Gordonsville line, thus depriving them of all means of retreat, if Stoneman should do his work.

General Hooker, however, did not see fit to push on, but remained during all Friday and Saturday at Chancellorsville. Here he issued his order announcing that "the enemy must ingloriously fly, "or come out from behind his defences and give "us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him."

This boast, so much in the style of Hooker, who is characterized by more than the *gloriosa Francisca*, was dwelt upon and amplified by the whole tenor of his conversation. "The rebel army," said he, "is now the legitimate property of the "Army of the Potomac: they may as well pack "up their haversacks and make for Richmond, "and I shall be after them," etc., etc.

Friday was spent by General Hooker in intrrenching the line he had established at Chancellorsville, and in throwing out a few reconnoitering parties. Meade, with two divisions, at noon pushed out on the plank-road as far as the Decker House, within one mile of Banks' ford, *saw no enemy, and was ordered to retire*. Sykes, with his division of regulars, (Meade's corps,) pushed out on the old plank-road, met a force of the enemy, drove him elegantly for a mile and a half, doing one of the finest bits of fighting during the whole course of the war, was left entirely without support, and was finally ordered to retire

—Hancock's division of Couch's corps being sent out to cover the withdrawal.

Every intelligent officer begged the Commanding General to allow the army to push on and hold the front gained by these reconnoitering parties. It was urged, in the warmest terms, that the occupation of this fine position would, as I have before said, uncover Banks' Ford, otherwise held by the enemy, thus reducing our line of communication with Sedgwick by eight miles—that it would give us command of dominating heights which, if we did not hold, the enemy would to our disadvantage; that it would take us out of this densely wooded region, in which it is very difficult to manœuvre troops, and bring us in connection with and commanding the open country on the posterior slope of the Fredericksburgh heights, which it was hoped Sedgwick would soon hold, and which he did really soon hold.

It was in vain that these considerations, whose supreme importance must be apparent from even a momentary glance at the strategic topography of the region, were urged by the ablest heads. General Hooker had assumed a perilous defensive, and was waiting for the enemy to attack him "on ground of his own selection."

You know what Saturday's work was. He lay by, doing nothing; and the enemy was engaged during the day in threatening our lines at various points for the purpose of gaining time for concentration. By Saturday evening this was completed; and at seven o'clock Jackson made his brilliant assault on our right—coming on in columns of attack by battalion with two company front. You know the result. Devens's division held the extreme right, with Von Gilsa's brigade as a knob. These men, without receiving a shot from the enemy, leaped out of their breastworks, fell back on their own division, which was thrown on Schurz's division, which, in turn, rolled back on Stienwehr's division, and the whole corps, in an incredibly short space of time, was in rout and confusion.

From this rapid glance we see that, while our forces reached Chancellorsville on Thursday, it was Saturday evening before any serious attack was made on either side. *Forty-eight hours were thus allowed Lee during which to concentrate his forces and prepare either to attack or to repel attack*. Hours to us, but ages to him. And what excellent use he made of this season soon became evident. Troops were hurried up from down the river as far as Port Royal, from Bowling Green, from Richmond; and by Saturday night, Lee had his army entire in his hands, massed opposite ours, leaving only Early's division to guard the heights of Fredericksburgh.

What was the strength of the rebel army? Their entire force opposite both the main body of the

army and opposite Sedgwick's column, is set down by General Hooker at *seventy thousand men*. If we are to credit official figures, already made public, our own number would be carried to almost *double that*.

Sunday's operations can be briefly summed up. After the repulse of the Eleventh corps, our right wing had been contracted and brought down a mile. Early on Sunday morning, the First corps (Reynolds') arrived at Chancellorsville, having the day previously come up from below Fredericksburgh. We now occupied a long front, five miles in length, approximating to an obtuse triangle, the right resting on Hunting Creek, at a point opposite Ely's Ford; the left (as before) on the Rappahannock, between Banks' and the United States Ford. The rebels made their first attack at five o'clock in the morning, and they made two subsequent attacks, the contest at Chancellorsville ending at twelve o'clock. Their mode of attack was in each case the same. We formed a long weak line. They massed in solid column; and throwing themselves on our front with all the momentum acquired by the mass multiplied by the velocity, broke the line with ease.

There was noble fighting on the part of our soldiers during that day. But nothing could make up for the radically vicious tactical disposition of our forces. *Less than one-half of our troops were thrown into action—the First and Fifth Corps not having been engaged at all!*

The feebleness and indecision which had marked the conduct of General Hooker during the two previous days, now became still more painfully apparent. At the very moment when vigor, dash, and fire were indispensable, he became timid and halting. It was all along thought that if there was one quality which General Hooker might with perfect safety be relied upon to display, it was the quality of *fight*. It was always assumed that he would throw all his men into the contest, and not allow a battle to fail by holding back. And yet here was precisely where he failed, and corps commanders begged in vain to be thrown in and a vigorous attack made!

It must go on the record against General Hooker, that not a military head here but believes that, with a proper disposition of our forces that would have called all our strength into play in a very vigorous offensive, we might, any time that day, have severed the enemy, turned, enveloped and destroyed him. General Hooker was, as you have doubtless heard, during the early part of that day, struck by a portion of a pillar of the Chancellor House, (against which he was leaning,) and which was carried away, throwing him violently down. General Couch, the senior Major-General, thus came temporarily into command for an hour; and it is a current saying that *if Hooker had remained insensible for another hour, Couch would have*

*whipped the enemy*. And, in fact, any one who would simply have allowed the Corps Commander to go on *would have whipped the enemy*.

The day ended with fresh contraction of our lines, the right wing being drawn down a mile.

Before pushing matters on the right any further, however, it is necessary to look in the direction of Fredericksburgh, and see what is transpiring there, during this same time.

#### IV.

The original plan of a division of the army into two portions—the enemy occupying the interior line—was one that never inspired much confidence in a successful issue. Much, however, would depend on special conditions—on prudence, vigor, and co-operation. We shall presently see that, dangerous though such a step generally is, there was nothing in the division of the force which a sound head might not have turned to account; that it proved disastrous only from a violation of all military principles; and that the Fredericksburgh column was saved from utter destruction only by the admirable skill and stout heart of its commander, General Sedgwick, and the dauntless pluck of that Sixth corps.

On Saturday, at eleven o'clock, General Sedgwick, who still held his position with the Sixth Corps, two miles below Fredericksburgh, at Franklin's old crossing, was ordered to move in the direction of Chancellorsville and effect a junction with the main body of the army, attacking and destroying any force of the enemy which he might encounter, and making a junction with General Hooker by daybreak of Sunday.

General Sedgwick had been assured over and over again from Headquarters, that the force in front of him was inconsiderable—a *regiment or brigade at most!*

It did not take him long to discover the incorrectness of this statement; and Sunday morning found him no further than Fredericksburgh or the plain in its rear.

The column had moved some distance across this open field, made historical by the attack of last December, when a sudden and severe flank fire was opened upon it. It was evident that the works on the heights were strongly manned, and if carried at all must be carried by storm.

You know already something of the splendid gallantry with which this work was done—the men, without firing a shot rushing up with their glittering steel and falling down dead by hundreds on the very edge of the rifle-pits.

At eleven o'clock, the first range of heights is carried. Great resistance is made at the second, but it also is carried; and between four and five

o'clock, P. M., the advance reached Salem Heights, on the Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville plank road, four and a half miles from the former place.

After a sharp and obstinate struggle the Salem Heights are gained; but the force is met by fresh rebel troops pouring in upon the flank of the advance portion of the line. For a short time the crest at Salem chapel is held by our men with obstinate resistance; but, at length, they are pushed slowly back through the woods—the falling back being covered and the advance of the enemy checked by the excellent firing of our batteries. So much for Sedgwick's work of Sunday.

During the night the enemy was reinforced heavily—a powerful column having come up from Richmond. Sedgwick, in obedience to his orders to join the main body of our army at Chancellorsville, had moved beyond the Fredericksburgh Heights, thus exposing them to be repossessed without a struggle by the enemy. This they at once did. Sedgwick is now cut off from Fredericksburgh.

We have seen what Sunday's operations at Chancellorsville were. Hooker was on the defensive the whole time. Lee engaged him from five o'clock in the morning till noon—we giving ground.

We can now take in the relation of the operations, both on the right at Chancellorsville, and on the left at Fredericksburgh, and see the masterly manner in which Lee availed himself of the opportunity afforded him.

It was eleven o'clock on Sunday when Sedgwick's corps carried the Fredericksburgh Heights. At one o'clock, General Lee became aware of the fact; and on the instant he ceased his attack.

It was a bold step he now took, and one that must have ended in his destruction, had even moderate vigor been displayed by General Hooker. But Lee seems to have felt he knew his man, and he immediately countermarched his force back on the plank-road to meet Sedgwick! You see clearly what his object was. A rebel force was in Sedgwick's rear at Fredericksburgh. If now Lees should come down on the front and flank of that small force of twenty thousand men, they must be utterly destroyed—either captured or driven into the river.

Sedgwick, having taken possession of the Fredericksburgh Heights, at eleven o'clock of Sunday, immediately moved out in obedience to orders, with the view of effecting a junction with General Hooker by the plank-road. It was five o'clock of Sunday afternoon when he reached Salem Heights. Here he was met by the advance of Lee's column, which had countermarched from in front of Hooker at Chancellorsville to Salem Heights—five miles. It was this force which checked Sedg-

wick's advance, as mentioned in a previous paragraph.

The situation on Sunday night is as follows: Sedgwick, checked in his advance on Salem Heights, formed his line for the night with his left resting on the river, about midway between Fredericksburgh and Banks' Ford, thence extending a little across the Fredericksburgh and Chancellorsville plank-road, where it turned at right angles, following the direction of the road, out toward Chancellorsville for a mile and then again turning at right angles to the right, recrossing the plank road in front of Salem Heights; and then extending down towards Banks' Ford with a slight curvature to the left, the interval between the termination of the line and the river being admirably covered with artillery. His position thus formed three sides of a square, with the river for the fourth.

The main body of the rebels had abandoned Hooker's front at one o'clock, and during all the afternoon and evening were pouring down and enveloping Sedgwick.

While these things are going on, Hooker is again "contracting his line."

We now come to Monday's work. General Hooker, with his six corps, *still remains on the defensive*. Feeble demonstrations are made by the rebels in his front to keep him in check. These are quite effectual.

In the meantime, during all Monday, Lee is massing against Sedgwick's force, preparatory to a grand destructive blow.

It is now six o'clock of Monday evening, and from twelve o'clock of Sunday—thirty hours—General Hooker has not been seriously engaged with the enemy, *yet not a single attempt has been made to reinforce Sedgwick!*

Poor Sedgwick, meanwhile surrounded by a force four times his number, enveloped and on the brink of destruction, receives a message from General Hooker, saying that *he (Hooker) had driven the enemy, and all it wanted was for him (Sedgwick) to come up and complete their destruction!* Frightful delusion, which I cannot record without a shudder!

At six o'clock the enemy made a most determined attack, in echelons of battalions and in column, on Sedgwick's right, held by General Howe's division—their object being to *cut off our communication with the river*. At the same time another was made on his other wing, held by General Brooks' division. I need not repeat the details of this action, marked by the most obstinate gallantry on the part of the Sixth corps. Both wings were forced back by the terrible impetus of the overwhelming rebel masses. All the force and all the fire of the enemy, however, did not serve to accomplish their object—the driving of that gallant band into the river. Retiring to a less ex-

posed position, General Sedgwick stoutly held on, and, under cover of the darkness on Monday night, safely crossed his force to the north side of the Rappahannock—his force, or what remained of it; for over five thousand brave men, one-third of the entire number of effective men, fell during this terrible engagement. Their heroism passes all words of praise.

During the whole of that fight of Monday evening—that *triste noche*, when the enemy's whole force surrounded that one poor corps—no attempt was made by General Hooker to reinforce or relieve them. "Come on, all it wants is for you "to complete their destruction," was the piece of horrible irony that came to them. Hour after hour, their guns boomed on the night air and reached the ear of all at Chancellorsville—signals of distress which all were eager to respond to. Guns of distress—requiem guns!

This recital is complete as far as Sedgwick's force is concerned. We turn, now, to the main force near Chancellorsville.

Hooker has again contracted his line. It was but half the length of the former line, and very strong as you will perceive—both wings resting on the river.

That we would ever do aught less than *hold* this position, no one ever dared to dream.

Conceive the amazement, then, when on Tuesday, the order for withdrawal across the river was given! I have been told that in the Council of corps commanders, which General Hooker had summoned, *one* favored recrossing. He was certainly the only man in the army who did favor it. The others and, indeed, all in high places, not only opposed it by every obstacle of argument and persuasion, but even when this failed, many *tried to place material obstacles in the way*, if by so doing they might only delay or stop the retreat!

It was in vain, however, that all was done, and the army found itself retreating before—*nobody*. The enemy was retreating at the same time that we were; and no attempt at pursuit whatever was made. If they had pursued, they must have destroyed our army.

And thus ends a campaign characterized by better fighting and worse generalship than any in the history of the war.

## V.

The recital of events conducts to a brief summing up of the whole campaign.

1. General Hooker, remaining on the defensive at Chancellorsville, allowed the enemy forty-eight hours to concentrate. By this means he lost all the advantage of the surprise, and turned a series of operations, whose whole success depended on

his assuming the *offensive*, into an uncertain and, as it proved, a disastrous *defensive*.

2. It is said that the region around Chancellorsville is thickly wooded and ill-adapted for military operations. General Hooker is estopped from availing himself of this excuse by his own order, in which he declared it was *ground of his own selection*. Besides, this objection disappears before the fact, that Friday's reconnoissances show that he might have pushed out on the plank-road, beyond the woods, thus uncovering Banks' Ford, bringing his army within communicating distance with Sedgwick, and reducing the line of communication by eight miles.

3. After dividing his army—always a dangerous operation—he insured disaster by establishing no system of co-operation. Sedgwick could easily have held the heights in the rear of Fredericksburgh, which would have been a sure gain, and then the main body of the army could have worked its way up and made a junction. Indeed, the Richmond papers acknowledge that had General Hooker been content to have held the Fredericksburgh Heights and his position on the left, Lee must have fallen back defeated. But Sedgwick was ordered to abandon this stronghold, and come on and join the army at Chancellorsville, with the whole rebel force between him and it!

4. The operations, ending in the giving ground of the army at Chancellorsville, on Sunday, were over five hours before Sedgwick attacked Salem Heights. It is, therefore, evident that unless the Sixth corps could, single-handed, fight the enemy, the sole object of his taking the Heights of Fredericksburgh, or uncovering Banks' Ford could be to hold a position from which the army could *debouche*. Therefore, the attack on Salem Heights was mere waste of men; and if those heights had been taken, the Sixth corps never could have extricated itself.

5. Sedgwick's force was not attacked till six o'clock Monday. From twelve o'clock Sunday until six o'clock Monday evening—*thirty hours*—was available to reinforce Sedgwick, whose cannon were heard all Monday evening, and no attempt made to relieve him.

6. The troops that attacked Sedgwick were exhausted by two battles and a countermarch, yet General Hooker made no attack at daylight on Monday.

7. In the fight of Sunday but a half of our force was engaged—neither the First nor the Fifth corps being thrown in, and only a portion of the Second.

8. It is said that the rain, causing a rise of the Rappahannock and endangering our supplies, was a motive for retreat. *The order to retire was given twelve hours before any rain, and during a cloudless sky.*

## VI.

With this marshaling of events, the task which duty imposes on me ends. I make no criticisms, draw no conclusions. In fact the conduct of General Hooker escapes criticism by the introduction—I might almost venture to say—of a *Providential* hand, that seemed to paralyze him and deliver him over to judicial blindness. "The General was not himself," say his staff and familiars. And indeed the mood of the army toward their commander responds to this sentiment, and is one more of sorrow than of anger.

Nevertheless, with all this, the fact remains, as the President remarked at the close of his conference with General Hooker and the corps Commanders, that "both at home and abroad the late campaign will be regarded as the greatest disaster of the war."

If it be really so, what good can it do to attempt to conceal it, or cover it with palliations that sicken one to read? This nation is not of the temper I take it to be, if it cannot afford to look calmly at the worst facts—to look calmly at them, and *into* them, and resolutely to *right* them.

This noble Army of the Potomac, reduced though it be by losses in battle, remains to us yet—its strength still greater than the rebel force, which it feels more and more able to beat, if it can only be properly led. We need but this—*central wisdom at the head of military affairs in Washington, and good generalship for this army.*

"When lamentable weakness and endless ver-satility," writes Napoleon in a passage of his Memoirs, that with strange fidelity reproduces our own condition, "are manifested in the councils of a Government; when an administration, yielding by turns to the influence of every opposing party, and going on from day to day, without any fixed plan or determined system, has shown its utter insufficiency; and when the most moderate citizens in the State are obliged to confess that it is destitute of a Government; when rulers, insignificant at home, have shamefully brought on their country the contempt of foreigners—the greatest of injuries in the eyes of a proud people—vague apprehensions spread throughout society; agitated by the instinct of self-preservation, it looks into its own resources and seeks for some one able to save it from destruction. A populous nation must always possess this tutelary genius in its own bosom, though he may sometimes be tardy in appearing. It is not, indeed, sufficient for him to exist. He must be known to others, and he must be conscious of his own powers. Until then, all endeavors are vain, all schemes ineffectual. The inertness of the multitude is the protection of the Government, and in spite of its inexperience

"and weakness, the efforts of its enemies cannot prevail against it. But let this deliverer, so impatiently expected, suddenly give a proof of his existence, and the nation instinctively acknowledges and calls on him, all obstacles vanish at his approach, and a great people thronging round his steps, seems exultingly to proclaim: This is the Man!"

Does not this whole nation, now in pain and travail, breathe the prayer, that Heaven may send us such a MAN?

WILLIAM SWINTON.

[The above communication, by the distinguished author of "The Army of the Potomac," was written by him for the New York Daily Times, of which he was the widely-known Correspondent in the field; but it was suppressed after it was "in type," by order of the Federal Government, and its author arrested.

We are glad to give it a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, both on account of the circumstances to which we have referred, and for its peculiar merit, as a piece of military criticism by a civilian; and we assure ourselves that our readers, especially those careful students of the military history of the recent war, who shall come after us, will not only appreciate the importance of Mr. Swinton's scathing criticism, but thank us for preserving and publishing it.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

## XIV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

AN OLD FIRE COMPANY.—Union Engine Company Number One, of Trenton, which was organized in 1747, passed through Jersey City a few days since, on a visit to their brother firemen at Poughkeepsie. The company numbered fifty-five men, and had with them their steam fire engine, and were also accompanied by the Jefferson brass band of Newark.

OLD LANDMARKS.—There are some very old buildings in Manchester, Virginia, older than any in big Richmond save, probably, the old stone house. Among the most ancient are the Clark Mansion, at the corner of Eleventh and Bainbridge streets; the Archer House, on Seventh and Bainbridge; the Murchie House, on Hull and Fifth, and the houses opposite, owned by Messrs. Whitehead and Weisiger. These buildings are all over a century and a quarter old, and were built by the ancestors of the present owners, when the old country road ran through the (then) village of Rocky Ridge to Coutt's Ferry. Work and improvement have somewhat modernized them, and prevented their entire decay; but still they stand, and long may they stand, as connecting links between this and past generations we shall never blush to own. The Murchie House (Rocky

Ridge Castle), lately deserted by the hospitable family who for twenty years made it the scene of elegant refinement, is now a picture of bleakness, repelling us by its grim and gloomy appearance as much as in former days its taste and cheerfulness attracted. We are promised, by some of our oldest citizens, some most interesting reminiscences of Manchester from its earliest days, and from time to time we shall spread them before our readers with the hope of being in some means instrumental in interesting them.

DANIEL WEBSTER IN HIS YOUTH.—A FAMILIAR LETTER TO A FRIEND.—A correspondent of the *Lewiston (Me.) Journal*, in a letter from Fryeburgh, in that State, says : Fryeburgh was settled in 1762. It was a noted place seventy years ago, and probably the village was at that time nearly as large as now. It has had a flourishing academy, over which Daniel Webster, then a youth of twenty-one just out of Dartmouth College, presided for nearly a year, in 1802. While there he boarded at a hotel at which we stopped; and is remembered as a black-eyed, black-haired, medium-sized youth, of sedate manners and correct morals, whose success in teaching was not marked, and who gave no indications of his subsequent mental greatness. At the Register of Deeds office in the village, there is shown one book of records in Webster's handwriting, he having occupied some of his spare hours in increasing his receipts by writing for the Register. At that time there were several leading lawyers living in Fryeburgh, and several law students, two of whom, Judah Dana, afterward a well-known Judge, and McGraw, afterward a prominent lawyer at Bangor, were Webster's intimate friends. The following letter, written by Webster while here, to his friend, Samuel Bradley, has been shown us by a relative of Mr. B. :

FRYEBURGH, March 3, 1802.

MY FRIEND : This is one of those happy mornings when Spring "looks from the lurid chambers of the South." Though we have snow in abundance, yet the air is charmingly serene, and Pigwacket (another name for Pequawket, as the region was formerly called), puts on more pleasantness than I have ever before seen it clad in. If I had an engagement of Love, I should certainly arrange my thoughts of this morning for a romantic epistle. How fine it would be to point out a resemblance between the clear lustre of the sun, and a pair of bright eyes! The snow, too, instead of embarrassing, would much assist me. What fitter emblem of virgin purity? A pair of pigeons that enjoy the morning on the ridge of the barn, might be easily transformed into turtle doves, breathing reciprocal vows. How shall I

resist this temptation to be a little romantic and poetical? "Loves" and "doves" this moment chime in my fancy in spite of me. "Sparkling eyes" and "mournful sighs," "Constancy of soul," "like needle to the pole," and a whole retinue of poetic and languishing expressions are now ready to pour from my pen! What a pity that all this inspiration should be lost for want of an object. But so it is—nobody will hear my pretty ditties, unless, forsooth, I should turn gravely about and declaim them to the maid who is setting the table for breakfast. But what an indelicate idea—a *maid* to be the subject of a ballad? 'twere blasphemy. Apollo would never forgive me. Well, then, I will turn about and drink down all my poetry with my coffee. "Yes, ma'am, I will come to breakfast."

I wish, my good friend, I could think of some pretty thing to tell you, but Pigwacket does not abound in extraordinary occurrences. The topic of this day's conversation is an intended ride this afternoon to Conway. I think the Misses enjoy it finely in prospect, and no doubt the retrospect will be equally pleasant. To me, however (*ut ad me revertor*), such things are most charming while future; it is my object, therefore, to keep them future as much as possible.

Mr. Fessenden's mother is dead—she departed to the "bourne whence no traveler returns" about a week ago, with bright prospects of future felicity; she attended the summons without a murmur, and, full of years, sunk to rest on the bosom of her Maker. Mr. Fessenden's family have been extremely ill, and his lady continues so yet. He has not yet returned from his attendance of the Legislature.

Our friends Dana and McGraw are gone to Haverhill Court. I have quite a lonely week—'twould be a pleasure to call at Harvey's house and take a cup of coffee with my friend Samuel, but he is not there. Yet this letter shall tell him that he is remembered with much tenderness and esteem by his

DANIEL WEBSTER.

SAMUEL A. BRADLEY, ESQ.

"A REMINISCENCE.—Mr. John H. Eastburn, the "well-known printer, long established in State street, has reprinted, for the perusal of a few of his friends, a letter from the late Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, in April, 1846, to William Hayden, Esq., then a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, upon the subject of temperance and prohibitory laws. This was the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author, and is full of the sound precepts which always adorned "and illustrated the productions of his pen and "the eloquence of his tongue."

The above is part of an editorial paragraph in the *Transcript* of last evening. My purpose in



copying it is to correct an error which it contains. The letter referred to above, written by Mr. Otis in April, 1848, was not "the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author." If you will turn to the files of the Boston *Atlas* you will find in the issue of that paper of the second of October, 1848, *An Address to the People of Massachusetts*, written and signed by Harrison Gray Otis. The address makes three closely-printed columns of the *Atlas*, and contains an eloquent appeal to the people in favor of the election of General Taylor to the Presidency.

This address was unquestionably "the last public document ever issued by its distinguished author," for Mr. Otis died on the twenty-eighth of the same month, at his residence in Boston, in the eighty-second year of his age. Allow me to add, that the manuscript of the address was brought to me by a messenger from Mr. Otis. It was clearly and neatly written on small letter sheets, gilt edge. Instead of giving the original to the compositors, I copied it, and it was set up from my manuscript. It was my intention to have the original bound and preserved in my library; but I gave it to the late Hon. William D. Swan, of Dorchester, who wished to present it to an old literary society in that town, the name of which I have forgotten. My impression is, that Hon. E. P. Tilton was at that time President of the Society. I presume that the manuscript of this, "the last public document" of Harrison Gray Otis, is still there.—W. S., *Transcript*.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CANADA.—At the fourth monthly meeting of the Natural History Society of Montreal, Mr. H. G. Vennor presented a catalogue of the birds noted on the Great Manitoulin Island, and accompanied it with a few observations on its physical features. Having given a brief topographical description of the Island, and a sketch of its geology, some of the silicified fossils of the Clinton group from the neighborhood of Lake Manitou were exhibited; also photographs of glacial groovings and scratchings on rocks on the south shore of the island. The following are extracts from the notes then read:

"From the village of Manitouaning, a fair portage road or trail leads off to the first and largest lake on the Island, Lake Manitou, or the Lake of the Great Spirit. The portage is about three miles in length, and runs through fine open woods, comparatively free from under-brush. For the information of any who may hereafter visit the Great Manitoulin, I may state that no canoes are to be had on any of the interior lakes of the island; and that it is not unusual to paddle for days on these, without even meeting with an Indian family. Consequently all canoes and Indians required have to

"be procured either at Little Current or Manitouaning. . . . Manitouaning Bay is ten miles long, and reaches to within two and one-half miles of South Bay, on the South side of the Island, thus nearly cutting off the unceded portion of the Island.

"The waters of Lake Manitou are beautifully clear, and abound in fine fish—such as Black-bass, Salmon and Brook-trout, White-fish, and Perch.

"At the extreme Western end of this lake the Indians cross by a portage to another large lake called 'Mindemooya' or 'Old Woman's Lake'; here canoes have also to be portaged.

"The whole of this portage is strewn over with very fine Clinton fossils. The cliffs around this lake lie at some distance from the shores, so that we were not much surprised at finding a belt of good and well timbered land, between these cliffs and the shores. On such land we noticed large crops of corn and potatoes. From the middle of the lake rises Mindemooya Island, which is said to be much infested by snakes. Farther westward we have another large lake called Kagaweng, and numerous smaller ones generally distributed over the island.

"Oil wells were being successfully worked at Wequamakong by the Great Manitoulin Oil Company. The oil from this locality is of the finest description. An office has been opened in Montreal in connection with this Company.

"On the interior lakes the bald eagle and fish-hawk were very numerous; the former bird apparently living by the toiling of the latter species. Ruffed-grouse, Spruce-partridge and Wild-pigeons were very numerous all through the interior of the island. The islands in the lakes swarmed with the Silvery and Black-backed gulls, while the waters resounded with the cries of the Loon. The Whip-poor-will might always be heard along the rocky shores and particularly near the mouth of rivers."

On the whole, the reader remarked that the Great Manitoulin presented many advantages to the settler; for although perhaps one-third of the island was of a rocky and consequently barren character, the remaining two-thirds contained land of the finest description, covered at present either by Indian crops, or splendid hard-wood forests, which last yielded large quantities of maple sugar—generally at the rate of one thousand lbs. per acre. Mr. Vennor concluded by expressing a hope that ere long we might be able to hear of this great Manitoulin Island as being the home of the white settler, where he might be seen surrounded by waving fields of grain, and possessing not only the comforts, but also the luxuries of life.—*Canadian Naturalist*.

THE FIRST PRINTED BALLOT.—George Sheldon, of Deerfield, has an original *bona fide* electoral ticket for George Washington for President.

It is headed "THE WASHINGTON TICKET OF 'ELECTORS.'" Maine then belonged to Massachusetts, and four of the electors were from the former. The candidate from this district was Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., of Amherst. At that time, and for a number of years after, all the ballots were written. David Henshaw was the first man in Massachusetts who offered a printed ballot at the polls, he claiming that it was, in a legal point of view, a written one. The ballot was rejected; Henshaw prosecuted the Selectmen; and the matter was carried to the Supreme Court, where it was decided that Henshaw's view of the matter was correct. Since that time we have been allowed to use printed ballots.—*Greenfield Gazette*.

GRAIN SHIPMENTS FROM CHICAGO FOR TWENTY-NINE YEARS.—The following table shows the total shipments of all kinds of grain from Chicago for the past twenty-nine years, the flour being reduced to wheat:

Year.	Bushels.	Year.	Bushels.
1838,.....	78	1853,.....	6,412,181
1839,.....	2,673	1854,.....	13,932,320
1840,.....	10,000	1855,.....	16,633,700
1841,.....	40,000	1856,.....	21,533,221
1842,.....	586,907	1857,.....	18,032,478
1843,.....	638,907	1858,.....	20,035,166
1844,.....	923,496	1859,.....	16,771,312
1845,.....	1,024,620	1860,.....	31,108,759
1846,.....	1,599,619	1861,.....	50,481,362
1847,.....	2,243,201	1862,.....	56,484,110
1848,.....	3,001,740	1863,.....	54,741,339
1849,.....	2,769,111	1864-5,.....	47,124,494
1850,.....	1,830,938	1865-6,.....	53,212,224
1851,.....	4,646,291	1866-7,.....	66,736,460
1852,.....	5,873,141		

MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE DOCTOR WORCESTER.—The lot of Doctor Worcester is near the base of the perpendicular side of Mount Auburn, as that eminence rises from Consecration Dell. It is situated between Aster and Sumac paths, under the shadow of a group of stately and majestic beech trees, constituting a portion of the original forest that formerly covered the grounds. There has recently been erected on this lot, to the memory of Doctor Worcester, a substantial and durable granite monument, consisting of a base, plinth, die and cap, with the following inscription:

"TO THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH EMERSON WORCESTER, GEOGRAPHER, HISTORIAN, LEXICOGRAPHER. A MAN OF CHRISTIAN UPRIGHTNESS AND BENEFICENCE.

"BORN TWENTY-FOURTH OF AUGUST, 1784;  
"DIED TWENTY-SEVENTH OF OCTOBER, 1865.

"IN SIMPLICITY AND GODLY SINCERITY HE  
"HAD HIS CONVERSATION IN THE WORLD."

The cost of this monument was not far from one thousand dollars.—*Transcript*.

OLD AGE.\*—The *Boston Advertiser*, under its "general" column, states the following as a remarkable fact:

"There are now living in the town of Essex, a 'brother and two sisters whose united ages are '264 years.'"

This gives an average of eighty-eight years to each. We have a still more remarkable case than that in Portland. We have a brother and two sisters now living whose united ages are two hundred and eighty-five years and a quarter, the oldest being ninety-seven and one-quarter, the youngest ninety-two and one-half, showing an average of a little rising ninety-five years. This probably transcends any similar case on record. These are the eldest and only surviving of eleven children of Peter Thomas, who died in Portland, on the nineteenth of August, 1797, at the age of fifty-two years and three months.—*Portland Press*.

A GOVERNOR IN PETTICOATS.—A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, describing a celebrated Portrait-gallery at Kensington, England, says there is a portrait there of Edward Hyde, afterward third Earl of Clarendon, who was Governor of New York in the reign of Queen Anne. He is represented (it was painted in 1723) in female low-necked evening dress, it being his idea of loyalty to his Queen to dress like her! "Among 'other apish tricks,' says Miss Strickland, 'Lord Cornbury, the half-witted son of Henry, 'Earl of Clarendon, is said to have held his state 'levees at New York and received the principal 'Colonists, dressed up in complete female court 'costume, because truly he represented the per-'son of a female sovereign, his cousin, Queen 'Anne.'"

THE OLDEST WOODEN HOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES.—The *Boston Traveller* has a communication, relative to the oldest wooden house in the United States, which is worth making permanent in our magazine:

"W——r, Sept. 16, 1867.

"I noticed in last Saturday's *Traveller* an item 'giving information in reference to the oldest 'house in the United States. But Medford is 'mistaken. There are houses but not of wood, in 'St. Augustine, built in the sixteenth century. 'And so far as I know, the oldest wooden house 'in the United States is in (Neponset) Dorchester,

\* By Hon. Wm. Willis, of Portland.

"soon to be a part of Boston. It was built in 1633, and is called the 'Minot House,' from the name of the first owner. It is situated on Minot-street, near Chicatawbut-street, and near the Baptist Church, and is occupied by a respectable English family, who pay eighty dollars annual rentage. The house was occupied by General Washington and his body-guard for a season during the Revolution. The house is two stories high, and the outside has by no means a bad look. Its frame is of oak, either Irish or white, I am not sure which, and the beams are as sound as ever, and likewise the whole frame, with the exception of the sills, is in a good state of preservation. The rooms are oddly shaped and awkwardly arranged. The beams are in sight and are finished off and beaded, and the ceiling is very low. Indeed, it is quite worth while to visit this ancient house. There is a little romance connected with it. During the early years of Dorchester the Indians were very troublesome. The Nipponset tribe made their headquarters in the village now of that name, and the chief's name was Chicatawbut, hence the name to the street above mentioned. Mr. Minot being absent one day, an Indian came to the house and tried to get admittance, but the heroic wife refused to admit him, knowing that it could be for no good intent, and taking down her husband's loaded gun, she fired at him, wounding him severely, and then, in a moment, threw a pailful of boiling water into his bosom. He fled into the woods, and, as tradition says, was found dead the next morning, near by, having died of his wounds. The woman was honored for her bravery by the inhabitants of the place by the presentation of a gold wristlet, with her name upon it, and the words, 'who slew the Narragansett Indian.'"

A. G. R.

#### MERRIMAC AND MONITOR.

RICHMOND, VA., September 14, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORLD.

SIR: I find in yesterday's *World*, just received, a report of a speech of Mr. Greeley, at the opening of the American Institute Fair, in which occurs the following sentence:

"After referring to the triumph of the *Monitor* over the *Merrimac*, in Hampton Roads, Mr. Greeley continued, &c., &c."

Now, there is no fact in the late war better ascertained than that all the "triumph" ever won by an iron-clad in Hampton Roads was by the *Merrimac*. I was one of a concourse of thousands of people who saw the *Merrimac* challenge the whole Federal fleet, through a long summer day, to come out

from the guns of Fortress Monroe and the Rip Raps and fight her; and among those who declined the challenge was the *Monitor*. But I choose to set this fiction at rest on the evidence of a Northern man, and one whose standing as a witness in a case of this sort is unimpeachable. I refer to Norman Wiard, the celebrated ordnance founder and inventor. In a memorial addressed by him to Congress, and to be seen in the Report on the Conduct of the War, Supplement, Part Two, I find the following sentence:

"It should be recollected that the Army of the Potomac was once prevented from passing up James River, by the presence of the terrible *Merrimac*, which iron-clad was encountered by another iron-clad, the little *Monitor*, armed with Dahlgreen eleven-inch shell guns, the projectiles from which crumbled against her sides, and she returned, uninjured, to her picket duty, and long continued to hold possession of Norfolk Harbor and the mouth of the James River, or so long as until our army had passed too far to return toward a disastrous campaign to get to her rear at Harrison's Landing."

The simple truth is, that all that was ever done in the Roads by any iron-clad was done by the *Merrimac*. The attack on and destruction of the *Congress* and *Cumberland* would as certainly have been followed by the destruction of the *Minnesota* had there been sufficient draft of water for the *Merrimac* to approach her; and it was a leak, occasioned by injury to her beak received in her attack on the *Congress*, and no battering of the *Monitor*, "whose shells crumbled against her sides," that sent the *Merrimac* back to her dock. The only serious damage inflicted on either iron-clad was suffered by the turret of the *Monitor*. And no sooner had the *Merrimac* been repaired than she sailed down the harbor, and vainly strove to get the entire fleet, *Monitor* included, to leave their safe moorings under the hundreds of guns ashore! Thenceforward the *Merrimac* lorded it on the waters of the great roadstead, until that melancholy morning in May when she sank on the field of her fame by the hands of her friends—*morte sur le champ de bataille*. We have little left. If not glory—nothing. Surely the United States can afford to leave us that untaxable possession.

K.

ELIZABETH DAY. — Ninety-two years ago, in October, Elizabeth Pearson, a bright girl of seven summers, might have been seen playing on the beach fronting her father's house, at the eastern end of Fore street. Over this little bay and beach, the Grand Trunk Railway has spread its net work of tracks. On that day, the seventeenth of October, 1775, the wondering eyes of this little child beheld the fleet of Mowatt slowly coming

up the harbor. The next day, her father's and her grandfather's houses, with most of their contents, and the whole village clustered around King and the lower part of Fore streets, were utterly and wantonly destroyed by the relentless Mowatt, and their houseless inhabitants were driven into exile.

This little girl grew to womanhood; was married in her nineteenth year to George Day; and died on the twentieth instant, in the one hundredth year of her age, the oldest person in town, and the oldest, so far as we have any authentic record, who ever died upon this peninsula. She never forgot those exciting incidents of her childhood.

Mrs. Day was the daughter of Wm. and Maria (Bradbury) Pearson, and was born in December, 1767, on a lot an acre in extent, which was granted to her great-grandfather, John Oliver, of Boston, in 1721. Portions of this tract have ever continued in Oliver's family, his daughters, Mary, having married Henry Wheeler, and Elizabeth, Rowland Bradbury, both early inhabitants of our town, and their descendants are still living in it. Bradbury built a house upon the lot, in which his grand-daughter, Mrs. Day, was born. Her father, Wm. Pearson, married Maria, a daughter of Rowland Bradbury, on the second of July, 1764; another daughter married Watson Crosby, who lived on the same Oliver acre, whose daughter Emma married our late estimable citizen, Captain Lemuel Moody, whose children fill useful and honorable places in our community.

Mrs. Day was, in 1786, married to George Day, by our venerable pastor, Thomas Smith, then eighty-four years old, who also married her father twenty-two years before. They had six children, of whom four, two sons and two widowed daughters, still live; our fellow citizen, Charles Day, born in 1798, was the youngest. She was married eighty-one years ago, and has been a widow more than sixty years. She has, during her long life, enjoyed remarkably good health; she has hardly felt the infirmities of age; and, until within a week of her death, has enjoyed her faculties, and has engaged in the ordinary duties of domestic life. After she was ninety-five years old, she was in the habit of taking long walks in passing from one part of the town to another to visit her children. Her home has been principally with her son Charles since her husband's death, on the spot on which she was born. I do not know of another instance where an original town grant has continued in one family, from its date to the present time, one hundred and forty-six years, as this has, and is likely to continue for years to come. Mrs. Day was blessed with a cheerful temper, and bright and buoyant spirits—even in her advanced years she had no depression—the vigor of her

body was well sustained by a radiant, hopeful mind. She was a welcome companion in her large circle of relatives and friends; her children and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren rose up to do her reverence, and will long continue to cherish and honor her memory.

In contemplating this lengthened life, the mind naturally recurs to the immense changes which have taken place during its continuance. She was born a British subject on American soil; she was born a British Colonist; she dies the citizen of a great and independent Republic; she has lived through the whole life of our nation; in her day two millions and a half of people have become thirty-four millions; the thirteen feeble Colonies have expanded to thirty-four States, filled with wealth, adorned by arts, and strengthened by all the resources that give power, and pride, and dignity to a great empire. She has also witnessed and been a partaker in the progress of our city from an humble village of fifteen hundred inhabitants to its present metropolitan character, with its large commercial, literary, and social advantages.

If we add to the age of this venerable woman, that of our first minister, the Rev. Thomas Smith, their joint lives extend over a period of one hundred and sixty-five years, comprehending five generations of the human race, who have lived and struggled, had their busy day, and died, and are forgotten in that space of time. They reach back, too, thirteen years beyond the settlement of the town, to the beginning of the last century, in the second year of which Mr. Smith commenced his pilgrimage of ninety-four years. How were those years and those generations freighted with joys and woes, with trials, cares and vicissitudes—what changes in individual fortunes, and overwhelming distresses and exalted prosperity in our social condition. Among the crushing sorrows were the destructive fires of 1775 and 1866, which each prostrated our town, and the distressing period of the Embargo and War, from 1807 to 1815, which humbled our poor town in the dust of humiliation and poverty. But of the joys and sorrows, and individual experience, which have flowed over the hearts of those past generations, no human tongue can tell, no mind conceive. From the elevated ground of the present social condition of our individual, and municipal, and national life, we may take profitable lessons, and not forgetting the trials, the hardships and sufferings through which our predecessors, the pioneers of our civilization and our accumulated blessings, trod their gloomy way, may learn wisdom and moderation from the great facts which history and experience spread out before us. W.

AN HISTORICAL PIANO—We are indebted to a correspondent for the following account of an or-

ganized piano, being the first piano-forte which the late Mr. Jonas Chickering ever saw, which is now in the possession of Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, of Old Cambridge.

This instrument is remarkable, apart from the circumstance above stated, as having belonged to the Princess Amelia, daughter of George the Third. She presented it to her Chaplain. George Odiorne of Boston, married, in London, the Chaplain's daughter. He gave the piano to his daughter, when she left her native land for her home in America. The late General J. Montgomery purchased the piano of Mrs. Odiorne for his daughter, then a young girl, at Mrs. Rawson's school, in Boston; and afterwards gave it to her when she went to reside in New Ipswich, New Hampshire.

There, accidentally, the cover was broken; a cabinet maker was sent for to make a new lid; and Jonas Chickering, then an apprentice, was sent to examine the piano for a removal to the shop. His look of astonishment and wonder at this revelation of a hitherto unknown (to him) musical instrument, can be better imagined than described. He seemed utterly unconscious of observation, while he peered about it, removing and displacing to examine the construction; and in it he first saw an organ, with its various pipes and bellows. The piano-forte and organ could be used together, and were tuned in unison, or they could be played separately. Mr. Chickering, a few years since, advised the owner to have a new and larger bellows put in, and play the organ by itself, as its tones were very sweet and suited to a chamber. His advice was followed. Mr. Chickering expressed much pleasure from time to time in selecting his best instruments for the lady to whom he was indebted for his first study of a piano-forte.

This true account will correct the statements of the writer in the July number of the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Piano in the United States," in which he states that the first piano Chickering ever saw was in a battered condition, and that he put it in good repair; whereas, the one he first saw was in constant use, and is a handsome instrument at the present moment, inlaid with satin wood and wreaths of colored wood surrounding the name of

CHRISTOPHER CANER,

*Londoni Fecit,*

1783.

BROAD STREET.

SOHO.

FORMER SOCIAL LIFE IN NEW ENGLAND.—The current ideas of New England life and habits in former years are in many respects erroneous. There was far less of sternness and stiffness than

is commonly supposed, and far more of true domestic happiness and warm friendship among neighbors. Professor Silliman, in his autobiography, gives a pleasant sketch of New England life, three-quarters of a century ago. He says:

Those who were born and educated under the primitive influences of New England sentiments and manners, when population was yet sparse and personal friendships still partook of the simplicity and sincerity of colonial manners, appear to have felt and cherished the social sentiments as a part of their nature and the hospitality which characterized that state of society offered a welcome asylum to the traveling friend. My mother was born and educated under such influences, and a refined standard of deportment in the parental home, added graceful attractions to her manners.

Among the first people of New England there was a graceful dignity blended with a winning kindness; and, in the case of acknowledged friends, crowned by a cheerful greeting when they met, which produced reciprocal feelings and a cordial response. These traits were conspicuous not only among persons in elevated positions, but in a good degree also in those gradations in society in which refinement was not dependent on wealth, and limited resources demanded even a frugal hospitality. Such was the case with the clergymen, who, being usually men of education, and often—as well as their families—possessing very interesting manners, caused their homes, with the aid of manly sons and lovely daughters, to present delightful family circles.

My mother was very attentive to our manners. We were taught to be respectful, especially to older persons and to ladies,

If we received a book or anything else from her hand, a look of acknowledgement was expected, with a slight inclination of the head, which she returned. We must not interrupt any one who was speaking, and never speak in a rude, unmannerly way. We were always taught to give place at a door or a gate to another person, especially if older.

The family manners in those early times were superior in some respects to those which are often observed at the present day. The blunt reply to a parent, without the addition of "Sir" or "Ma'am," to "Yes" or "No," was then unknown, except among rude and unpolished people.

As to my mother, in the course of long experience, I do not remember to have seen a finer example of dignity and self-respect, combining a kind and winning manner, and a graceful courtesy, with the charms of a cheerful temper and a cultivated mind, which made her society acceptable in the most refined and polished circles. Her delightful piety, adding the charm of sincerity and benevolence both to her action and conversation, attracted the wise and good, and won

the thoughtless to consideration. It is a great blessing to have had such a mother.

**AN ANCIENT COIN.**—In a jeweler's establishment, in Washington, there is on exhibition a gold coin, most remarkable in appearance, and of the purest metal. It is about the size of a half eagle, remarkably fresh-looking, the inner side of which is concave, with a raised chariot, having seated in it a skeleton image pointing ahead with a rapier, and drawn by two spirited horses. The outer side bears an elaborate profile of a female, with her head decorated in the manner worn by the crowned heads at the time the coin was issued (twenty-two hundred years ago). Its weight is five and a half pennyweights, or, as near as may be in value, worth about five dollars. The coin was at one time in the possession of Rev. W. W. Eddy, missionary in Assyria, who thus describes how he came in possession of it:

A coin of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, who reigned about three hundred and forty years before Christ, and consequently twenty-two hundred years old, was found in a garden adjoining Sidon, Syria, among the ruins of the ancient city. Two jars, containing coins of Philip and Alexander, were found in the ground by workmen digging, and the contents divided among them. The Turkish Government claim all such treasures, and hearing of the discovery, imprisoned all the workmen until they gave up nearly all the coins. These they immediately melted up for new coinage. A Mohammedan woman, who was with the workmen, obtained some of the coins, and wearied out the Government by her endurance of imprisonment, while denying the possession of any of the treasures. After her release, I obtained this coin, with much difficulty, from her, through her fear of another arrest.

Some time since this coin was deposited with Mr. C. R. Brown, a jeweller, at Saratoga, who was offered by a well known antiquarian, the sum of twelve hundred dollars, but being instructed not to part with it at any price, the offer was rejected.

**DORCHESTER AND GENERAL GRANT.**—An antiquarian (no doubt one of the well-known and indefatigable record searchers of the handsome suburb) writes to the *Dedham Gazette* that "we have good and sufficient evidence that General Grant is a descendant from Mathew Grant, of Dorchester, who came to that town in 1630."

Headley, it seems, is mistaken in fixing upon Noah (who was really born in Connecticut, in 1748), as the first immigrant of the family to America. The fact is, Noah first saw the light One hundred and forty-eight years after the advent of

the aforesaid Mathew. How Dorchester will go in the next Presidential election, after this hunting up of the Genealogies, hardly admits of a doubt!—*Transcript.*

**ENGLISH SPARROWS.**—The following interesting history of the English Sparrow in the Park at Union Square, New York, was prepared by Mr. J. T. Shaw, the attentive policeman of that Park. Mr. Shaw writes as follows:

"In April, 1866, two pairs of sparrows came to Union Park and claimed possession of the only bird-house there (indeed, it was the only one in five parks), which was occupied by two pair of wrens. After a desperate fight of several hours, the wrens had to yield to the heavier bird, and left the Park. The sparrows took possession, and within five weeks had nine added to their numbers, and out in the Park.

"In June, the same year, one hundred bird-houses were erected there. The sparrows at once took to them and produced several broods before the leaves fell from the trees, and seventy-five to eighty of these birds wintered there, to the delight and amusement of many lovers of birds.

"About three hundred bird-houses were also erected in four other Parks near, and many sparrows came in from Central Park and occupied them all winter, and have continued to occupy and breed in them, as has also the blue-bird and wren, until now there are believed to be twelve or fifteen hundred sparrows in these five Parks. They are very happy and tame, and are seldom molested by the children, and have made a clean sweep of the worms and millers, and saved the foliage of all the trees, so that, for the first time in seven years, at this season, we have a perfect foliage in said parks.

"There is nothing like the sparrow for the destruction of the worms and insects generally. Planks have been anchored in the fountains, from which the birds drink and bathe. Last Thursday morning, I counted seventy-five of them on the plank at Union Park, bathing, in thirteen minutes.

"If the people will put up bird-houses on the trees in our streets and yards, the city will be well supplied with the sparrows in a few years, and the vile tree-worm will disappear."

**ARCHÆOLOGY IN NEW YORK—ANOTHER COLLECTION LOST TO US.**—Another valuable collection of antiquities is now lost to New York, but fortunately it does not leave the country, as have heretofore too many of our American collections.

The Trustees of the Peabody Ethnological Museum have very wisely secured Charles C. Claus' cabinet of Flint and bronze implements and orna-

ments. Most of the specimens were obtained from the Island of Rugen, in the Baltic, a locality famed for the excellent quality of its flint. To this island many of the ancient inhabitants of Northern Europe must have resorted, anterior to the metal age, for this indispensable material. The remaining portion of Mr. Claus' collection is from Norway, Sweden and the Danish Islands. The whole has been offered to the savants of New York for nearly a year—first brought to the notice of the American Ethnological Society, and afterward put up in the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society, where we hoped it would be secured. It is now removed to Cambridge, where it will be arranged for the benefit of ethnological students, in comparing the stone age of the two continents.

In connection with this subject we might ask, is it not possible in the great and wealthy City of New York to find a Peabody who would be willing to endow an institution for the grand purpose of collecting and studying the aboriginal arts of a great Continent? Such a museum would not merely illustrate the history of the many millions of people who have preceded us in this country, but would also furnish the most complete index to the early development of the human race in general.

When will our people learn to appreciate American ethnology sufficiently to arrest the exodus of our native relics? Not, we fear, till most of them have been transferred to Europe. Note the valuable collections already lost to us: Dr. Kock's osteological wonders—exhumed from the Southern and Western States—are now in Berlin; Catlin's Indian gallery of portraits and curiosities went to Europe; Du Chaillu's unique collection, illustrative of the natural history and antiquities of Central Africa, was offered to New York for half the price obtained for it in London. Dr. Davis has expended much time and money in the collection of the largest and most complete suit of relics ever obtained from the mounds of the Mississippi Valley. After years of unsuccessful efforts to secure a purchaser here, he was compelled to accept an offer from England, where his rare collection has gone. Regrets are, and will be entertained by American archaeologists that it was not secured by the Smithsonian Institution, which published an account of the explorations, not only to verify their own publication, but also for the benefit of the future antiquarian. Mr. Squire has taken his collections, made in Central and South America, to Europe, whence it is feared they will never return.

Thus will be seen how surely we are losing all means for illustrating the ante-Columbian period of our history. We are aware that some few private collections still exist in the country which should be gathered together as the nucleus of a

great American museum of aboriginal art. Who will take the initiative in doing for New York what has been done for Cambridge?—*New York Times*.

**INHUMAN TREATMENT OF PRISONERS—HORRORS OF THE ROCK ISLAND PRISON.**—During the time that rebel prisoners were confined at Rock Island barracks, the *Argus*, on several occasions, called public attention to the condition of these prisoners, and every time was met with the reply that its rebel sympathies made it unduly solicitous for the comfort of rebels. When we, by request of the commandant of the prison, appealed to the public for donations of proper clothing for the unfortunate men who were sent, in dead of winter, in box cars, with no fires, from Tennessee to Rock Island, many of whom died on the way, and all suffered most terribly, we were denounced by very "loyal" men for sympathizing with rebels. When, on another occasion, we denounced the shameful course of the commandant of the post and chief surgeon, who refused to furnish the rebels with vegetables, or permit them to purchase them with their own money, and thus brought the scurvy upon a great number of them, we met with the same treatment. But we followed up the complaint to the authorities at Washington, on this subject, until an Order was issued permitting the prisoners to buy vegetables—and the scurvy soon ceased.

The prisoners at Rock Island barracks were treated with shameful cruelty, though their sufferings were greatly mitigated by humane people, who, at the risk of being mobbed by the "loyal," furnished them with food and clothes to a considerable extent.

We will briefly enumerate some of the inhumanities practised here:

1. The manner in which the prisoners were brought here was cruel and inhuman, causing the death of a large number of them.
2. They were sent here before suitable buildings were prepared for their reception, and besides suffering horribly, a number died from this cause.
3. Their money was taken from them and used as capital to carry on a profitable trade with them.
4. They were not supplied with sufficient food and clothing.
5. They were starved, in the hospitals and in the barracks, and one of the surgeons says the head doctor declared, when appealed to by his associates to permit more food, that he intended to starve them to death, in retaliation for the sufferings of our men in the South.
6. They were cruelly and inhumanly punished,

and numbers were shot down without the slightest provocation.

These are only a few of the facts in regard to Rock Island prison. The full details of the horrors endured there will never be known. But the Congressional Committee can, if they wish, obtain enough to satisfy any unprejudiced mind that great cruelty was practised right here in Rock Island. Two thousand dead Confederates, now mouldering to dust on the island, attest that greater numbers died here than in Andersonville, or any other Southern prison, in proportion to the number confined and the time occupied. And thousands of men throughout the Southern States can give this Committee valuable, interesting and truthful revelations as to the practices in Rock Island, if they will take pains to get it.—*Cincinnati Inquirer*.

HOW TO BECOME A MILLIONAIRE.—John McDonough, the millionaire of New Orleans, has engraved upon his tomb a series of maxims he had prescribed as the rule for his guidance through life, and to which his success in business is mainly attributed. They contain so much wisdom that we copy them :

*Rules for the Guidance of my Life, 1804.*—Remember that labor is one of the conditions of our existence. Time is gold; throw not one minute away, but place each one to account. Do unto all men as you would be done by. Never put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day. Never bid another do what you can do yourself. Never covet what is not your own. Never think any matter so trifling as not to deserve notice. Never give out that which does not first come in. Never spend but to produce. Let the greatest order regulate the transactions of your life. Study in your course of life to do the greatest amount of good. Deprive yourselves of nothing necessary to your comfort, but live in an honorable simplicity. Labor, then, to the last moment of your existence.

Pursue strictly the above rules, and the Divine blessing and riches of every kind will flow upon you to your heart's content; but, first of all, remember that the chief and great duty of your life should be to tend, by all means in your power, to the honor and glory of our Divine Creator.

The conclusion to which I have arrived is, that without temperance there is no health; without virtue no order; without religion no happiness; and that the aim of our being is to live wisely, soberly and righteously.

JOHN McDONOUGH.

NEW ORLEANS, March 2, 1804.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, BROOKLYN.—The *Minutes of the Hudson River Association, South,*

have the following account of the circumstances which led to the organization of this Church :

It was in the summer of 1822, the year memorable for the visitation of that terrible scourge, the yellow fever, that two brethren, Eliakim Raymond and Elijah Lewis, to escape its ravages in New York city, made Brooklyn their temporary home. Finding five others of like faith and practice with themselves, they gathered together in prayer meetings in private houses; the first one being held in a room on Cranberry street, directly opposite the present lecture-room of Plymouth Church (Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's); and it is worthy of notice, that two of the persons who attended that first prayer-meeting are yet living, and one of them, Mrs. Ann Lewis, widow of Deacon Elijah Lewis, is yet an honored and active member of this church.

The continuation of these meetings, week after week, led to an increase of members, and, occasionally, to preaching by ministers from New York City. These labors of love and faith did not end with the summer, but continued through autumn, winter and spring, the two brethren named continuing their personal labors and efforts, though obliged to cross the East River in open boats, through many a storm, and to forego the pleasures of attending their own comfortable churches in New York, and listening to the eloquence of such preachers as Archibald Maclay, John Williams, and Spencer H. Cone, the latter of whom was then in the zenith of his power and popularity.

On the nineteenth of August, 1823, the First Baptist church of Brooklyn was organized, with the following named persons as constituent members, viz. : Charles P. Jacobs, Richard Jones, Joshua Evans, Maria Cornell, Sarah Quereau, Elizabeth Jacobs, Hannah Jones, Margaret Evans, Margaret Nostrand, and Eliza Ann Rust.

JOSHUA AS A GENERAL.—General D. H. Hill, of the late Confederate army, has a high opinion of the military skill of Joshua, and thinks he displays a superiority over noted Generals of later times. He says :

Joshua, the successor of Moses, was distinguished by the favor of Heaven, and yet was one of the most renowned military leaders of his own or any other age. His strategy and manœuvring furnish an interesting study, at this day, to the student of military history. He will see that the mistake which Washington made at Germantown, in attempting to take Chew's house, which Greene made at Eutaw in attempting to take the brick jail, Joshua did not make when the five Kings fled to their cave or stronghold at Makkedah. He did not turn aside from



the great object, but gave orders: "Stay ye not, but pursue after your enemies and smite the hindermost of them; suffer them not to enter their cities." Had Jackson, at New Orleans, been familiar with the tactics of Joshua, he would have made his night attack on the twenty-second of December, just before day, and thus have anticipated the great victory of the eighth of January. Is it not strange that military men in modern times, with all the lights of history and experience before them, can discover no mistakes in the campaigns of Joshua, who marched and fought, ages before Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar and Napoleon? Whence did he derive his strategy? Who taught him the art of war?

**A STRANGE STORY.**—A correspondent of the *Albany Evening Journal*, in noticing the recent death, in a Southern city, of a Mississippi River pilot, relates the following curious story:

This pilot was a devoted rebel at heart, but while Grant was at Young's Point, operating against Vicksburg, he was in charge of one of the Union transports, lying below the Point, on the west side of the river.—General Grant at that time was greatly annoyed and mortified at the promptness and unerring correctness of the information conveyed from his line to the enemy. "During three or four hours of each day," says the correspondent, "this pilot, after gathering from the officers at headquarters what information he desired—for officers would talk—would repair to a farm house down on the Point, and, with a mirror, which he had previously taken from the cabin of the steamer, amuse himself by throwing the sun's reflection up and down the river. No one asked what he was doing—for the employment was so simple and apparently abstracted, that none thought for a moment of attributing any other motive than mere idle pastime. But this was his secret, previously agreed upon between himself and General Pemberton. Vicksburg is mainly upon a high bluff, the lower part of the city, during certain hours of the day, being entirely in the shade. Commencing at the upper end of the city, and within easy view, M. had selected thirteen houses behind and above each other. To each one of these houses a letter of the alphabet was given. From the window of the farm-house he threw the reflections, first upon one house and then upon another, an officer of Pemberton's staff, in the secret, at the same time standing on the levee, with his back to M., and reading every word easily and rapidly. And he not only gave information of what was transpiring in the Union camp at Young's Point, but also gathered from Northern newspapers important news relative to the move-

ments of armies elsewhere, sending it across the river in the same manner. The plan was kept up until a short time before General Grant made arrangements for going below Vicksburg, crossing at Grand Gulf, and coming up in the rear. Just before that event M. was ordered to another point, and, consequently, the enemy had no light upon the subject of that "last move."

**SCRAPS.**—An old resident of Jamestown, New York, reports that in 1808, when that town was first settled, the village Common was cleared of stumps by fines imposed on those who got drunk. The penalty for getting drunk was to dig up a large stump; and for getting only tipsy, a smaller stump. The removal of every stump in about two months was the result.

—Faneuil Hall Market-house stands on what for several generations was known as the Cove.

—Boston Common received its name from the fact of its being common land—land common to all the early inhabitants.

—A very curious incident occurred in the surveys of the Iron Mountain road, in the cypress swamps of South-east Missouri. The engineers, having orders to locate their surveys in connection with the United States land surveys, had occasion to search for the marks or records, made years ago, in the swamps. The land surveyors had marked the results of their work by cutting into the body of a tree, leveling off a smooth surface of the trunk, and engrossing their record on the tablets thus prepared. The engineers found the trees of the old survey, and recognized the scars of former cuttings; but to reach the records were compelled to cut into the trees again. New wood had grown up over the old record, completely hiding and protecting it. But, after cutting into the body, down to the original tablet, they found the surveyor's record as plain and distinct as when first made.

—A blundering correspondent of a New York paper says that the den where General Putnam shot the wolf is one of the summer attractions of the town of Woodstock. The old wolf-den used to be located in the southerly part of the town of Pomfret; and it undoubtedly remains there until this day.

—A recent visitor to the tip of Cape Cod, who has, we suspect, been befogging himself with old wives' traditions, wishes to know where the Indians got the copper kettle Miles Standish stole from them? We turn him over to the antiquaries, having a dim impression that said kettle, if it ever existed, was a legacy from the Danes to the aborigines, when the former settled Provincetown. —*Transcript.*

—*The Indianapolis Herald* says: "There is a man residing in Noblesville, named Moreau, who is ninety-seven years old. He is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, members of the Masonic fraternity, having joined that organization in 1800. He was one of the assistants of Robert Fulton in building his first steamboat; and was on board of her during her first or trial trip. The old man is never so happy as when, with chalk or pencil, he is laying off diagrams, and explaining the machinery and vessel he helped to construct on that occasion. The scenes and incidents of three score and ten years ago, particularly of the war of 1812, are as fresh in his mind as though they had happened only yesterday, while the occurrences of last week are dim, if not entirely forgotten."

—The first newspaper tolerated in Virginia was in 1780. The subscription price was fifty dollars per annum for one copy. Advertisements of moderate length were inserted for ten dollars the first week, and seven dollars for each succeeding week.

—The old homestead of Ethan Allen still stands in the village of Bennington Centre, Vermont.

—The oldest locomotive in America was broken up at a machine shop in Bangor, Maine, the other day. It was the "Pioneer," a ten ton engine; and one of the early machines built in England, by Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive. It was built at his works, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1835; and ran its first trip over the B. O. and M. R. R., on the sixth day of November, 1835. Its last work was done on the fifteenth day of August, 1867.

—The greatest curiosity of Flushing, N. Y., is the house in which George Fox once lived, built in 1661, and still, after two hundred years, owned and occupied by a descendant of its earliest tenant. It is in the old style of New England farm-houses, two stories in front, and with a long slope in the rear. The floors are fastened with wooden pins, and the timbers are in perfect preservation. The grounds around it are perfectly kept; and its Quakerism is more in its legend than in its present show. The present owner and his lady are most accomplished and charming people; and love to talk with strangers about the good old times. On the other side of the street they show you "George Fox's Oak," all that remains of the tree, under which the leather-breached enthusiast was wont to interpret to the crowd the word of the Spirit. It is but a *torso* and a fragment. The crown is gone; the branches are gone; and there is only left a dry, yellow, decaying trunk. But this relic is preserved with pious care; and the friends who pass it on their way to the Sunday gatherings seem to see in its

gaunt lines the visage and form of their great leader.

—In Litchfield, Conn., recently, Captain Salmon Buel celebrated his one hundredth birthday by attending the Congregational Church (which is the New England idea of festivity), the congregation rising as he came in, and the choir singing "Old Hundred," (which is the New England idea of facetiousness.)—*World*.

—Richard C. Washington, who died in Washington, recently, was a direct descendant of Lawrence Washington, the elder brother of the father of George Washington, and was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He had been a resident of Washington for many years, and occupied at the time of his death the position of Chief Clerk in the Appointment Office of the Post Office Department. He has been connected with this department for over twenty years.—*Transcript*.

—Mr. Larkin G. Mead, Jr., the American sculptor, has just completed the model of "Col-umbus before Queen Isabella," ordered some time since by Mr. Lockwood, of New York. This is Mr. Mead's most important work; and its merits are sufficient to satisfy the artist's most enthusiastic friends.—*Ibid*.

—An Historical Society has been established at St. Petersburg, with the object of searching for historical documents of the time of Peter the Great.—*Exchange*.

—Dr. N. B. Shurtleff has been appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society to prepare the memorial of the late L. M. Sargent, Esq.

—Thomas Paine was probably the first man who suggested the practicability of constructing bridges of iron; and he conceived the idea from contemplating the fabrication of a spider's web, when he was in the United States. In 1787, Paine presented to the Academy of Sciences, at Paris, the model of a bridge which he had invented; and when he resided at Rotherdam, in Yorkshire, a bridge chiefly of wrought iron, was constructed under his direction, by the Messrs. Walker.

—The first chime of bells in America was presented to Christ's Church, Salem Street, Boston, one hundred and twenty-three years ago. The bells exist in good state of preservation. The inscription upon the third tenor reads—"We are the first ring of bells cast for the British Empire in North America. A. D. 1744."

—In 1796 great complaint was made of the number of hackney coaches allowed to stand in State-street, Boston. The Legislature was called upon to remedy the evil and guard the citizens from the danger of losing their eyes by the snapping of the whips of the coachmen as they passed.

—The *Marion (Ohio) Independent* says that thirteen human skeletons, of an extinct race, were found in an excavation for a cellar in that place,

lately, and expresses the opinion that the hill upon which the excavation was made is full of similar remains. A singular thing about the skeletons found was, that the arms had all been broken between the elbow and the shoulder, and the thigh bones had also been broken. "Two of the skeletons were of females, the rest were of males. "The females, when living, must have been taller than the average of men of the present day. "The males must have been seven or eight feet high."

— When the British entered Philadelphia, during the Revolution, they came by way of the Germantown road.—*Dispatch*.

— The present United States Navy Yard, Philadelphia, is on the site of the Association Battery, erected before the Revolution.—*Ibid*.

— The old graveyard, on the west side of the Schuylkill, above Market street, Philadelphia, which is now demolished by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was assigned for use as a burying-ground to the Centre Square Friends' Meeting-House, about 1682. The latter not being maintained very long, the ground came to be considered a public one—a sort of Potter's field—and was used without obstruction, for many years. Afterwards it was, with the approval and consent of the Society of Friends, assigned to the Guardians of the Poor, as a free burying-place for the indigent poor. It was sold some years ago by virtue of an Act of Assembly, about the constitutionality of which there may be considerable doubt.

— Four markets were opened in Boston in 1734; but so strong was the opposition, they were all closed in four years.

— In regard to the inquiries about the residence of Robert Fulton in Philadelphia, I desire to say that the old frame house now standing, situate on the east side of Second-street, above Gray's-alley, was occupied about the close of the Revolutionary war by James Duffel, a silversmith, with whom Robert Fulton, then a boy, was living as an apprentice, though perhaps not indentured. Mr. Duffel removed to Fredericksburg, Va., and came often to Philadelphia to purchase goods. I had dealings with him frequently. An old lady, who had been very intimate in his family, had many conversations with me, forty or fifty years ago, respecting the houses and the residents in the neighborhood of Church and Second streets. She remarked to me that among the boys who worked with Mr. Duffel and lived in his family was one (a very good boy) named Robert; "and," said the old lady, "they tell me he was the first to start a "steamboat." I took the opportunity on the first occasion afterward of seeing Mr. Duffel, to speak to him on the subject. He said that the boy Robert, to whom the old lady alluded, was the Robert Fulton who had become so celebrated

for his success in steamboats. I do not recollect if he said anything about the length of time that Fulton was with him. It is quite likely that the time was not very long.

The brick house adjoining the frame building on the south, and generally known as Stephen Anthony's house, was taken down a few years ago. There were in the north wall, about as high above the roof of the frame as a boy might reach, two bricks in which letters were cut or nicked. One was marked R. F., the other J. D. Mr. Richardson, the owner, on my request, had these two bricks carefully removed without being broken, and presented them to me. It seems quite probable that the nicking was done by Robert Fulton, intended for his own initials and those of Mr. Duffel. I have taken care of the bricks.—*Correspondent of the Sunday Dispatch*.

— James Athearn (not Atheam) Jones was the publisher and editor of the *National Palladium* in 1828, and had associated with him, part of the time, Charles G. Greene—now, I believe, of the *Boston Post*. The *Freeman's Journal*, published by Joseph P. Hamelin (who I believe was in some way related to William McCorkle), was united with an afternoon paper, called the *City Register*, published by Mr. Uher, of which the late John Miles, Esq., was the editor. It was afterwards called the *National Palladium*, and became the property of the "Hickory Club," (Henry Horn, John Pemberton, Henry S. Hughes, & Co.,) and James A. Jones came on from Boston to manage it. He was afterwards assisted by Mr. Charles G. Greene, as stated above; and occasionally Duff Greene wrote the leaders. Mr. Greene, (Charles G.) got married and did not stay long in the concern; and, after Gen. Jackson was elected President, the paper, press, types, &c., went to the *American Sentinel*. Mr. Jones, who boarded in Fourth street, next door to the corner of Willing's alley, remained in the city only long enough to transact some unfinished business, and then left for Massachusetts. I do not think he ever went to England. Some years after he left this city a paragraph went the rounds of the papers, stating that as he was ploughing somewhere in Massachusetts, he turned up something that contained a quantity of gold and silver coins, and that is the last that I heard of him.—*Ibid*.

— The present street known as Cornhill is the fourth public avenue in Boston bearing that name. The first was on Fort Hill.

— Two stone tomahawks, four knives of hard stone, and a lot of other Indian antiquities, were found in a cave opposite Oleopolis, Pa., a few days since. Among the relics were several stone vessels and two skulls.

— Some of the Universalists propose, in 1870, to celebrate the introduction of Universalism into

America. In September, 1770, John Murray, supercargo of a vessel, was blown by contrary winds into a inlet in New Jersey, known as Cranberry inlet. Up this inlet, Mr. Murray went to buy some fish. He found a man who not only would not take any money for his fish, but notified him that he had built a church for Murray, had waited a long time for him, and that the wind that held the vessel fast would not change till the sermon was preached. The sermon was delivered on Sunday morning. In the afternoon the wind changed, and the apostle of the new faith sailed out of the harbor and began his ministry, and laid the foundation of the new sect that was introduced by a special miracle—by breaking the Sabbath. Murray tells this story in his biography and the Universalists profess to believe it.

— A recent number of the *Christian Guardian*, Toronto, contains a letter from the venerable Israel Chamberlayne, D. D. of the Genesee Conference, furnishing some interesting incidents connected with pioneer preaching in Canada. In 1816, Dr. Chamberlayne, then in the twentieth year of his age and third of his ministry, was sent by Rev. William Case, presiding elder, to labor on the Ottawa circuit. The letter says:

"Where the city of Ottawa now is, or near it, (opposite,) there was in the spring of 1816 a small village known as Hull. With no land road from below, it could only be reached by water, a distance of forty miles. Represented as all but destitute of Christian ministrations, the author of these reminiscences decided to reconnoitre and report. It was now June, and the Ottawa, now narrowed and more rapid, then expanded into dark eddying bays, was gloomy and dreadful. And this the rather as it was overhung and shaded by the primeval wood. The voyager in the stern, with his saddle-bags in the bow of his borrowed 'drag-out,' had paddled but fifteen miles of the forty, when—not in vigorous health—the sign of a cabin on the first head-land was hailed as a thankful relief from what had become all but a forlorn hope. He had scarcely hauled his canoe ashore and entered into a short questioning with the inmates of the hut, when lo! a fleet of the Hudson Bay Company's boats! To speak of the change of *modus procedendi* were superfluous. The boats—six in number—were birchen, and each of six tons capacity. But the romantic incident was a *Night in the Woods*. The boats are unloaded and hauled ashore; the camp-fires have extemporized the pea-soup; pipes have been smoked all round, when, just as the *parle vous*, with their single protege, were sinking to repose, canopied only by the trees, it began to rain. *Presto*, a boat bright from the river is transversely stowed, Yank and all; all are dry, and sleep well till

"daylight sees them heading for the 'Carrying Place,' an *alias* for the author's destination, which was gained in season for to assemble the settlement for an evening sermon. It was listened to, by some who had never heard one before, with avidity and tears."

— The fine statue of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, which has been on storage in St. Louis for several months, is at last to be erected in some suitable place. The statue is life size, and was made by Miss Harriet Hosmer, some years ago.

— A singular fact is connected with the New Jersey press. In the year 1800, a newspaper of that State contained an editorial complimentary address to the female voters of New Jersey for unanimously supporting John Adams for President in opposition to Mr. Jefferson.

— The late Caleb G. Loring, of Boston, was one of the Dartmoor prisoners, and a recipient of the barbarous treatment which the British authorities visited upon prisoners of war, in 1812-15.

— The man who wrote "Rally round the Flag," has gone into the flag-stone business. Instead of rally around the flag he *flags* around their *alley*. So says the Boston *Transcript*.

— President Day's first wife was a daughter of the great Connecticut statesman, Roger Sherman, by whom he had one son, Sherman Day, now living in California. She died in 1806, and in 1811 he married Olivia Jones of Hartford, by whom he had seven children, none of whom survived their father.

— The oldest existing newspaper in the United States is the *New Hampshire Gazette*, established in 1757.

— The San Francisco correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* says that he has seen a lease dated October fifth, 1853, for a room in the old Union Hotel in San Francisco (now converted into a part of the City Hall) at a rental of five hundred dollars per month, for one year to be used only as a private billiard room. The parties to this lease are Captain Isaac M. Hall, Captain Henry M. Wallen, now a Colonel or Brigadier-general, I believe, and Captain U. S. Grant, Fourth Infantry, United States Army, (a gentleman who has since been heard from at various points, East, West, and South,) of the first part, and Thomas H. Stevens (now a Commodore in the United States Navy), of the second part.

— Brown University has had five presidents, and has graduated 2267 students. Of these 165 were graduated under Dr. Manning's administration; 227 under that of Dr. Maxcy; 693 under that of Dr. Messer; 818 under Dr. Wayland, and 369 under Dr. Sears. Of these 583 have been ordained as preachers. One hundred and thirty of the students entered the Union army. Rhode Island is proud of the University, and well may be, for it is the best possession she has.

— Somebody has unearthed a ticket of the

Cumberland Mountain Road Lottery, dated 1768, and signed by George Washington as Treasurer.

—The *Brandon* (Texas) *Republican* of recent date, says of army-worms and caterpillars: "The first time the army-worm ever destroyed the cotton crop of the South, was in 1804, and it has done the same thing every twenty-one years since. It 1825 it made a clean sweep, and again in 1846, and from present appearances, it will do the same thing in 1867. A gentleman, just up from Simpson, inform us that they are nearly all over that county. Another gentleman from Smith says that they are doing great damage there; and our exchanges, from various quarters, report them in almost every section of the State. We have heard of them on several plantations in this county, but as yet they have not done much damage; and if the weather continues dry, and hot, they may not do much; but if a rainy spell sets in the crop will be destroyed."

— By the names on the counterpanes, it would seem that the original intention was to call the boats of the Bristol line respectively *The Pilgrim* and *The Puritan*. Sober second thought, we suppose, led to the conclusion that these would be misnomers, as connecting the memory of our sober and severe ancestors with entirely too much of the magnificent luxury of their descendants.

— The only instance during our five years' war in which a private was breveted for meritorious conduct was in the case of Adolphus Leibschutz, a private of the Ninth Kansas Cavalry. Mr. Leibschutz is a Pole, who came to this country to help us in our struggle, and received his brevet for meritorious services at the battle of Prairie Grove, in Arkansas.

— James Gates Percival is buried in the wilds of Wisconsin, without any stone to mark his grave.

— The great-grandmother of General Grant was the grand-mother of the late General Peter B. Porter of Niagara Falls. Noah Grant, who came from Scotland and settled at Coventry, Conn., died early, and his widow married Peter Buel, by whom she had a daughter named Abigail. This Abigail was married to Dr. Joshua Porter of Salisbury, Conn., and they were the parents of the late Augustus and Peter Buel Porter of Niagara Falls.

## XV.—NOTES.

### A NEW IMPOSITION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: In the last number of *Harpers' Magazine*, is an article entitled "The Lost Jackson Boy," reviewing a work lately published in Chicago, entitled, *Life*

and Adventures of William Filley, who was stolen from his home in Jackson, Michigan, by the Indians, August 3d., 1837, and his safe Return from Captivity, October 19th, 1866, after an Absence of Twenty-nine Years.

As the article in question will be extensively read, and is written in full faith that William Filley is what he represents himself to be, will you permit me to scrutinize his narrative more critically than is there attempted.

That a boy by the name of William Filley was lost near Jackson, Mich., in 1837; and that a person appeared there about a year ago claiming to be this boy admits of no doubt. This person we are told, "speaks eleven different Indian dialects; he has been in seventeen different Indian tribes; he understands the secret of making steel out of iron by means of a liquid; he makes his razors out of old horse-shoes; he is skilled in the preparation of medicines, and has" [*for sale?*] "specimens of valuable medicines prepared by his own hands in caverns beneath perpetual snows." We are also informed that he intends to travel through the United States, when, for a consideration, doubtless, these medicines may be purchased. This looks "fishy." It looks like a first-class advertisement of an itinerant quack doctor.

The suspicion here excited rises to a certainty when we pursue the narrative. He says he was a medicine man and chief of the Camanches, and favors us with a description of their religion, and adds two "SONGS TO THE GREAT SPIRIT," in the original Camanche tongue. (p. 82.) *They are in the Spibway-Algonkin dialect, and are copied word for word from SCHOOLCRAFT's Indian Tribes, ii., 399!* This language is no more like Camanche, than English is like Hebrew. The book is evidently an impudent attempt at imposition by an illiterate vendor of nostrums. The descriptions of the manners and customs of the Osage and Camanche tribes are shallow and absurd, evidently picked at random from some popular work on "Indian Traits."

The work is fraudulent, and deserves to be classed with the *Narrative of John Hunter* and kindred fictions, only it is a far more impotent attempt at deception than Hunter's story.

I remain, &c.,

D. G. BRINTON, M. D.  
WEST CHESTER, PENN., Oct., 9, 1867.

BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.—In the account of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, July 1867. p. 27., "the moment the other put his head behind his tree, &c." ought to be "beyond his tree, &c."

The following may be added there:

In traveling through that part of the country a

few days ago we heard of the following stratagem practiced by one of the Tories to save his life, and afterwards related by himself. When they were defeated he ran into the mill-pond; and as he did so, he took up a large turtle lying on the bank, and waded into the water until it came up to his nose, just enabling him to breathe; he then put the turtle upon the top of his head, and kept it there. Being at a good distance from the shore, he thus passed unnoticed, and saved his life. This was equal to any device practised by Federal or Confederate soldier in the late war.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.—The following is said to have occurred at this battle:

A soldier on the American side noticed a good deal of execution done in a particular place in his line and from a particular spot on the other side. On close inspection, he discovered that the firing on the British side was from behind a hollow chestnut tree and through a hole in it.

He aimed his gun repeatedly at this opening, and stopped the firing. After the battle was over, he examined the place and discovered that he had killed one of his own brothers, and wounded another, who had joined the British forces and had concealed themselves behind the tree. He reflected upon himself very severely, and became almost deranged in consequence.

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON'S LAST SICKNESS.

EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: In looking over some back numbers of your Magazine my attention was attracted to a communication, in Vol. IX, No. 12, from Brantz Mayer, Esq., on "Washington's Mortal Sickness," containing a version of the certificate of Drs. Craik and Dick who attended the General in his last illness. I say a version because I have two other versions of the same, varying essentially both in phraseology and in important facts from the one sent you by Mr. Mayer, and differing also in a slight extent from each other. One of these which I have is to be found in the last number for 1799, of *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*; and the other in the *Works of William Cobbett*, who copies it from *The N. Y. Daily Advertiser* of December 30th, 1799.

In both of these New York versions, a fourth bleeding—at which thirty-two ounces (a quart) of blood was drawn—is mentioned; but is left out of the Baltimore version altogether.

Cobbett makes use of this in one of his attacks

on Dr. Rush. I am aware that Cobbett is not generally considered first-rate authority; but as his version of the certificate does not vary materially from that of *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*, I see no cause to doubt his integrity in this matter, but am, on the contrary, inclined to believe with him that General Washington was doctored to death.

NEW YORK.

C. L. W.

#### THE EARLY SETTLERS IN KANSAS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

SIR: The way in which Kansas was settled, and the privations of those who, in her early state, went there, will become interestingly historical; and every little incident in this direction will be worth present preservation.

I have a letter now before me, dated "LAWRENCE, KANSAS, August 28, 1859," written by a young Irishman, named William J. King, which shows what privations he and two companions suffered and what befell a number of emigrants who had preceded him. By the way, the writer died a short time ago of typhus fever at Lawrence. It may be well I should give you the whole of his epistle, written to his father in Ireland.

"I have just returned from the gold mines of Western Kansas, in good health and spirits. It is now a fixed fact that these mines are as rich as those in California. I intend returning to the mines again with a stock of goods about the first of next April; and I have every faith that it will pay me well there next summer. I made about enough money to pay my expenses out to the mines and back to Lawrence, and have got a good mining claim which I think will pay me ten dollars per day, next Summer. There are about twenty thousand persons there already, and nearly all are doing well, while the emigration next summer will be large. I wrote to you that I had started to the gold country with three others on horseback; and I assure you we had a hard trip of it. On the route which we went we had to travel about six hundred miles over a barren desert, without any road to travel on, and nothing but our compass to guide us. We encountered a great many snow storms, which delayed us so long on the way, that our provisions gave out, and we lived for four days without tasting food, and three days at one time without any water. There had been at least twenty persons starved to death on that route, and I know of one person who was so insane from hunger that he ate portions of two of his own brothers after they had died, while a great many others devoured snakes, roots, etc. So you may guess how we had rather a bad time of it. But it was all occasioned by our starting to the mines too early in the season.

"We had a very valuable setter dog along with us; and when we had lived three days without eating, it was determined by the balance of the company to kill the dog and feed upon him. I begged so hard to let him live one day longer that his life was spared for a single day. Before that time was passed, we reached Bent's Fort, where we were supplied with plenty of food; and here we remained a week to recruit our exhausted bodies. The balance of the way to the mines, two hundred miles, was pleasant, as we had a road to travel on and a quantity of provisions with us."

Yours faithfully,  
CHARLES EDWARDS.

NEW YORK.

#### XVI.—QUERIES.

**LOBSTERS AND NEW YORK.**—It was said in an old New York newspaper, that the first vote of thanks passed by the New York Legislature, was some years before the Revolutionary war, when the thanks of the Colonial Legislature were given to William Richards of Philadelphia, for having come to New York for the purpose of planting lobsters, which formerly were imported from Rhode Island. Is this true? If so a copy of such vote ought to find its way into the columns of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

PRAWN.

**DUTCH SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK.**—A subscriber desires to know, up to how late the Dutch language was taught in the schools of New York?

**NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—It would be a very acceptable service to students and collectors if a carefully prepared list of the various publications under the imprint of this Society could find a place in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The Editor of that work, with probably a single exception, is best able to furnish such a list; and I earnestly hope he will do so.

A COLLECTOR.

CLEVELAND, O.

MAJOR ANDRE.

UTICA, N. Y., October, 1, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: Can you or any of your correspondents inform me as to the veracity of a singular dream prefiguring the arrest and execution of Major Andre, as found on page 318 of vol. ii., Seafield's *Literature and Curiosity of Dreams*?

If Mr. Cunningham actually had the dream there

related, it seems to me to be one of the most remarkable, as well as an interesting incident connected with Major Andre.

Yours truly,  
R. S. WILLIAMS.

**EMIGRANTS FROM VIRGINIA.**—The clerk of the Augusta County Court asks for the names and post-office address of all persons who have emigrated from Augusta, Rockbridge, and Rockingham Counties; also the names of their decendants. Address box 134, Staunton, Va.

**JEFFERSON AND ADAMS.**—In a little volume of travels published in 1833, by Thomas F. Ash, of Philadelphia, and written by Godfrey T. Vigne, Esq., page 112, we read, "The circumstances attending the deaths of Presidents Jefferson and Adams, were very extraordinary. A Committee of five \* was originally appointed to draw up the articles of the Constitution. Jefferson and Adams were selected as a sub-committee, and were in fact the real framers of the Constitution. These two gentlemen died on the fourth of July, in the same year," [1826, fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, which the author means evidently by *The Constitution*,] "and the news of their decease arrived at EXACTLY THE SAME TIME, ON THE SAME DAY, at Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was signed."

It is to the latter part of this statement that we call attention; the words in small caps and italics, which we have seen nowhere else. If this is true, it renders the matter very providential indeed. Was it so?

E. F. R.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

SIR: I read the following in Lord John Russell's *Memoirs of Tom Moore*, (vii., 194.) "Breakfasted with Rogers to meet again the Americans. Conversation turned, curiously enough, before the son of Hamilton, though none of us seemed to have thought of this at the time, upon the prevalence of duelling in America; and Hamilton told some strange stories on the subject. Mr. Hamilton said there was no longer any doubt of his fathers' having been the writer of almost all of Washington's addresses."

Pray, how far is this historically known to be true? Is it sufficiently ascertained that Hamilton composed Washington's addresses? E.

[Can any one tell us which of the sons of Ham-

\* The committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and R. B. Livingston.

ilton was thus referred to by Moore? ED. HIST. MAG.]

THE CLERICAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL THAT DISMISSED JONATHAN EDWARDS FROM NORTHAMPTON.—In the June number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, an attempt is made to show from what list of clergymen the ten members of the Council by which Jonathan Edwards was dismissed from Northampton must have been selected. Some further light is thrown upon this subject by "A Letter to the Rev. William Hobley, "in answer to his vindication of a protest against "the result of an Ecclesiastical Council met at "Northampton." This letter is signed by four out of the five members who were in sympathy with the Church and opposed to Edwards. For some reason the name of Jonathan Ashley, of Deerfield, a cousin of Edwards, does not appear on the list.

From this letter it appears, that beside the Deerfield ministers, those who were opposed to Edwards, were Robert Beach, of Springfield; Joseph Ashley, of Sunderland; Timothy Woodbridge, of Hatfield, and Chester Williams, of Hadley, who is stated in the article above referred to have been the Scribe of the Council.

The letter also gives the name of one of the friends of Edwards in the Council, not mentioned in the article. This was Rev. Mr. Reynold, of Enfield. If to these we add the names of David Hall, of Sutton; William Hobley, of Reading, and Edward Billings, of Belchertown, who are known to have been members of the council, only one out of the ten clergymen who were members of it remains unknown. Whoever he was, he was a friend of Edwards, and must be found on the list of the other ministers of the County. Thomas Strong, of New Marlborough, whose ordination sermon Edwards preached, and who had been a parishioner of Edwards; Jonathan Todd, of Southampton; John Ballantine, of Westfield; Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow; James Bridgman, of Brierfield; Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield; or his more distinguished namesake, Samuel Hopkins, of Great Barrington. It seems on some accounts most probable that it was Thomas Strong, of New Marlborough. Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE throw light on this question—who was the still unknown clerical member of the Council that dismissed Jonathan Edwards from the Church at Northampton?

E. H. G.

HARLEM, N. Y.

## XVII.—REPLIES.

### AMERICAN FLAGS.

#### I.

STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY, Oct. 7, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: I beg to offer to you the enclosed for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, if acceptable.

"American Flags" are inquired about, (*H. M.*, II., ii., 119). The inquirer has probably seen Schuyler Hamilton's *The History of the National Flag of the United States of America*. Phila., 1853, pp. 115, 120.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. A. HOMES.

#### II.

WEST POINT, N. Y. Sept. 28, 1867.

DEAR SIR: Your correspondent, "B. A.," on page 119 of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August, desires information regarding the origin of the American Flag.

It may be found in a work entitled *The History of the National Flag of the United States*, by [now] Brevet Major-general Schuyler Hamilton, U. S. A., published by Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1853.

I am truly yours,

E. C. BOYNTON.\*

#### III.

An interesting account of our early National banners will be found in Smith's *History of Newburyport*; and it is partly from this work, and Savage's *Lectures*, (1853) we give what follows: The first colors spoken of in connection with our war of independence were called Union Flags. They are repeatedly noticed in the newspapers of 1774. The first American Flag displayed in South Carolina was that unfurled by Colonel Moultrie, 1775. It bore a crescent on a blue ground. In October of the same year, a pine tree on a white ground, with the words, "Appeal to Heaven," was raised on the floating batteries, and was adopted by the Massachusetts cruisers in 1776. The great Union Standard, the basis of that of the present day, was first unfurled on the second of January, 1776. This was followed by a naval flag, which bore a rattle-snake, with the motto, DON'T TREAD ON ME. Some of the banners, however, previous to 1776, exhibited a snake with thirteen rattles, in a crimson ground interlaced with white, by some supposed in compliment to France, but more recently by others as representing those in the armorial bearing of Gen-

\* We welcome Captain Boynton to our pages; and we are sure that we speak the sentiments of the great body of our readers when we say that the contributions thereto of the able historian of West Point will always be welcome. ED. HIST. MAG.



eral Washington. A description of this flag is given in a London paper published in 1776.

It is claimed that the "Stars and Stripes," as the American ensign, were first displayed on the river Thames, Connecticut, by Captain Nicholas Johnson of Newburyport, Commander of the ship *Count de Grasse*; but this honor has been since claimed in behalf of the barque *Maria*, which subsequently went into the whaling trade. She returned to New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1856; and is asserted to be the oldest craft in the United States. Paul Jones was the first to carry the American banner to Europe. This was in 1777.

A new "Star-Spangled Banner" made its appearance in the river Thames, London, in October, 1851, showing five stars, emblematical of the British Colonies of New South Wales, the Australias, and Van Dieman's Land.

WAR IN DISGUISE. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, N. S. II., 41, 121.]—The *Answer to War in Disguise*, New York, 1806, is ascribed in the Catalogue of the Library of the Albany Institute, and also in that of the New York State Library to Gouverneur Morris. The copy in the Institute Library had belonged to the late Stephen Van Rensselaer, who is the author probably for the statement. In Sparks' *Life of Morris*, the pamphlet is also spoken of as Morris's.

ALBANY, N. Y.

H. A. H.

#### THE "RUNIC INSCRIPTION."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

The *Richmond Examiner* shrewdly suggests that "Thomas C. Raffinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquities," who contributed to the Washington *Evening Union* "a description of a discovery made by him recently, 'of a Runic inscription on a rock near George-town,' has been hoaxed. It seems very probable, on the contrary, that *both papers* have been hoaxed by some foolish joker. If so, the introduction into the story of the name, "W. Langly, '1758," may afford some clue to the motive.

Charles C. Rafn, for many years the Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, died, I believe, within three or four years. He took a deep interest in the early Icelandic History, and his great work entitled *Antiquitates Americanae sine Scriptores Septentrionales verum Antecolumbinarum in America*, was published by the Society in 1837. "Thomas C. Raffinson" is most likely an assumed name, intended to suggest that of Charles C. Rafn, and so to set the story afloat among those who have simply heard the name of the Secretary of the Royal Society. The insertion of the story in your Magazine, even under the heading of FLOTSAM, makes it worth

while to notice this, what, seen in the daily and weekly papers, seemed worthy only of a smile.

Perhaps it may be of interest to add that on the twenty-third of December, 1851, I addressed a note to Secretary Rafn, with a copy of a newly published *School History of the United States*, in which two or three pages were devoted to the Ante-Columbian History of this Continent. In reply, he states that "the section of the discoveries of the Northmen contains sundry inaccuracies and material errors owing to the author's having been unacquainted with my work entitled '*Antiquitates Americanae*.' This has occasioned the drawing up of a brief sketch directly based upon the ancient records in the Old Northern or Old Danish language, which have been preserved in Icelandic MSS., at Copenhagen.

"This sketch is now transmitted to you, (and to the Historical Society of New Jersey,) and may, at pleasure, be regarded as a manuscript for insertion in ———'s *History of the United States*, or in any other publication where it may find a suitable place, and serve to diffuse the knowledge of this historical fact." This under date of July twenty-ninth, 1852.

Speaking of the same sketch, under date of August second, 1852, he says, "I have drawn up a brief sketch, etc." His first note being indefinite as to the author of the compilation, he adds, "Alexander Humboldt, and other inquirers, who have had an opportunity of consulting the above-mentioned work, have fully acknowledged this [historical fact?] as well as also the position given in the work to the countries discovered, the accurate knowledge whereof seems to deserve to be more widely diffused."

This sketch would fill about two pages of your Magazine, and as I am not aware that it has ever been published in this country, save in the *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society*, for 1853, it might be well to transfer it to your more widely circulated Magazine. See said *Proceedings*, pp., 166, 167, 168, 167, 168, (*sic*.)

Very truly yours,

"VREDERICK FELYPSEN."

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

APING RANK OF TITLE. (*H. M.*, II., ii. 119, August, 1867.)—The Sovereign of Ava is entitled to be designated "The King of the Twenty-four Umbrellas;" while the Governor of Massachusetts is really by law "His Excellency," and the Lieutenant-Governor, "His Honor." And it has been common with us to give the prefix of *honorable* to ministers named to foreign courts, judges, senators and mayors, while they hold office; but they all, when their term of office expires, drop into themselves, and can have nothing more about them than their unfledged Christian and surname.

They may remain honorable in their conduct, but their wings of honor are gone.

GOVERNEUR MORRIS. (*H. M.*, II., ii., p. 41.) This distinguished statesman lost his leg in May, 1780. In driving his phaeton through the streets of Philadelphia, his horses took fright and threw him to the pavement with such violence as to dislocate his ankle and fracture the bones of his left leg. His favorite physician, Dr. Jones, being out of town, two others were called in, who advised immediate amputation as the only means of saving his life; and his leg was taken off below the knee. It has been said that Dr. Jones was never satisfied with the precipitancy of the attending physicians, not thinking amputation necessary; and the case is often referred to by surgical lecturers as a caution against rash and precipitate decisions. He had a rough oak stick fitted to his limb, and used that through life in preference to a cork leg.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

R.

## VIII.—BOOKS.

### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Battles of the United States, by Sea and Land*. By Henry B. Dawson. Revised and corrected edition. Volume I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867.

*Battles of the War of the Revolution*. By Henry B. Dawson. Volume I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Quarto and octavo, [Part I.] pp. two titles, 96.

At length, after many provoking delays, the first number of this long looked-for work has been issued to the subscribers; and, although we have not yet seen all the typographical beauty in it that we have been led to expect, we have seldom seen a more beautiful specimen of printing.

It is a carefully revised edition of a widely known work, to be made complete by the addition of those portions which were omitted from the original edition and of descriptions of the many Battles of the recent Warsboth, Indian and Civil; and it has been printed, as far as it has gone, with great care, by Messrs. J. M. Bradstreet & Son. The portrait of Washington, after Trumbull by Mr. H. B. Hall, of this town, is one of the finest specimens we have yet seen of that gentleman's work.

The Prospectus promised an edition of twenty-five quartos and one hundred octavos, "and no more;" and we trust that there will be less delay than usual in getting out the remainder of the work. "Life is short;" yet we shall be glad to see the work finished during the era of the present generation.

2.—*Gleanings from the Harvest-field of American History*. By Henry B. Dawson. Part I. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867.

*The Park and its Vicinity, in the City of New York*. By Henry B. Dawson. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 96.

This is the first number of its author's *Gleanings*; as it was the first-fruits of his earliest at-

tempt to write on American History, nearly thirteen years ago.

There is perhaps only one other of our "Works" which possesses as deep a hold on our regard as this, since it was our first; and now, nearly thirteen years after it was written, as we look back over the intervening period, on our lonely toil, and scanty income, and broken health, and unceasing cares, and paralysing disappointments, we sometimes think that we have dearly paid for the small amount of knowledge which we have acquired and disseminated, and as dearly purchased the very small bubble of public respect which bears our name. Indeed, these thirteen years have been crowded with almost ceaseless toil and trouble; and it is only when we turn to the personal friends—ever indulgent, ever extending their sympathy, ever prompting us to still greater efforts to ascertain and protect the Truth—which our pen has secured for us, that we take courage, "pick our flint," and continue our labor.

We have read the proofs of this handsome reprint of our first born Historical pages; and we have found nothing which needs our correction therein, save a couple of allusions to buildings which have since disappeared and now require amended descriptions of the places where they stood. It was originally written in haste, from materials gathered on the spot, with the printer's boys waiting for the manuscript; yet we are proud to recognize it, unrevised, as our own; and shall never be ashamed of anything which is not less worthy of respect.

It is exactly uniform with our *Putnam*, and *Stony Point*, and *Howes' Diary*; and, as a specimen of fine printing it reflects credit on the Bradstreet Press, where it was printed.

The edition numbered Two hundred and fifty copies; and only one size was printed.

3.—*History and General Description of New France*. By Rev. P. F. X. DeCharlevoix, S. J. Translated, with Notes, by John Gilmary Shea. In six volumes. Volume II. New York: J. G. Shea, 1866. Quarto and octavo, pp., 6 unpagcd, 285.

Books IV., V., VI., and VII., of the original edition of this standard history, have been re-produced in this splendid volume; and the learned and amiable Editor has increased their importance by adding a series of original Notes, of very great value.

Although the edition numbers only Two hundred and seventy-five copies, we regret to learn that so many have failed to honor their subscriptions that the actual cost of manufacturing the volumes has not yet been secured; and Mr. Shea has been constrained to appeal for an increased patronage to save himself from loss thereon. May not we add our earnest request that all who respect

the History of their Country, especially those in the mighty West, whose cries of exultation on the Westward march of Empire are so very noteworthy, will extend to this modest, but patient and indefatigable scholar the support which he merits?

4.—*Eulogy on George Washington*. By Francis Kinloch of Georgetown, S. C. New York: Privately printed, 1867. Octavo, pp. 11, 19.

This is one of those elegant trifles which are produced now-a-days, for presents only, by the few whose fortune, and taste, and love of choice literature combine in prompting to good works.

It is a carefully prepared retrospect of the Life and Services of General Washington; and was prepared at the request of the inhabitants of Georgetown, to be delivered on the twenty-second of February, 1800, a few weeks after his death.

This re-print, apparently a *fac-simile*, is the work of the Bradstreet Press; and the edition numbers sixty copies. It was printed for a gentleman in New York; and is only used for presents to his personal friends.

5.—*The Descendants of John Phoenix, an Early Settler in Kittery, Maine*. By S. Whitney Phoenix. New York: Privately printed, 1867. Large octavo, pp. vi., 53.

John Phoenix, the ancestor of those whose names are recorded in this volume, was an honest Scot who settled at Kittery, in Maine, prior to 1664, and lived to a good old age, leaving, at his death, a son and two daughters; and this volume narrates, with great detail, the descendants of these to the present day.

This ancient family seems to have been known, successively as FFENNICKE, FFENIX, FENNICK, FFEANIX, FENICK, PHENIX, FENWICKE, FENIX, FENNICKS, FINICK, FFINNIX, etc; until, at length, the name has become fixed on PHOENIX; and in this elegant volume our respected friend, Stephen Whitney Phoenix, of another family, has faithfully traced its members through their various styles.

If we are not mistaken, Mr. Phoenix has now entered the brotherhood of authors for the first time; and we heartily bid him welcome. The patient research which he has displayed in the preparation of this work for the Press, bespeaks his fitness for more generally important labors in the field of History and Biography; and as the laborers in that harvest are few, so worthy an addition to the force which is now there will be very acceptable.

Of this work, Typographically, we need only say that it is printed in the best style of the Bradstreet Press, with old-style types on one side only of the finest tinted, laid paper. The Edition numbered, originally, Five quartos and One hundred

octavos; but Mr. Phoenix has destroyed Sixty copies of the octavo, and the work is already very rare. It is printed only for private circulation.

6.—*Vassar College and its Founder*. By Benson J. Lossing. New York: C. A. Alvord, 1867. Octavo, pp. 175.

There are few men who have passed through such varied scenes as Matthew Vassar, the celebrated brewer of Poughkeepsie. Born of poor parents, removed to a strange country at an early age, without fortune or influence, he has nevertheless built a name for himself, in his business relations, which will be long remembered in the annals of American enterprise; and now, in his old age, he has seized other honors, in other fields, to which no one supposed, until within the past few years, he had ever aspired.

His munificent foundation of Vassar College, for the education of young women in all the higher branches of knowledge is well known; and in the elegantly illustrated volume before us, prepared by an early and dear friend of ours, we have a fit tribute to the worth of the Founder of that important institution.

Opening with a sketch of Mr. Vassar's life and the origin and progress of his devotion of a princely fortune to the cause of female education, it closes with a minute description of the institution itself in all its departments. It is written in the easy flowing style which marks all Mr. Lossing's productions; and as a specimen of book-making, wood-engraving and printing—it is peculiarly noteworthy, reflecting the greatest credit on both Lossing & Barrett, by whom the blocks were cut, and Mr. Alvord, by whom they were printed.

We believe the volume was printed for private circulation only.

7.—*History of Bacon's and Ingram's Rebellion, in Virginia, in 1675 and 1676*. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 60.

In December, 1812, the late Josiah Quincy, then in Congress, received from Hon. William Burwell, a Representative from Virginia, an ancient manuscript, apparently contemporary with the event, concerning the Rebellion of Bacon and Ingram, in 1675-6; and it was deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose custody it still remains.

It is very important, as materials for History, and the Society has recently printed it *verbatim et literatim*, in a volume of its *Proceedings*. Two hundred copies, in a separate form, with a brief *Prefatory Note*, have also been printed for private circulation; and we are indebted for the copy before us to the kindness of Charles Deane, Esq., of Cambridge.

Like all such works from Messrs. Wilson's Press, it is very beautifully printed.

8.—A Sermon preached at Boston, in New England, upon a Fast Day, the 19th of January, 1686-87. By the Rev. John Wheelwright. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for 1866-67. Cambridge: John Wilson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 22.

Those who have seen THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for April, 1867, have noticed in its pages a copy of this celebrated State-paper, *therein first printed*: those who shall see this tract and the volume from which it was taken, will be very likely to suppose that Boston had first ushered into the world this most notable piece of contemporary evidence of Boston's primitive intolerance. We make this note of what seems to be a very inconsistent way of fairly doing one's duty to our neighbor as we would he should do his duty to us. "Nothing more."

Our readers know all about this Sermon; and we will only detain them long enough, therefore, to say that Twenty-five copies only were printed in this edition, all of which were for presents.

9.—Remarks on Sebastian Cabot's *Mappe-Monde*. By Charles Deane. Reprinted from The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, for April, 1867. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1867. Octavo, pp. 8.

While Mr. Deane was in Paris in 1866, he procured a copy of the celebrated re-print, by M. Jomard, of Sebastian Cabot's *Mappe-Monde*; and in October of that year he addressed the Society on that subject. At the meeting in April last, Mr. Deane formally presented this Map to the Society, and accompanied it with some remarks illustrative of the history of the Map, which are here reproduced, with very elaborate foot-notes, for private circulation among the friends of their author.

Mr. Deane has very carefully elaborated his Notes; and to every student of early American History, this Tract will prove very acceptable.

The edition numbered fifty copies.

10.—Seal of the "Council for New England." Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 4.

The seals of the Virginia Company and the Bermudas Company have been known to archaeologists, but that of "The Council for New England" has been a mystery; and Mr. Deane, not without reason, supposes he has discovered it in the elaborate design which is on the title-page of John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles*, Edition, London, 1624, and on the reverse of the title-page of the same Author's *Advertisement for the Unexperienced Planters of New England*, Edition, London, 1631.

As we said, Mr. Deane seems to have good reasons for urging this supposition; and we know no reason to dispute it beyond the naked fact that there is no other evidence on the subject than Mr. Deane's very reasonable guess—indeed, that will hardly be considered as *evidence*, although it will be considered as an *inference*, which seems to be well-founded.

The tract before us is a private print, for presents only; and the edition numbered thirty copies only.

11.—The Last Will and Testament of Captain John Smith; with some Additional Memoranda Relating to Him. Reprinted from the Proceedings of The Massachusetts Historical Society, for January 1867. Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons, 1867. Small quarto, pp., title, and verso, and 7.

There is so much romance connected with the stories concerning Captain John Smith, that the discovery of hidden truths concerning him cannot be otherwise than acceptable to every student of History. There is a peculiar fitness, also, that such discoveries should be presented to the world by Mr. Deane, who has done so much to strip the memory of the Captain of very much renown which never truly belonged to it.

It seems that the father of Smith was a small farmer, a tenant on the Willoughby estate in Lincolnshire; and that John was born at Willoughby, near Alford—the latter, subsequently, the home of Anne Hutchinson—on the sixth of January, 1579. He had one brother and one sister; made a will on the twenty-first of June 1631; and died on the same day.

In the volume before us, we have an extract from the will of the Captain's father, the entry on the *Parish Register* of the Captain's birth, his will, a *fac-simile* of his signature, the Broadside Prospectus of his *Generall Historie*, and the epitaph on his tomb—the latter now obliterated.

It will be seen that the volume contains a curious and interesting collection of *authentic* material concerning the notable Captain; and although Mr. Deane has scattered the story of his adventures in Virginia and rescue by Pocahontas, he has not left us without an equivalent in the more useful papers which we have enumerated.

This little volume is beautifully printed, exclusively for presents; and the edition numbers fifty copies only.

12.—Genealogy of a part of the Ripley Family. Compiled by H. W. Ripley, Newark, N. J.: A. S. Holbrook. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 43.

A very neatly printed and modest attempt to place on record the members of a family which originated, in America, with William Ripley, an emigrant from Hingham, Norfolk, England, who was one of the early settlers in Hingham, Mass.,

having drawn a town lot in what is now Hingham Centre, in 1638.

The writer, a stranger to us, is evidently an aged gentleman, who has amused himself by corresponding with the different members of the family, not always with satisfactory results, and arranging the materials which he has thus obtained, for the Press. As we have said, he makes no undue pretensions and affects no airs; but in the most simple business-like style, he has arranged his statistics, and submitted them to the world. He has, in his quiet way, rendered a service to his kinsmen and to the student of our Country's History, which merits their warmest gratitude; and we earnestly hope that it will not be withheld—we most certainly tender him our own.

We believe the little work referred to is not offered for sale.

13.—History of the City of New York. By Mary L. Booth. Illustrated. [In two volumes.] New York: W. R. C. Clark, 1867. Royal octavo, pp. 892.

In our number for July, we invited the attention of our readers to the general excellencies of this newly revised History of the Metropolis, and our surprise that the worthy authoress had succeeded so completely in her difficult and thankless task. We have how the equally agreeable duty to remind them of what we said of this work, while we acknowledge the receipt of a most sumptuous copy, on tinted, laid paper of large size and fine texture, from the Bradstreet Press; and we trust that Miss Booth will receive, in this branch of her enterprize, the solid support of all who admire handsome books.

The edition numbers one hundred copies.

14.—Dictionary of the United States Congress, compiled as a manual of reference for the legislator and statesman. By Charles Lanman. Third Edition; revised and brought down to July twenty-eighth, 1866. [Washington, D. C.:] Government Printing Office. 1866. Octavo, pp. viii., 602.

We are indebted to our friend, the Author, for a second copy of this work, the first of which did not reach us; and although behind time, we desire to bear our testimony to the usefulness of the compilation, to those whose leisure is too limited to allow them to investigate for themselves, in out-of-the-way places, concerning the Federal authorities.

Of the members of Congress referred to, we need only say that the *best* as well as the *worst* of our countrymen have been in Congress; and as the personal vices of such as Webster have not been more notable than the personal virtues of such as Calhoun, such a compendium of the lives and services of every Member of Congress as we have here must, necessarily, be exceeding useful for reference.

But it is to the Appendix of the volume that we desire to direct especial attention. There is therein a perfect mine of information concerning every branch of the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive Departments of the Federal Government, and the Diplomatic Corps; and we have noticed very few drawbacks which are of sufficient importance to require notice.

We must, however, object to the statement, (pp. 514–516) that *The Declaration of Independence*, which was agreed to on the fourth of July, 1776, was *then or at any other time*, ordered to “engrossed and signed by members,” and to the inference which such a statement conveyed that *that* was the particular *Declaration* which was thus signed and transmitted to us. Had Mr. Lanman examined the archives of the Secretary's office, he would have made some very interesting discoveries on this subject; and we commend the subject to his notice.

*The Articles of Confederation* are presented in an unexceptionable form, as is, also, the *Constitution for the United States*, except the title of the latter, in which a very important change has been made, and the *Amendments* thereto, from which have been omitted, in their proper places, the exceedingly important *Preamble* to the first ten Amendments thereto, and the several *Preambles*, less important, of those which have been subsequently ratified.

There is, also, in this Appendix, a great deal of very important information concerning the several States which cannot readily be found in any other work; and we understand that still further improvements are in progress for the next edition.

15.—Centennial Celebration of the Town of Orford, N. H., containing the Oration, Poems, and Speeches, delivered on Thursday, September 7, 1865, with some additional matters relating to the history of the place. [Sine loco, sine anno.] Octavo, pp. 145.

We have been favored by our valued friend, David E. Wheeler, Esq., with a copy of this exceedingly interesting local, and we propose hereafter, to make special mention of at least one subject which is herein presented to our notice, while, to-day, we shall content ourselves with a general notice of the volume and the occasion which it commemorates.

Orford, we understand is one of those quiet little towns in New Hampshire, which are better able to produce great men than to retain them; and like some of her sisters, she seems to have called back the wanderers from her borders—her prodigal sons, it may be—on the occasion of her one-hundredth birth-day; shaken them by the hand and received their respectful compliments; given them a good dinner and an opportunity to put their best feet foremost; and then dismissed them to the distant scenes of their respective labors.

Orford rang her bells, discharged her artillery, flung out her banners, blowed all her music, displayed all the sturdy sons who had not abandoned her, and all the frugal daughters to whom those sons had become subject, the four hundred children—ruddy with good health, joyous because of the strange scenes which passed before them, and patriotic as their little heads and hearts could make them—which God had given her, and, generally, made a great hubbub in the outside corner of creation, on which she had rested these hundred years or more; while Orford's children, wanderers from Orford's fold, and Orford's neighbors, as all good neighbors should, "poured "in from every direction," showed themselves to Orford and to each other, listened to Orford's eloquence, joined in Orford's choruses, sat down at Orford's well-filled tables, congratulated the centenarian on her good fortune, eat her "fatted calf," which had been killed for the occasion, and then, with good wishes for her continued happiness, bade her "Good-bye," and returned to the places from which they had come.

The Oration was a good one—historical and without any clap-trap. The Hymns were appropriate and well-written—we have no doubt they were also well sung. The after-dinner Addresses were admirable, in every respect, since Orford kept every one sober and sensible.

The volume before us commemorates this commemoration and speaks to those of the next century concerning that which has past. It is just such a volume as Orford should have sent down the stream of Time; unless the want of an imprint shall set the Orford boys off 1965, wondering *who* printed and published it. It is neat, inexpensive, complete: what more was required? what more will be desired?

16.—General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, Churches and Ministers from 1873 to 1867; with the Minutes of the Forty-first Annual Meeting, held with the Pine-Street Congregational Church, Lewiston, June 25, 26, 27. 1867. Portland: Brown, Thurston & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 157.

This volume, the work, we believe, of Deacon E. F. Duren of Bangor, is a monument to his industry and good judgment, and when he modestly says, "it will be found a convenient record for "present use, and form a basis for the future "historian," he says far less than could have been said, justly.

Thus: every Church appears in its place on the record, with the date of its organization, the names of each of its successive Pastors or Stated-supplies, the date of his settlement, that of his dismission, and that of his death, or, if still living, his present residence. There is an *Appendix*, also, in which each Church again appears, with a collection of "additional facts," of great interest as

special local histories of each parish—brief, yet clearly expressed and not unimportant, even to strangers; and there is, also, a Chronological arrangement of the Churches, according to the order of their formation.

The Minutes close the volume; and in these, too, we find the most elaborate tabular statements, displayed with all the labor and skill of the most patient statistician.

We believe the volume can be bought for Fifty cents; and we advise every collector of "locals" to obtain a copy.

17.—Short Studies on Great Subjects. By James Anthony Froude. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 534. Price \$3.

In this volume we have a collection from the periodical literature of England, of the Essays of England's great Historian; and the impress of his genius may be found on every page. Indeed, although we do not admire his religious opinions, as we understand them, there is so much originality and independence of thought in Mr. Froude's writings, and so many attractions of style, that we find it more difficult to return this volume to the table than it was to pick it up, even at the close of a hard day's work; and we can do no less, therefore, than to commend it to the attention of our readers.

Hear what he says of HISTORY, and tell us, you who know, if Froude has not read our American newspapers; "It often seems to me as if History "was like a child's box of letters, with which we "can spell any word we please. We have only "to pick out such letters as we want, arrange "them as we like, and say nothing about those "which do not suit our purpose."

Who will say that the writer of these lines was not worthy of such setting as the Riverside press has awarded to him in this handsome volume?

18.—The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. By T. F. Curtis, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 386.

The writer of this volume, if we do not mistake is a Baptist clergyman, with whom, many years ago, we were associated in one of the Historical Societies in New York; and our recollections of him are agreeable and have always commanded our warmest respect. He has since been Professor of Theology at Lewisburg, Penn.; and this volume is a condensation of his lectures before his class in the University at that place on the great subject of the Inspiration of the Scriptures.

Whatever Professor Curtis may have been when he was called to the Ministerial office by an Evangelical Baptist Church, it is very evident that like Strauss, he has become more and more skeptical as he grows older; and he stands now, if we un-

derstand him aright, openly denying the truth of the current theories of the infallibility of Scripture Inspiration—that the Bible is of Divine origin and the only Rule of Faith and Practice.

It will not be expected of us to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits of the work, in all its details; yet we cannot deny ourself the pleasure of saying that nothing which we have found in the volume before us has convinced us of the stability of this, the Professors *last* resting place while on his way to Infidelity—it is evidently anything else than a Rock, and is not such a spot as a wise man would have selected as a site for his dwelling.

We cannot wish that success to the work which we should have been glad to have extended to it, under other circumstances.

19.—*Home Life: a Journal.* By Elizabeth M. Sewell. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 406.

This "Journal" is in fact a tale through which the Authoress desires to illustrate not only a few fundamental principals of education, but the difficulties and disappointments attendant upon the endeavor to carry them out under ordinary circumstances and amongst ordinary people.

It is neatly printed and will doubtless find many admirers, especially among those who are engaged in teaching "the young idea how to shoot."

20.—*Manual of Physical Exercises:* comprising Gymnastics, Rowing, Skating, Fencing, Cricket, Calisthenics, Sailing, Swimming, Sparring, Base-ball, together with Rules for Training and Sanitary Suggestions. By William Wood. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 816.

In this very handsome volume we have what appears to be a very complete manual of Gymnastic and Athletic Exercises, illustrated with One hundred and twenty-five well-executed illustrations; and as it has met the hearty approval of sundry young Gymnasts and Ball-players at Morrisania with whom we are acquainted—all of whom know more of these subjects than we do—we feel at liberty to say that it is of unusual excellence and will be exceedingly acceptable to the young people in every part of the country.

21.—*The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby.* By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. Small Octavo, pp. x., 155.

22.—*The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit.* By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. Small octavo, pp., vii., 522.

These volumes form Numbers II., and III., of "The Charles Dickens Series" of Dickens' Works, now in course of publication by Ticknor & Field of Boston.

Of the character of the works themselves, we

need say nothing, since our readers know quite as much concerning that subject as we do; but we cannot forbear referring again to the beauty of the typography and the extremely low price at which these volumes are sold.

To the multitude of Boz's admirers, the publication of these works is a perfect God-send.

23.—*Indiana Miscellany:* consisting of sketches of Indiana Life, the Early Settlements, Custom, and Hardships of the People, and the Introduction of the Gospel and of Schools. Together with Biographical Notices of the Pioneer Methodist Preachers of the State. By Rev. William C. Smith. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 304.

The very extended title, which we have copied in full, correctly describes the contents of this neatly printed volume.

It is a Western "local" of considerable interest and value, without being very elaborate in its details or very full of pretence. It seems to have been written by a Methodist clergymen, a native of Indiana, and an enthusiastic lover of the home of his father—the State where he was born, and of which he is a citizen—and, strange as it may seem to some, the fear of "sectional pride" seems never to have haunted him.

We are glad to commend it to the collectors of local histories, as well as to those of our readers who love to trace the rise and progress, in the wilderness, of the Christian Church.

24.—*Diary of a Southern Refugee, during the War.* By a Lady of Virginia. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

This seems to be a Diary, written by a lady, the wife of a clergyman, as her family was driven from place to place, during the eventful days of the recent war.

It is written with exceeding great ability; and as it presents an inside view of the seceding States, with their stirring rumors and heart-rending realities, it will continue to be of great service to all who desire to look into the History of that period, from the Confederate stand point.

It will be very acceptable to those who are making collections concerning the recent war.

25.—*Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Living New York Physicians.* By Samuel W. Francis, A. M., M. D. New York: George P. Putnam & Son. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 228.

Into this volume, a son of our late honored friend, Doctor John W. Francis, LL. D., has collected some very pleasant little sketches of living New York physicians, including Doctors Paine, Draper, Griscom, Baker, Sequard, Anderson, Stewart, Gardner, Taylor, Wood, Delafield, Beales, Hammond, and Greene, some of whom are our personal friends; for one of them we entertain the most complete contempt.

These sketches have already appeared in *The (Phila.) Medical and Surgical Reporter*; and, although the author has gained the literary martyr's crown for writing them, we have no doubt of their usefulness, as memorials of the notable men of this notable age.

The little volume is printed on heavy paper; and is a very neat affair.

26.—*The Sayings of Dr. Bushwhacker and other Learned Men.* By Fred. S. Cozzens. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. [il.] 10, 213. Price \$1.50.

A very neatly printed volume of short articles, written for *The Wine Press* and other periodicals; together with a few original articles now first introduced to the public. They are from the well-known pens of the author of *The Sparrowgrass Papers*, M. Paul Dinot, Professor Walcott Gibbs, Charles G. and Henry P. Leland, Colonel Peter A. Porter, and Gulian C. Verplanck; and they are dedicated to the last named gentleman, the honored and venerable friend of the editor.

The articles themselves are short, sparkling, and interesting; and these good qualities added to the attractive style in which they are presented, will secure for them a host of gratified readers.

27.—*The Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier.* Complete edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. xl., 40.

The taste of Ticknor & Fields, and the mechanical ability of Welch, Bigelow & Co., have been united in the production of this exquisite little gem—one of the Diamond Edition of the Poets, now passing through the hands of the enterprising house whose imprint it bears.

So long and so widely have the verses of the Quaker Poet been known to his countrymen, and so generally elsewhere than in the United States have their merits been recognized, that our readers need be told nothing concerning them: concerning the collection, we can only say that it evidently contains all that the author now recognizes as his works; and as a specimen of book-making it is a very pattern of neatness.

## 2.—ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The following works remain on our table and will be carefully noticed at the earliest possible opportunity:

*Life of Timothy Pickering, Vol. I.* Little, Brown & Co.

*SWINTON'S Decisive Battles of the War.* Dick & Fitzgerald.

*Father Tom and the Pope.* A. Simpson & Co.

*MACMILLAN'S Bible Teachings in Nature.* D. Appleton & Co.

*HOLLAND'S Kathrina.* C. Scribner & Co.

*PAULDING'S The Bulls and the Jonathans.* C. Scribner & Co.

*SKEY'S Hysteria.* A. Simpson & Co.

*EILOART'S Curate's Discipline.* Harper & Brothers.

*DRAPER'S Civil War in America.* Harper & Brothers.

*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America. Vol. XIV.* Presbyterian Publishing Committee.

*XLVith Report of the Mercantile Library Association, New York.*

*Opinion of Corporation Council on Power of Corporation to Issue Tavern Licenses.*

*CALDWELL'S Anniversary Discourse.* Hammond, Angell & Co.

*HAMMOND'S Opinion in the Johnston Will Case.* Baker, Voorhies & Co.

*Personal Representation Society's Memorial.* A. Simpson & Co.

*Minutes of the General Association of Massachusetts. Congregational Board of Publication.*

*Proceedings of the Meeting held at the Inauguration of the Rutgers Female College.* A. Simpson & Co.

*DEPEYSTER'S Decisive Conflicts. No. I.* Privately printed.

*CCXXIX Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. 1867.* Privately printed.

*GENERAL EARLY'S Memoir of the last Year of the War for Independence.* Privately printed.

*JONES'S Indian Bulletin for 1867.* Privately printed.

*The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-La-Warre, Lord Gouverneur and Capitaine General of the Colonie, planted in Virginia.* London, 1611. Privately re-printed.

*WHITNEY'S Language and the Study of Language.* C. Scribner & Co.

*N. Y. Colonial Tracts. No. I. Journal of the Voyage of the Sloop Mary from Quebec.* Joel Munsell, Albany, N. Y.

*No. II. Voyage of George Clarke to America.* Joel Munsell, Albany.

*Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates at Boston, 1780.* Joel Munsell, Albany.

*Memorial Volume of the Semi-centennial Anniversary of Hartwick Seminary.* Joel Munsell, Albany.

*SCOTT'S Early New England Marriage Dower.* Privately printed.

*BEECHER'S Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit.* C. Scribner & Co.

*STEVENS'S Records of the Chamber of Commerce.* The Author.

*NEILL'S Terra Mariæ.* J. B. Lippincot & Co.



LORD's Old Roman World. *C. Scribner & Co.*

JONES's History of the Church of God. *The Same.*

STILES's History of Brooklyn. *The Author.*  
GUIZOT's Meditations on Christianity. *C. Scribner & Co.*

Slave Songs of the United States. *A. Simpson & Co.*

PAULDING's Tales of the Good Woman. *C. Scribner & Co.*

### 3.—MISCELLANY.

SCRAPS.—*The Pall Mall Gazette* says that in the library of the House of Lords, the original copy of the *Sealed Book of Common Prayer*, which has been so long missing, has been discovered. It is found in the manuscript that the bishops had ordered that the Communion Tables should stand at the east end of the chancel, and that the celebrant should stand eastward; but they subsequently erased the rubrics.

—The *New York Times* and a Western paper agree that Mr. Bancroft "would have greatly improved his style by five years' drill on a first-class newspaper."

—A spelling-book, published in 1790, was recently put up at an auction sale in Washington, and, reaching the sum of \$25, was bid in by the auctioneers and presented to the Oldest Inhabitants Association. The same firm also presented to the above-named society a dinner plate made about the year 1800, on which is a figure of Washington surrounded by guns and flags.

—We recently had the pleasure of examining the manuscript of the *History of Augusta*, upon which Hon. James W. North, of this city, has for many years been engaged, and which will probably be published another Spring. The work, so far as completed, makes about 1500 large manuscript pages, closely written, and, when finished, the number will probably reach nearly two thousand. It commences about the year 1600, is to be brought down to the present time, and the amount of labor bestowed upon the collection and arranging of the great mass of facts presented in the work, can only be realized by those who have been engaged in similar undertakings. No fact of interest relating to the history and progress of our city has been omitted, while many portions are treated with considerable elaboration and fullness. The biographical sketches will form an important division of the work, and its genealogical registers, which are very full and comprise records of many of the old families, will not be the least

interesting portion of the work. When issued, we understand it will be illustrated to some extent, with views of scenery, buildings, portraits, &c., and will form a most important addition to our State history.—*Maine Farmer.*

REVIVAL OF "PUTNAM'S MAGAZINE."—On the first of January next, Mr. George P. Putnam will revive *Putnam's Magazine*. It is announced that the plan of the new magazine will generally resemble that of its prototype, with the addition of new features, and that "it will aim at a broad "and generous nationality, and an enlightened "pursuit of all topics, whether of politics, society, "art, science or literature; while no effort will "be spared to present in its pages, in every variety, the productions of the most accomplished "authors of the day." The high reputation of the old magazine is the best introduction for the new one.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

—General William Schoulers *History of Massachusetts in the Rebellion* is passing through the press and will shortly be given to the public. Few have had the opportunities of Gen. Shouler, whether as regards his official position as Adjutant-General of Massachusetts during the war, or his intimate relations with prominent men; to acquire a minute and accurate view of the tremendous struggle now happily ended; and his ripe experience as a journalist and author well qualifies him to put in judicious and attractive shape the materials thus collected.

—Charles Sumner, in his *Prophetic Voices About America*, published in a recent issue of the *Atlantic*, quotes from Seneca as saying "the sea "will disclose new worlds."

Dr. Hedge, in a note to the *Boston Transcript*, convicts Mr. Sumner of confounding Seneca, the philosopher, and Seneca, the tragedian, and of misquoting and misrendering his lines. The whole passages, as written by the old poet, literally translated, read thus: "In late years there "will come ages in which the ocean shall unloose "the band of things, and the great earth shall "lie exposed, and Typhus shall discover new "worlds, nor shall there be an uttermost Thule "for the lands." Hedge well remarks, "That "the passage should ever have been considered "as prophesying anything so specific as the discovery of America, is a literary wonder. Taken "in its context, it seems to be mere poetic rhapsody, suggested by the new activity of maritime "adventure, in the time of the author." Mr. Sumner is probably indebted to Bacon for the idea of the prophetic import of the passage, and his use of it illustrates the value of the second-hand scholarship of which we have so much.

THE  
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Vol. II. SECOND SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1867.

[No. 4

I.—THE DUELS BETWEEN—PRICE AND  
PHILIP HAMILTON, AND GEORGE I.  
EACKER.

HOBOKEN, SUNDAY AND MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22  
AND 23, 1801.

The quiet of the little city of New York, nearly sixty-six years ago, was suddenly disturbed on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third of November, by reports of a difficulty between a young lawyer, of respectable standing, on one side, and two other young men respectably connected in the city, on the other; and on Tuesday these reports were followed by the following announcement, in the leading papers of the day:

[From *The New York Gazette, and General Advertiser*, No. 4964, Vol. XV. New York, Tuesday, November 24, 1801.]

"In consequence of a quarrel which originated at the Theatre on Friday evening, between George I. Eacker, Philip Hamilton, and young Mr. Price, a Duel was fought at Powles Hook on Sunday last by the former and the latter, when, it is said, three shots were exchanged without injury to either.

"Yesterday another Duel was fought by Mr. Philip Hamilton (oldest son of General Hamilton) and Mr. Eacker, at the same place. It is with extreme regret we mention, that Mr. H. was shot through the body just above the hip, the ball lodging in the left arm; and it is feared the wound will prove mortal."

[From *The Evening Post*, No. 8. New York, Tuesday, November 24, 1801.]

"DIED.

"This morning, in the 20th year of his age, PHILIP HAMILTON, eldest son of General Hamilton,—murdered in a duel.—

"As the public will be anxious to know the leading particulars of this deplorable event, we

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have collected the following, which may be relied upon as correct.

"On Friday evening last, young Hamilton and young Price, sitting in the same box with Mr. George I. Eacker, began in levity a conversation respecting an oration delivered by the latter in July, and made use of some expressions respecting it, which were overheard by Eacker, who asked Hamilton to step into the lobby; Price followed—here the expression, *damned rascal*, was used by Eacker, to one of them, and a little scuffle ensued; but they soon adjourned to a public house:—an explanation was then demanded, which of them the offensive expression was meant for; after a little hesitation, it was declared to be intended for each: Eacker then said, as they parted, '*I expect to hear from you*;' they replied, '*You shall*;' and challenges followed. A meeting took place, between Eacker and Price, on Sunday morning; which, after exchanging four shots each, was finished by the interference of the seconds.

"Yesterday afternoon, the fatal Duel was fought between young Hamilton and Eacker. Hamilton received a shot thro' the body the first discharge, and fell without firing. He was brought across the ferry to his father's house, where he languished of the wound till this morning, when he expired.

"He was a young man of an amiable disposition and cultivated mind; much esteemed and affectionately beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

"Reflections on this horrid custom must occur to every man of humanity; but the voice of an individual or of the press must be ineffectual without additional, strong and pointed legislative interference. Fashion has placed it upon a footing which nothing short of this can controul."

On the following morning, this statement was replied to in another paper, as follows:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 528, New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1801.]

"The paragraph which appeared in *The Evening Post* of yesterday, is a most gross, and, we

have reason to believe, *premeditated* misstatement of facts. The true causes which led to the duels fought by Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price, and the former and Mr. Philip Hamilton, are carefully, but dishonorably withheld from the public. What Mr. Coleman's motives were for penning such a misstatement can only be determined by the paragraph itself, which is a violent outrage on justice, on personal sensibility, and that delicacy which it was the duty of Mr. Coleman to have observed as an editor of a paper through which correct information *ought* to find its way to the public. Mr. Price, and the unfortunate Mr. Hamilton, were, we assure the public, the *aggressors*. They violently assaulted Mr. Eacker, whose conduct through every stage of the unfortunate affair, was perfectly honourable, and exempt from blame. They commenced the assault upon, and challenged Mr. Eacker. We cannot, however, at present, descend to particulars, but we shall, to-morrow, present to the public a full and correct statement of every material circumstance relating to the causes of the duels, authenticated by witnesses whose impartiality and credibility will not be questioned. Till then, we request the public to suspend their opinion."

On the same (Wednesday) morning, the following additional particulars of the dispute appeared in another of the daily papers :

[From *The New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, No. 4965, Vol. XV. New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1801.]

#### "DIED ;

"On the morning of the 24th instant, Mr. Philip Hamilton, eldest son of General Hamilton, in the 20th year of his age, of a wound received in a duel with Capt. George I. Eacker. Few events have so much interested the public, whether they consider the youth and promising talents of the deceased, the feelings of most affectionate parents, or the false honor to which his life was sacrificed.

"The duel was occasioned by some frolicksome and satirical expressions made by Mr. Hamilton and a young Mr. Price, at the Theatre, on the Friday preceding, about an oration of Mr. Eacker's, and in his hearing. This conduct Mr. Eacker resented in a very intemperate manner, collared Mr. Hamilton, called them damned rascals and villains, and said if he did not hear from them, he would treat them as such. Challenges were consequently sent to him by both.

"Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price met on the Sunday following, and after exchanging four shots, without injury to either, the seconds interfered. On Monday the fatal duel between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Hamilton took place. Young Hamilton was shot through the body, on the first discharge, and fell

without firing. He languished until the next morning, and then expired.

"He was a young man of a natural amiable disposition, of a strong and well cultivated mind. In August last, he took his first degree in Columbia College, and at the commencement delivered an oration remarkable for its correctness of sentiment, elegance of diction, and with that justness of elocution and propriety of gesture, that all hoped to see in him another HAMILTON. Let it be added, as the highest praise, that in his dying moments, he professed his belief in the Christian religion, and relied for pardon and mercy on the Saviour Jesus Christ.

"As to the part which Mr. Eacker has acted ; whether he was not too hasty in resenting the levities of youth ; whether he might not after the first duel, even on the principles of the world, have avoided the second, there is little disposition to discuss. Conscience is a just monitor, and there is a tribunal to which all are amenable. The custom of fighting duels should receive the highest reprobation ; as being not only directly opposed to that meekness and forbearance which Christianity enjoins ; but contrary to the dictates of humanity, and destructive of peace, order and happiness among mankind."

The *Evening Post*, on Wednesday evening, disclaimed any intention to misrepresent the facts ; and on the next day, Thursday, the following statement by the friends of Mr. Eacker, appeared in the columns of *The Citizen*, in response to those which had previously appeared in *The Evening Post* and *New York Gazette* :

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 529, New York, Thursday, November 26, 1801.]

#### "COMMUNICATION.

"The friends of Mr. Eacker consider themselves obliged, in consequence of the gross misstatements, omissions, and insinuated falsehoods, which have appeared in a morning and evening paper, to lay before the public the unfortunate causes which produced the truly melancholy catastrophe of Monday. They beg leave to assure the public, and Mr. Hamilton's friends in particular, that it is with the extremest regret they are obliged to give publicity to these circumstances. But their duty to Mr. Eacker, and to truth, compel them to undertake the painful task. They, at the same time, wish to be understood, that they had not the least idea that Mr. Hamilton's friends in any degree, directly or indirectly, authorized the publications above alluded to.

"During the representation of the play on Friday evening last, Mr. Eacker, being with a party in a stage box, heard some gentlemen talk unmea-

ally loud, and from certain words, perceiving their observations were pointed at him, looked round and saw Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price laughing. He took no further notice of their conduct, but joined immediately in conversation with his party, and made use of every means to prevent its being observed by them, that he was the subject of ridicule to the gentlemen behind. Immediately preceding the pantomime, the box being full, Messrs. Hamilton and Price, leaving the opposite side of the house, again intruded into the box occupied by Mr. Eacker and his party. At the moment of their entrance, they commenced a loud conversation, replete with the most sarcastic remarks upon Mr. Eacker. Their manner was more indecent, if possible, than their conversation. Mr. Eacker himself, thus pointedly the object of contempt and ridicule, and his name being mentioned aloud, could no longer sustain the painful sensation resulting from his situation. He determined to leave the box and remonstrate with Mr. Hamilton, privately, in the lobby. As he stepped into the lobby with his back towards Messrs. Hamilton and Price, covered with agitation and shame to be thus treated, he exclaimed, 'It is too abominable to be publicly insulted by a set of rascals!' 'Who do you call damn'd rascals?' was the immediate enquiry, repeated again and again. Mr. Eacker felt anxious to avoid a broil in the theatre, and observed to the gentlemen that he lived at No. 50 Wall-street, where he was always to be found. 'Your place of residence has nothing to do with it,' was the reply. Upon this, some persons observing an intention, as they supposed, to assault Mr. Eacker, and desirous to prevent a disturbance in the theatre, stepped before the gentlemen, and with difficulty prevented their approaching Mr. Eacker. Mr. Eacker then requested them to make less noise, and proposed retiring to some private place. On the way to the tavern, irritating language passed among the gentlemen. Arriving at the tavern, Messrs. Price and Hamilton peremptorily insisted upon Mr. Eacker's particularizing the person to whom he had applied the appellation of *rascal*. Mr. Eacker demanded of them 'whether they came into the box on purpose to insult him.' 'That is nothing to the purpose,' was the reply, 'we insist upon your particularizing the person you meant to distinguish by the appellation of *rascal*.' 'Did you mean to insult me?' again repeated Mr. Eacker. 'We insist upon a direct answer,' was reiterated. 'Well then you are both rascals.' Upon leaving the house, Messrs. Price and Hamilton conducted themselves in such a manner, as would inevitably, if continued, have drawn the attention of persons in the street. Mr. Eacker said, 'Gentlemen, you had better make less noise; I shall expect to hear from you.' 'That you shall,' was the immediate reply. Mr.

Eacker returned to the theatre, and had not been there long before he received a message from Mr. Price, requesting him, in very laconic terms, to appoint his time and place of meeting. The unfortunate consequences are too well known to need repetition.

"From this statement it follows irresistibly:

"*First*.—That whilst Mr. Eacker was peaceably engaged in the amusements of the theatre, these gentlemen came twice to the box, and in the latter instance, when the box was already crowded, and thus proved a premeditated plan to insult Mr. E., and by sarcastic observations to make him an object of contempt.

"*Second*.—That Mr. Eacker behaved, considering the extremely difficult situation in which he was placed, with very considerable moderation; particularly at the tavern, where an opportunity was offered to disavow their intention to insult.

"*Third*.—That Mr. Eacker was innocently compelled to put his life repeatedly at the hazard to maintain his reputation, and that against men whom he had never offended—never injured; and to whom he had never spoken ten words during the whole course of his life."

On the evening of that day, (Thursday), *The Evening Post* contained a promise that, on the following evening, a statement would appear in its columns, containing "some things necessary to enable the public to form a correct judgment of the affair;" and on the following morning, Friday, *The Citizen* returned to the subject, with the following article:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 530, New York, Friday, November 27, 1801.]

"It is with deep and sincere regret that we find ourselves necessitated to notice the shameful paragraphs which have appeared in the *Gazette*, and in the *Evening Post*. In what we are about to say, it is not intended nor shall our observations be calculated to add additional wounds to the feelings of General Hamilton and his lady, or to those of the friends of the deceased, which are already, no doubt, sufficiently lacerated. It was our determination to have observed a respectful silence touching the melancholy event. Nor could anything have induced us to swerve from this determination, but the publication of the paragraphs alluded to, and a consequent necessary and very rational desire to counteract their baleful tendencies, by the promulgation of a candid and correct statement of facts. For, however we may differ in political sentiment from General Hamilton, *humanity* belongs alike to all, and ought to be alike respected by all. Truth, integrity and honor,

are virtues not exclusively possessed by any one factitious division of men. They are qualities of the heart that are by no means regulated by differences of political sentiment. We are sufficiently acquainted with the nature of man, to know that it does not necessarily follow, that he whose sentiments, whether religious or political, are opposed to my own, must on that account be wanting in morals, in which comprehensive term, truth, integrity and honor are included. We can feel for the distresses of others, even our opponents. And we despise the miscreant, who, to gratify party spirit, would wound the feelings of humanity, by discolouring truth, or the withholding of it, *knowingly*, from the public. But it cannot be, that in this case, misrepresentation can be acceptable to any.

"It has, however, been asserted, by many, that the atrocious paragraph penned by Mr. Coleman, was written by and with the consent of General Hamilton and his friends. We embrace this opportunity to declare (and we have had an opportunity of knowing much of the matter) our disbelief of the assertion. We have reason to believe, and we do sincerely believe, the rumor a *most unfounded one*. We most fully acquit, indeed we never suspected, that either General Hamilton or his friends, knew of, or consented to, the publication of the unprincipled and reprobate effusion. It was rather calculated to excite their indignation, by the assertion of dishonorable insinuations and vile falsehoods, than to please them. There can be no doubt, however, of its being intended by Mr. Coleman to injure the sensibility of Mr. Eacker, who was already sufficiently afflicted, without this superaddition of wanton, unnecessary, and *unmanly* offence. But this is a consistent item in the character of Mr. Coleman. It was expected from him: and, therefore it does not surprise those to whom he is *known*.

"If anything could add to the painful sensations felt by the parents and friends of the deceased Mr. Hamilton, it must be the wanton and cruel manner in which Mr. Coleman announced the fatal event. A fury of the most malignant kind could not have dictated a more dishonorable and offensive paragraph. 'Murdered in a 'duel!' O Shame! Shame, Mr. Coleman. In a strict legal sense the act may be termed 'murder': but your words convey another meaning. The idea of Mr. Hamilton's being 'murdered in a 'duel,' imports, as mentioned by you, that Mr. Eacker, availing himself of an undue advantage, shot Mr. Hamilton when unprepared. Than which nothing can be more untrue. For, after the word had been given by the seconds, a pause of a minute, perhaps more, ensued, before Mr. Eacker discharged his pistol. This pause was in consequence of Mr. Eacker having determined to wait for the fire of Mr. Hamilton, and also of the

latter, it appears, having come to a similar resolution. After having waited for some time, Mr. Eacker drew his pistol to level it with more accuracy, and at the same instant Mr. Hamilton did the same. Mr. Eacker, however, fired first, and Mr. Hamilton fired, with his pistol presented towards Mr. Eacker, as soon as the report of the fire of the latter was heard.\* In the first fire, as already stated, Mr. Hamilton received his mortal wound. Take away the iniquity of duelling, and nothing can be more honorable and gentlemanly than the conduct of both parties. Mr. Hamilton was cool and collected both before and after he had received his wound, as well as Mr. Eacker, who exhibited, after the wound was given, all those appearances which no man could avoid on an occasion so solemn.

"We are anxious to avoid comments on the deceased Mr. Hamilton. We wish to speak well of the dead. But truth, and the cause of the living, as well as that of the dead, demand that facts be accurately stated.

"Mr. Coleman represents the conduct of Messrs. Price and Hamilton as nothing more than childish levity. It will be remembered, that Mr. Eacker is not many years older than either of the gentlemen. But the communication which we published yesterday shows that their conduct wore a more serious aspect than appertains to levity. It is apparent from the statement of facts published in yesterday's *Citizen*,† that the two gentlemen sought to insult Mr. Eacker. That they entered twice into the box where he and his companions were. That the first time, they applied to him insulting language, of which Mr. Eacker endeavoured to take no notice. This was during the play. That 'immediately preceding the pantomime,' Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price returned from another part of the house to the same box, where they again commenced a very insulting conversation; and lest Mr. E. should mistake them, mentioned his name. This conduct has about it something of a more serious nature than levity—it demonstrates, and we are sorry to say it, a predetermination to insult Mr. Eacker. It appears, however, that Mr. Eacker was determined to take no notice of the gentlemen, until the eyes of the audience in the neighboring boxes were fixed both upon them and himself. And then he called them out of the box into the lobby to remonstrate with them on the impropriety of their conduct. But it unfortu-

\* It is not true as stated in the *Gazette* and in the *Evening Post*, that Mr. Hamilton fell without firing. The seconds of both parties acknowledge that he fired.

† It is written by a young gentleman who went to the theatre with Mr. Eacker and accompanied him through every stage of the controversy. This gentleman is a friend to Mr. Hamilton; but he is a man of honor and integrity, and he conceived it his duty to make the statement. Any person desirous to know the gentleman, shall be satisfied by calling at our office.

nately happened, that Mr. Eacker, when walking before them, uttered to himself these words: 'It is too abominable to be publicly insulted by a 'set of rascals.' It is very probable, nevertheless, that any man would have uttered similar expressions, under like circumstances. For 'nature cannot bear more than it can.' But we say it was unfortunate, since the gentlemen seized upon the words, and endeavoured to make that the basis of a quarrel, which was only the natural effect of their previous insult.

"But Mr. Coleman, not satisfied with having communicated to the public wanton and glaring misinformation, plunged himself, in Wednesday's *Evening Post*, deeper and deeper into misstatements and preposterousness. He says: 'Desirous that the public mind should not be pre-occupied by any misstatements, he early attempted to procure accurate information, and for that purpose applied to a gentlemen, who, although neither the second to Mr. Hamilton, nor in any way connected with him, yet from his concern in the affair, might be presumed to be capable of giving it.'

"But although Mr. Coleman had objections, as every man ought to have, against others 'pre-occupying the public mind with misstatements,' he had none, it would seem, against doing so himself. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Price were alone at the theatre, and no one was in the box with Mr. Eacker, but his friend and some very respectable ladies. It could not be, therefore, and Mr. Coleman and every other man must know it, that he could obtain correct information respecting the insult offered to Mr. Eacker in the theatre, from persons who were not there. Yet, upon this hearsay evidence, he pledges himself to the public, that the false statement which he published was true!

"But we accused Mr. Coleman of having withheld information from the public, for which he thought proper to bestow on the editor of the *Citizen* a very handsome compliment. This compliment shall be noticed in due time, and in a manner exactly suited to the character of Mr. Coleman. We will, however, show, in order to make good our assertion, that Mr. Coleman did withhold information from the public,

"The person to whom Mr. Coleman applied for information, in the first instance, must have known, it is fair to infer, from the manner in which he mentions his 'concern in the affair,' that Messrs Price and Hamilton challenged Mr. Eacker. This, indeed, could not have been unknown to Mr. Coleman himself. Willing, however, to discolour the fact, he leaves the matter extremely doubtful, whether the gentlemen challenged Mr. Eacker or not. Indeed, a man at a distance, judging from his statement, would conclude that Mr. Eacker was the challenger. This is withhold-

ing from the public information which he knew was true, and which he ought to have mentioned in his 'true statement of facts.'

"It is hardly necessary to notice Mr. Lang. His 'good nature' is easily imposed upon by those who write paragraphs, which appear as his own. We shall only just mention, therefore, that his statement is obviously false. Mr. Lang says, 'This conduct Mr. Eacker resented in a very intemperate manner, collared Mr. Hamilton, called them damned rascals and villains, and said if he did not hear from them he would treat them as such.' This is an unfounded calumny, and we have no doubt, but that it will appear so, by the statement which the *Evening Post* of yesterday says the friends of Mr. Hamilton are preparing for the press. There was no collaring took place on either side. And the friends of Mr. Eacker say that he conducted himself 'with very considerable moderation.'

"We hope this is the last time we shall have occasion to mention this unfortunate affair. We wish it to slide quietly into oblivion. It would, perhaps, have been well, had the circumstances of the case ended with the duel."

On the afternoon of the same day, the following appeared in *The Evening Post*, further postponing the promised statement of young Hamilton's friends.

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 11. New York, Friday, November 27, 1801.

The Editor has to apologize for the delay of the interesting particulars promised in yesterday's paper. Some of the friends of the late unfortunate Mr. Hamilton, influenced by motives of strict justice and delicacy to Mr. Eacker and his friends, have had a meeting with some of them to adjust certain facts, and they now have it in their power to place the affair on very different grounds from those of vague report, and thus to provide against all future altercation, leaving to the good sense and discernment of the public to make up their judgment upon the facts. Such is the communication which will appear to-morrow."

On the following day, Saturday, the *Post* redeemed its promise, thus made, as follows:

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 12. New York, Saturday, November 28, 1801.

#### "TO THE PUBLIC.

"The friends of young Mr. Hamilton sincerely regret that the unfortunate affair, which terminated his life, should have become matter of newspaper discussion. But since it has so happened, they feel it to be due to his memory, that a correct statement of facts should vindicate him from

more blame than is imputable to him, and should show that the catastrophe which ensued, might probably have been avoided, if, in the subsequent stages of the transaction, the moderation, as well of Mr. H., as of his friends, had been favorably met. Under this impression they proceeded to submit to the public such statement, formed from the details of parties intimately connected with the whole affair.

"On the evening of Friday the 20th instant, at the Theatre, Mr. Hamilton and another young gentleman Mr. P——, went into a box where Mr. Eacker was, and entered into conversation together, casting pointed ridicule upon the oration delivered by Mr. Eacker, on the Fourth of July last, and afterwards printed. The relative situation was such that it is believed that those young gentlemen were not unwilling their observations should be overheard by Mr. E. Accordingly he did hear them, and in consequence left his seat and called Mr. H. out of the box into the lobby: Mr. P. went out also. Mr. E. seized Mr. H. by the collar and exclaimed, 'I will not be insulted by a set of rascals.' Mr. H. and Mr. P. severally demanded an explanation to whom he applied the epithet: no positive reply was then made. The parties, on the proposition of Mr. H. adjourned to a tavern—there the demand for explanation, as to the term rascals, was renewed. After some intermediate altercation, Mr. E. avowed his meaning to be that Mr. H. and Mr. P. were both 'Rascals.' The disputants shortly after separated; Mr. E. declaring as they parted, 'that he should expect to hear from them, and that if he did not, he should treat them as blackguards,' and they assured him that he should not be disappointed. Mr. P. immediately sent an invitation to Mr. E. to meet him, which was accepted.

"Mr. H. about 10 o'clock the same night, called on Mr. D. S. Jones, to communicate what had happened and consult as to the steps proper to be taken. After he had detailed the transaction (in substance as above stated) Mr. J. declared his extreme reluctance to take part in the affair, and his absolute determination not to do it until he had consulted Mr. H.'s near relation, Capt. Church, in concert with whom he would consent to engage in it. Mr. H. assented to this condition. Accordingly Mr. J. called on Capt. C.—gave him the information he had received and conversed with him as to the measures proper to be pursued. They united in opinion, that the retaliation of Mr. E. had been of so violent a nature as to render it impossible for Mr. H. to decline taking further notice of it; but that, considering all circumstances, and more particularly that the first offence was given by Mr. H. it would be fit that the first step to be taken should be such as to leave an opening for accommodation, with a view to which it was agreed that the message to

be sent to Mr. E. should be 'to require some explanation of the offensive expressions which he had used that night to Mr. H.' This message, with the approbation of Mr. H. was delivered to Mr. E. about half past eleven the same night, in the presence of Mr. Lawrence. Mr. E. replied that he had already received a message from Mr. P. and was engaged to him—that after attending to this engagement, Mr. J. should be informed when he might repeat his call. Some incidental conversation ensued, in the course of which Mr. E. asked whether 'he was to consider that communication as a direct challenge?' Mr. J. answered, 'certainly not; for such messages effectually shut the door to everything like negotiation.'

"Things remained in this situation until Sunday, between one and two o'clock, when having heard that the expected meeting with Mr. P. had taken place, Mr. Jones called upon Mr. Lawrence (who had accompanied Mr. E.) to learn the result—At this interview, Mr. L. intimated to Mr. Jones, and the intimation was afterwards confirmed by Mr. E. (who had then joined those gentlemen) that Mr. E. intended to write a note to Mr. J. to inform him that he was then at leisure to receive any communication from Mr. H. After receiving this intimation, Captain C. and Mr. J. again met—much conversation took place between them about the desirableness of an accommodation, which they both ardently wished—they agreed, that the attempt to effect it should be made; and that, with this view, the first thing to be done should be to endeavor to prevent the sending of the promised note—as its contents might, perhaps, increase the obstacles to a pacific adjustment. Having arranged the plan of proceeding, to avert, if possible, the necessity of going to extremities, Mr. J. waited on Mr. L. and informed him of the wishes of Capt. Church and himself, to have the sending of the note postponed, as he had overtures to make as to the accommodation; the discussion of which might be more difficult after its reception than in that of the affair. Mr. L. acceded to the justness of this remark, and readily promised to take measures, for affecting the postponement. Mr. J. then repeated to Mr. L., the earnest wish of Capt. Church and himself, for accommodation; and added, that although they acted in that respect without the knowledge or consent of Mr. H. yet, that they would pledge themselves for his performance of any engagement, which they might enter into on his behalf; that the extreme youth of Mr. H. would excuse Mr. E. for not pursuing so punctilious a course with him, as would be necessary with a person of riper age; that as Mr. E. had already met Mr. P. for the same cause of controversy, he might the more easily, and without danger of any imputation on his honor, meet

our wishes for accommodation—and that the relative situation of the two gentlemen, with regard to political opinions and connections, afforded a strong additional motive for moderation, lest an hostile issue might be referred to a spirit of party, which it was to be presumed could not be agreeable to Mr. E. Mr. Jones desired Mr. L. to repeat this conversation to Mr. E. and to impress these ideas upon his mind, as forcibly as he could, and then to offer this as the basis of accommodation; that Mr. E. should disavow the application of *rascal* to the general conduct and character of Mr. H. or in some way apologize for the insult of having called him so; this being done, they would procure from Mr. H. a proper apology for his conduct at the Theatre, upon their receiving assurance that it would be followed by a competent apology on the part of Mr. E. for his subsequent conduct and expressions. Mr. L. who entered readily into the negotiation and appeared sincere in his wishes for its success, then parted from Mr. J. for the purpose of making this communication to Mr. E. and about three o'clock in the afternoon returned to Mr. Jones, and told him, that he had had the proposed conversation with Mr. E. who had not acceded to the proposition which Mr. Jones had requested Mr. L. to make; and also, that Mr. E. had not authorized him to make any overtures towards an accommodation; but left Mr. Jones with this remark, 'in truth, Jones, from Mr. E.'s present disposition of mind, I am persuaded there are very feeble, if any hopes of accommodation.' It is proper to add, that Mr. L. observed to Mr. J. in the course of his conversation, that Mr. E. appeared more irritated against Mr. H. than against Mr. P. as he considered Mr. H. the principal in the affair.

"Mr. J. now considered the attempt at negotiation completely defeated, and remained at home in expectation of receiving the communication from Mr. E.; this was received about half-past five in the afternoon.

"Shortly afterwards the first message, on the part of Mr. H. was repeated to Mr. E.—in substance 'requiring an explanation of the expressions which he had made use of to Mr. H. at the Theatre on Friday night.' The bearer of this message observed, that perhaps it had come in a shape which was somewhat unexpected, and Mr. E. might therefore wish to consult his friends previously to giving his answer—if so, he, the bearer, would retire for a short time, and either return or remain at home for the answer.—Mr. Eacker adopted the idea, and appointed fifteen minutes for the return of the bearer. At the expiration of that time he came back. Mr. E. first undertook to deliver his answer verbally, but after some hesitation and embarrassment of expression, he drew from his pocket a paper from which he read it—it was to this effect, 'the ex-

*'pressions I made use of towards Mr. Hamilton at the Theatre on Friday night last, were produced by his conduct on that occasion; I thought them applicable then, AND I THINK SO STILL.'*

"The bearer of the message conceiving this reply to be a reiteration of the offence, rendered particularly emphatical by what had intervened, and that any further effort to accommodate was not only hopeless but would have been dishonorable to Mr. H. felt himself bound, by the posture of the affair, and by his previous arrangement with Mr. H., to declare to Mr. E. that such being the answer, he was instructed to request a meeting; and since things had come to this issue, though he was unwilling to urge haste, yet, as the numerous relations and friends of Mr. H. would be made extremely unhappy should they obtain a knowledge of the transaction beforehand, it was desirable the interview should take place without delay. In consequence arrangements were shortly after made for a meeting the next day.

"In the meantime Mr. H. still reflecting, that in the origin of the controversy, the blame lay with him, averse in principle to the shedding of blood in private combat, anxious to repair his original fault as far as he was able without dishonor, and to stand acquitted to his own mind, came to the determination to reserve his fire, receive that of his antagonist, and then discharge his pistol in the air. This determination was communicated to his friend, who was instructed to avow the motive of his forbearance after Mr. H. should have thrown away his fire, and to submit to Mr. E. to decide for himself what was then to be done on his part, and whether he would proceed in the affair; with the intention of Mr. H. to let it end there, if Mr. E. should then see fit to make a suitable reparation for the violent effect of his resentment.

"Unhappily the first fire of Mr. E. took effect, and by mortally wounding Mr. H. defeated the execution of this generous intention. In the shock of the wound his pistol went off in the air, evidently without a deviation from the original resolution, which was speedily after declared by his friend on the ground.

It is but a small tribute of this estimable but unfortunate young man, to say, that the witnesses to this fatal scene testify the display of a steady resolution on his part, which evinced the most deliberate courage. His confidential friends declare that throughout the progress of the affair, subsequent to the first error, his behaviour was remarkably temperate, and that he possessed himself perfectly. His manner on the ground was calm and composed beyond expression. The idea of his own danger seemed to be lost in anticipation of the satisfaction which he might receive from the final triumph of his generous moderation. While lying in the arms of his friend, in all the



torture of the first effects of so severe a wound, he kindly urged the second of his adversary to withdraw from danger—forgetting his own situation in the concern for the safety of others.

“He received the wound about three o’clock, and languished till five the next morning in the full possession of his faculties, supporting the pain of his situation with the utmost fortitude, without a murmur or a reproach—soothing occasionally his afflicted parents, and piously resigned to the event.

“An interview took place on the evening of Thursday last, between Mr. D. S. Jones and Mr. Lawrence, in the presence of J. B. Church Esq., and William Cutting, Esq., for the purpose of agreeing on a statement of facts, so far as Mr. J. and Mr. L. had a mutual agency in conducting the affair; at which interview the truth of the above statement in whatever has relation to that agency, received the full assent of both these gentlemen.”

On the following Monday, *The Post* published the following, supplementary to the above :

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 13, New York, Monday, November 30, 1801.]

#### “COMMUNICATION.

“Conceiving it possible that the public may understand from the note subjoined to the communication by Mr. Hamilton’s friends in *The Evening Post* of Saturday last, that the facts agreed upon by Mr. Jones and Mr. Lawrence, in the presence of John B. Church, Esq., and William Cutting, Esq., extended to the whole of that statement, we are authorized and required by the parties to remark, that the facts alluded to are those only in which Mr. Jones and Mr. Lawrence had a *mutual agency*, viz : commencing with the interview which took place between Mr. Jones and Mr. Eacker in the presence of Mr. Lawrence, and terminating with the conversation in which Mr. Lawrence informed Mr. Jones that the overtures made through him were not acceded to; had no reference to the previous transactions at the Theatre, or to the interview at the Tavern, between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Eacker.”

“The following note was to have been added to the statement of the Duel in Saturday evening’s paper, making it by a reference apply to the words ‘riper age’ near the bottom of the first column:—

“Mr. Hamilton was not 20 years of age; Mr. Eacker’s age is not precisely ascertained; it is believed to be about 30, and *known* to be at least 27.”

On the following day, Tuesday, *The Citizen* continued the discussion as follows :

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 533, New York, Tuesday, December 1, 1801.]

“We now lay before the public *all* the authoritative documents relative to the causes which produced the late duels. Upon these documents *alone*, the public are to form their opinion of the conduct of the principals concerned. All the observations that have been made respecting the duels that have caused so much sensibility in the public mind, are to be laid aside, and viewed, if viewed at all, as extraneous matter. The following statement was published by the authority of Mr. Lawrence, a gentleman of undoubted honor and veracity, who accompanied Mr. Eacker to the Theatre, and who was privy to all the material circumstances that produced the duels.—EDITORS.

The *Citizen* then copied entire the elaborate article which had already appeared in its own columns on the preceding Thursday, (*ante*, pp. 194, 195); the still more elaborate statement, by Mr. Hamilton’s friends which had appeared in *The Evening Post*, of the succeeding Saturday, (*ante*, pp. 197–200)—the last preceded by a statement that “it will be understood that Mr. Lawrence *assents* to the accuracy of the following statement, so far only as Mr. Jones and himself “had a *mutual agency* in the facts related in it. “The extent of this *agency*, however, ought to “be known. The *mutual agency commenced* “with overtures for reconciliation, and terminated “with them. To every *other* circumstance related in the following narration, Mr. Lawrence, “we understand, does not assent;”—and the note, which had appeared in the same paper as the last, concerning the interview between Messrs. Jones and Lawrence, (*ante*, pp. 200), and these were followed by the following original article :

#### “COMMUNICATION.

“A friend of Mr. Eacker, in reply to those of Mr. Hamilton, will be as brief as possible. There is a propriety in terminating discussions which it is known are a bed of torture to the friends and relatives of Mr. Hamilton, as well as Mr. Eacker. Not supposing the two statements to be materially different in regard to the circumstances of the dispute which brought on the melancholy affair, he would only notice

one omission which is attributed to inadvertence, and that is the repetition of an offence, as detailed by Mr. Lawrence after a considerable interval, not solely confined to 'pointed ridicule upon his oration,' but personally extended to him in other respects. Without deeming it material, it is farther to be remarked, both from motives of equal justice to the moderation of Mr. Eacker, and to the honor of Mr. Hamilton, that the belief of Mr. Eacker's having collared Mr. Hamilton, must have been founded on a mistake. It must be destroyed by a reflection which it is thought is conclusive. Unconscious from what source or grounds the persuasion was derived, it is submitted, whether it is probable that a gentleman of Mr. Hamilton's lively temper and spirit, in demanding an explanation at the time of the dispute, and afterwards, would have confined himself to an *epithet* without taking notice of so great an indignity as a *personal assault*?

"Without presuming to regulate public opinion on the much lamented event, it cannot be improper to make some further observation, as imperative necessity seems to require it.

"It is remarkable to see the difference between a statement of facts, detailed by men of a nice sense of honor, or by editors whose servile and unprincipled dispositions influence them to distort truth in so solemn a case as this.

The indecent paragraphs alluded to, particularly that in the *Evening Post*, cannot be much counteracted. It is impossible for any man of sentiment to read without horror a publication so totally destitute of truth, and which appears to have been fabricated with the wicked and malicious intention of wounding the feelings of Mr. Eacker's friends, and of destroying his peace of mind forever. With pleasure do they remark, that the universal reprobation of the conduct of the editor of that paper, in publishing the villainous and diabolical paragraph, is a proof of the detestation in which he is held by the friends of Mr. Hamilton themselves, who have not less execrated it, than those against whom it was directed. This much is necessary to be said, to place in a proper point of view the atrocious misrepresentations which have gone forth, against the inclination, and to the indignation, as it is firmly believed, of Mr. Hamilton's friends.

"It is no more than common justice, that Mr. Eacker's friends should evince a solicitude for his happiness equal to the just regard which Mr. Hamilton's friends have evinced for his memory.

"With this view, the following remarks are made upon the statement of Mr. Hamilton's friends, from which it appears:—

"*First*:—That Mr. Eacker received the *first* insult, and one which considering the time, place and circumstances, was *wanton, unprovoked, 'pointed,'* and of the *grossest* kind.

"*Second*:—That Mr. Eacker was the person challenged.

"*Third*:—That no overture of accommodation was made to Mr. Eacker, with the *knowledge or consent* of Mr. Hamilton.

"*Fourth*:—That the written answer of Mr. Eacker may be considered, and must have been intended as opening the door to a negotiation; for by this answer it appears, that Mr. Eacker was willing to restrict the expressions used towards Mr. Hamilton, to the particular conduct which occasioned them, without intimating that his general deportment merited them.

"*Fifth*.—That the *unauthorized* overtures made by the friends of Mr. Hamilton, were uniformly accompanied with the *sine qua non*, that Mr. Eacker, who it is admitted by all, was the gentleman *first insulted*, should make the *first* concession. If, then, Mr. Hamilton could have been prevailed upon to have made any acknowledgment, Mr. Eacker was to make a *farther*, and a *second* apology. It was impossible for Mr. Eacker not to be shocked with the proposition, which he, no doubt, thought, and was in fact, *indelicate*.

"Had he acceded to it, he must have been humbled in his own eyes, and in those of the world. This would easily account for Mr. Eacker's state of mind as mentioned by Mr. Lawrence, in addition to the consideration, that an offence from Mr. Hamilton, who has always borne the character of a gentleman in society, and who was so respectably connected, was well calculated to inflict a deeper wound than an insult offered by his unworthy companion, whose future conduct, must be very different from his past life, if he ever means to merit that honorable appellation. A man whom Mr. Eacker was COMPELLED to meet, in consequence of his CONNECTION with Mr. Hamilton in the insult.

"*Sixth*:—Every friend of humanity must regret that Mr. Hamilton, who according to the statement of his friends admitted 'the blame in 'the origin of the controversy to lay with him,' was permitted to expose his life in the manner he did. It is not intended to detract from the praise due to his generous resolution of not attempting the life of his adversary. It is to be remarked, however, that he, or the friends of the gentleman, if they advised the measure, did not perceive that nothing would have justified it, but a consciousness of his being in fault, in which case, it would certainly have reflected no dishonor upon him to have tried to procure an accommodation by some small concession on his part. In short it is evident, that the *total and absolute humiliation of the first insulted*, Mr. Eacker, would have been the inevitable consequence of a different conduct on his part. With respect to the relative ages of the parties, it is proper to remark, that from the

nice etiquette, and scrupulous punctilio which the friends of Mr. Hamilton manifest for his honor, it is evident, that they regarded him in the same light as Mr. Eacker, to wit, as one who was accountable for his acts, and whom Mr. Eacker could not avoid treating as a gentleman, had he had the disposition to do otherwise. Besides, is it reasonable to expect concessions and sacrifices of honor and feeling from one of 'twenty-seven,' the true age of Mr. Eacker, to a young man of 'twenty,' which a gentleman more advanced in years could not request?

"IT IS CLEAR, that aberrations from accepted and usual rules, are more to be expected from a 'young,' man, than one who is at an age, when ideas of honor and propriety are most strong."

On the evening of the same day, Tuesday, *The Evening Post* thus responded to the last article in *The Citizen*:

[From *The New York Evening Post*, No. 14. New York, Tuesday, December 1, 1801.]

"The Editor requests the writer of the Communication in the *American Citizen*, this morning, who styles himself a friend of Mr. Eacker, to descend a little more to particulars than he has chosen to do in that part which relates to the editor; and to show wherein the statement made by him on Tuesday last, of the late unfortunate duel, betrays a *servile and unprincipled disposition to distort truth*; and what are the writer's reasons for declaring that statement *totally destitute of truth*; and wherein it appears to him to have been *fabricated with the wicked and malicious intention of wounding the peace of Mr. Eacker's friends, and of destroying his peace of mind forever*. The writer will also be pleased to state his reasons for calling the publication above alluded to a *villainous and diabolical paragraph*, and to point out wherein consists its *atrocious misrepresentations*.

"With the opinion which the writer expresses, that the conduct of the Editor, on that occasion, has met with *universal reprobation*, he will not meddle; he submits to the decision of the public, without reply or comment; neither will he remark upon what the writer considers a *proof of the detestation in which the Editor is held by the friends of Mr. Hamilton themselves*, farther than to observe, that if this was true, they would hardly have chosen the *Evening Post* as the first vehicle for their statement to the public. He feels himself authorized to add, that the terms on which he has since stood with the nearest connections of Mr. Hamilton, while it refutes the calumnious insinuation, affords him a consolation, equally grateful to his sensibility, and flattering

to his pride. He is satisfied with having acted from upright motives, and he is assured, that they have been properly appreciated by those whose esteem is dear to him.

"Nothing is more painful than to be under the necessity of prolonging the memory of a melancholy event, which could not too soon have been withdrawn from public observation—but the Editor owes it to his own character and feelings to demand from the writer who has indulged himself in such harsh expressions, the ground upon which he justifies their use."

We have not discovered that the Editor of *The Evening Post* was gratified by *The Citizen's* correspondent; and with a brief article which appeared in *The Commercial Advertiser*, on the same day—in which Mr. Eacker was charged with the crime of Murder—and a brief rejoinder to that article, which appeared on the following morning, Wednesday, in *The Citizen*, the Press seems to have dropped the subject. That rejoinder was in the following words:

[From *The American Citizen and General Advertiser*, Vol. II., No. 534, New York, Wednesday, December 2, 1801.]

"Several articles in this day's paper were omitted yesterday, to give place to the whole of the documents furnished by the friends of the parties in the late unfortunate duel. Had not the feelings and character of Mr. Eacker been assailed with unparalleled malignity by persons having no knowledge of the affair but from report, we should have remained totally silent. It appears that the spirit of revenge is not yet satiated. In the *Commercial Advertiser* of yesterday are remarks intended to be understood as coming from the editor of that paper, unparalleled for cruelty and misrepresentation. Is it not sufficient for this writer to hear of Mr. Eacker being insulted by two young men in a gross and public manner—is it not sufficient that his life should be twice put at hazard, or be stigmatized as a coward? No; all this is not sufficient for a mind that thirsts for revenge. Nothing short of the destruction of an innocent person can satisfy. Because Mr. Eacker resented an insult too notorious not to be noticed; because he accepted challenges, the refusal of which would have subjected him to the insults of his enemies; because he would not make the first overtures for accommodation, when he was not the aggressor; in fact, because he was so fortunate as to escape with his life, the malignant spirit of this writer is determined not only to wound Mr. Eacker's feelings, already made tender by the melancholy catastrophe, but imprecates the vengeance of heaven to

torture him forever. In the name of Virtue and Humanity, how long will men be found whose savage temper cannot be equalled even amongst the prowling tigers and ferocious wolves of the wilderness.

We have been favored, however, with a fragment of a private letter, written by a gentleman who was acquainted with all the parties to this affair; and we take pleasure in adding it to the published testimony in the case :

NEW YORK, Nov 21: 1801

DEAR SISTER

Papa and Sally arrived here after a tolerably pleasant passage of about two days. On Monday next the 23<sup>d</sup> Inst we expect to remove from our present place of residence, Mr Chesebrough's, to a House we have taken until May at the rate of £120 p<sup>r</sup> year, situated two doors from Greenwich in Jay Street, which runs parallel with Dey Street and at about Six or Seven Streets north of it. The House is at a very short distance from the residence of the Rhinelander Family—Some time in the course of next week Papa or myself will go to Bethlehem after Clarissa : from whom we have received no news for a considerable time. Should I go myself I shall take Philadelphia in my way ; at least in returning.—Nothing very important has occurred in Town, lately, except the promulgation of the news of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France being signed ; which has caused much surprise and anxiety among the commercial part of the community here. The Theatre opened last monday evening with *Lovers Vows* and *Fortunes Frolic* to a very numerous, but extremely ante-brilliant audience. Our Corps at present consists entirely of the last year's Troop, with the addition of the eccentric and splendid *Cooper*. Whether the Union Balls will be reinstituted this season or not remains as yet in dubiety.—We yesterday received a letter from John dated Dublin 2<sup>d</sup> Sep in which he informs us that he is about to sail in two hours for Bordeaux from whence he will proceed to the South of France ; where he will continue 4 or 5 months. Should he prosecute this Jaunt, I am confident, from the circumstance of Peace having taken place, which will invite into France all the nobility and persons of wealth and fashion from Great Britain and the Continent, it must be a prolific source of instruction and pleasure. John's letter to you will have arrived previous to, or inclosed in this.—Poor Boy ! feelingly do I sympathize with thee ; while so pathetically bewailing the wretchedly confined situation of thy dear Sweet ducky donna Signora *damma Floretta*—condemned to cells dark dank and drear and lonely as those of her *warm* and tender prototype the enamour'd *Eloisa* ! Ah Johnny !

Poetry, either in extemporizing or quoting it never was, nor ever will be thy *forte* ! For alas ! in giving us a *touch* of the narrative—pathetic, thou hast mistaken the words most \* \* \* \*

an adjournment to a public House was proposed—where H & P demanded of E. whom he meant to call rascal &c. whether he meant to implicate both, (H and P) in the expression &c.—E, answered yes, that they had both behaved like rascals—that he should expect to hear from them—and if not he would treat them both like blackguards &c. They answered that he *should* hear from them &c.—Mr. E return'd to his party, where at about 10 o'clock he received a challenge from Price to meet him the next day but one (Sunday) at 12 o'clock at Hoebuck—and the next day (Saturday) one from H to meet him Monday at the same Hour and place. In consequence of this, A meeting ensued between E, and P, at the time and place appointed towit on Sunday. Mr. Lawrence as second to E, Mr James Lynch to P,—three shots each were fired, when the seconds interposed—but the combatants being *both* inclined to take another shot and agreeing, that after that, they would *shake hands*, A fourth took place, but without effect, when a reconciliation ensued : P, at the same time observing that E, was such a damn'd *lath* of a fellow, that he might shoot all day to no purpose. On Monday before the time appointed for the meeting between E, & H, General Hamilton heard of it and commanded his Son, when on the ground, to reserve his *fire* 'till after Mr E, had shot and then to discharge his pistol in the air The combatants appeared on the ground at time appointed—Cooper the Player as second to E, and David Jones to H,—the distance was measured—the signal given E, fired—H, fell ! his Pistol still loaded he was immediately placed in a boat which was rowed with the greatest rapidity to this shore, where he was landed near the State Prison—all the Physicians in Town were called for, and the news spread like a conflagration.—At the Theatre I was informed of it about 9 O'clock Monday evening—I immediately ran to the House near the State Prison from whence I was told they dare not remove him—Picture to yourself my dear Girl the emotions which must have assailed me on my arrival at his room to which I was admitted as his old College classmate ! On a Bed without curtains lay poor Phil, pale and languid, his rolling, distorted eye balls darting forth the flashes of delirium—on one side of him on the same bed lay his agonized father—on the other his distracted mother—around him numerous relatives and friends weeping and fix'd in sorrow—blanch'd with astonishment and affright was the countenance, which a few moments before was illumined by the smile of merriment.—I could continue in the room but a very short time

—returning Home I quickened my pace almost unconsciously, hoping to escape the image as well as the reality of what I had witnessed!—It appeared that the Ball had enter'd the right side just above the hip Bone, passed through the body and lodged in the left arm—Yesterday, tuesday, I was invited to attend his funeral at 4 o'clock that afternoon.—Although the day was very rainy, and the burial took place so unexpectedly soon after the decease, he having died tuesday morning at 4 or 5 o'clock, the followers were very numerous and respectable. His poor father was with difficulty supported to the grave of his hopes!—Oh God! Cold as the humid clod which now covers his Body, is the form which but a few Hours since was animated and joyous as the Bird which perches on his grave!—If before I send this, any thing new occurs you shall be informed of it—

WEDNESDAY, Dec<sup>r</sup> 9th

Mr Thurston as I am informed is about returning Home to day—As this news came rather unexpectedly you will allow me to conclude this in a very desultory way.

We have not yet arranged ev'ry thing in the House as we intended but are in a fair way of being settled soon—Clara has not yet arrived, as it has been impossible for either Papa or myself to go after her—Fennel has joined our Company Nothing yet has transpired relative to the resumption of the Union Balls—The Death of young Hamilton has been the topic of Tea table conversation and the theme of Newspaper essayists for two weeks past, and People have been foolishly influenced by Political principles in deciding on the merits of the transaction! But

"In spite of pride in erring reason's spite,"  
"One truth is clear, whatever is, is right."

Clara or Sally will I expect in the course of the winter change situations with you and give you opportunity of alternating the Country and Town Amusements—I understand Miss Ann Constable is about being married to Mr Pierpont a Gentleman of fortune (*as it is said*) I have not time to write any thing more than this—Write me by first opportunity or I will &c &c adieu, love to all—

THOS<sup>s</sup> W RATHBONE

In response to enquiries from several of our subscribers, we have thus presented all the papers in our possession concerning this lamentable affair; and as there has been no opinion asked, and none seems to be called for, we leave the subject with our readers.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

## II.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMA-MENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONTINUED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE  
"HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS,"  
BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VAL-  
DEZ.

### CHAPTER II.

The preceding chapter relates how the Spaniards determined to go to Aute. On their way, the Indians beset them in the bad passage-ways and lakes, killing one and wounding five or six, besides doing injury to some horses. Journeying eight or nine days they arrived, from Apalache, but found all the houses burned, and many fields in which the maize was ready for use. Two days later Cabeza de Vaga being ordered with Andres Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo to go with nine cavalry and fifty men on foot in quest of the sea, they took the Commissary with them and started, the Governor remaining by the others, of whom the greater part were sick, and the number of them increasing every day.

One may readily believe that by this time the reverend father could be content to be within the cell he left in Spain, rather than in these parts, looking after greennial and mitre, which seduce some not to part with their time only, but with life. Even those who serve God forget themselves when they are encased in dignities the fewer rise to; and I would they did not adventure their souls in that pursuit. Those without ambition or desire of prelacies, who work unselfishly the better to serve Him in the conversion of those Indians, with an honest, meritorious and holy desire, are such here as harvest the grain, and for the rest, Heaven mend them.

The troop, on the day it left Aute, arrived at some shoals by the sea, where it rested that night. In the morning, twenty men were detached to examine the coast. These reported that they could not explore it for being distant; with this all went back to camp, where the Governor, Comptroller and Inspector, with many others, were fallen sick.

VII. After a day's repose, the people departed for the place whence the sea had been observed or found, taking with them all the maize they could carry, and arrived with great difficulty, the sick being numerous and unable to yield assistance. For two days they remained, casting about and reflecting upon what means were within reach to save life and escape out of the country.

The building of vessels appeared impracticable. They had no nails, tow, resin, nor other thing that for the purpose are indispensable; and, as necessity already drove them to extremity, they took their stirrups, bridle-bits and spurs for iron; of wood were made pipes, and with deer-skin the bellows, when from the iron were made tools.

As the men were thin and not able to work, a horse was slaughtered every third day, which, being divided among the laborers and the sick, others worked to eat of the meat. In four or five visits made to Aute by the cavalry and most robust of the men, much maize was brought back, sufficient for use in the time they were there, with some to take away. Under these circumstances boats were commenced on the fourth day of August. They were caulked with the husks of palmetto, of which rope was also made, and daubed with pitch of pine trees, which were in plenty; of shirts were made sails, and of the hide of horse's legs were made bags to hold water. In the time the vessels were being built, ten Christians were killed, traversed from side to side by the arrow, while engaged in fishing around those banks in sight of the camps, without the possibility of giving them succour.

From the place where the ships were left to where these boats were built was, according to the opinion of the greater number traveling there, about two hundred and eighty leagues; and in all that distance they saw no mountains, nor could they hear of any. The people are in stature very large, have fine bearing and elegant manners. Every one has the use of the bow, and is a true shot. The bows are ten or twelve palms in length; nearly as large round as the wrist; powerful and excellent wood. What an arrow will go through is incredible; a feat that must be seen to be believed.

On the twentieth day of September, five boats were finished, each twenty-two cubits in length. About forty men had there died of sickness. The Governor had taken one of the boats for himself and forty-eight men; another he gave to the Comptroller and the friars with forty-seven men; to the Treasurer and the Inspector, another with forty-eight men; to the Captain Tellez and Penaloza, to Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes, he gave two more, in each of which were forty-eight men. The horses having been consumed, the people embarked on the twenty-second day of September.

As the vessels were small, when the provisions, clothing and arms were on board, they were deeply-laden, not more than a *xeme*\* above water. In this condition they sailed seven days among those shoals, until the unfortunates arrived on a

small islet near the main, and found some ranchos, whence they took five canoes. The same day they went to the coast, not until then observed, where they stopped, and put waist-boards about their boats, made from the canoes, so that they sat two palms more above the sea; and, this done, they went on their way. Entering into many bays and among shoals that appeared along the shore, the land ever ahead of them, they continued on without knowing whither.

One night a canoe came out, following them for a little while. They turned about to speak it, but it would not hearken: and as the canoe is a very fast vessel, it got away: so the Christians returned on their course. Next morning a storm overtook them and they anchored at an island, but found no water, of which there was much want. They tarried there three days; and as it was then the fifth in which they had not drank, some took salt-water in such quantity that five or six suddenly died. Although the storm was not over, as the thirst was insupportable, they concluded to go in the direction they had seen the canoe depart, commending themselves to God, as it was at the risk of life. They crossed, and at sunset arrived at a point offering shelter, with moderate sea. Some canoes came out and spoke to them: they followed the distance of a full league to houses along the shore on the edge of the water, before which were many jars and pots of water, with abundance of fish. The Cacique came out as the Governor jumped on land, and took him to his house: he offered him the fish and water, in recompense for which the Christians returned bread, hawkbells, and some of their maize. At night, when the two were together, many Indians fell upon the Christians, killing three men lying sick on the shore, and striking the Governor on the head with a stone. Those present seizing upon the Cacique, he threw them off, leaving in their hands a very fine robe he wore of civet marten. These skins, Cabeza de Vaga says, were excellent, the best he ever saw, and the like the others declared. They had the odor of musk. Other marten skins in robes were taken; yet none such as these. The Governor, injured and sick, was put on board, with all who were unwell or weak. Three times were the Christians attacked that night; but in the end were let alone. Many of the Indians got well sabred, and many of the Spaniards were sorely wounded. After this affair, the Christians remained there two days; but saw no more natives.

Thence the Christians went on in their vessels. At the end of three or four days they entered among some estuaries, and coming upon a canoe with Indians, asked for water, giving them a little jar to bring it in. Two Christians went with them; and two natives, remaining as hostages, were hindered from throwing themselves into the water. In the

\* The distance from the end of the extended forefinger to that of the thumb. TRANSLATOR.

morning, canoes beginning to come, the Spaniards left the estuaries and went out to sea, where in little more than an hour were twenty canoes under three or four principal persons, who wore robes of the very fine fur mentioned, with their locks long and loose. These asked for their men, and in turn they were asked for those they had. The Christians were told to come to their houses, but refused; for the country was much overflowed and abounded in estuaries. As the hostages were kept, and the Spaniards would not go, the natives assailed them with staves and some arrows, bringing on a skirmish, after which they returned.

X. Our people went on, and at the close of the second day, the boat in which the Treasurer was, arrived at a point made by the coast, behind which was a river flowing in freshet, broad and much enlarged. A little way back approached the boat of the Governor, which, with the others, anchored at some islands near by. The Treasurer went out to them and made known the discovery of the river. As no wood was found by which to parch maize, and the people had eaten it raw for two days, they concluded to go to the river, the water of which was dipped fresh from the sea; but on approaching near, the strong current at its mouth did not permit them to land; and in striving to reach the shore, the wind sprang up from the north, when these together drove them farther to sea. They sailed that night and next day, until the night, when they found themselves in three fathoms depth of water. Having seen many smokes that evening along the coast, they dared not land in the dark, and came to anchor. The current being strong, and the anchors no more than bags of stone, the boats were taken out to sea; and when day dawned they could not see each other, nor discern the land.

Thus Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaga, who gives this account, kept his way until noon, when he discovered two of the boats. Coming up with the nearest, he found it to be the Governor's, when they spoke. Narvaez asked his opinion as to what should be done. The Treasurer said they ought to join the boat in sight, and then they would go wheresoever he might direct. The Governor said he meant to reach the land by rowing, and that the Treasurer must do the like by his boat. So he was followed for the matter of a league and a half, until the men, weak and exhausted, for three days having eaten only the ration of a single handful of raw corn each day, could not keep up with the Governor, whose boat had more speed, was lighter and less encumbered, when the Treasurer besought him to order an end thrown to his boat; but the Governor answered that he could not, that it was not a time to wait for any one, and each should endeavor to do the best he was able to save his own life.

Not so responded that famous Count of Niebla, Don Enrique de Guzman, who, at Gibraltar, gathered in others to his boat until he and they were drowned together. The Treasurer and those with him did not wish Narvaez to take them, yet asked that he would give them a rope's end, whereby his boat might assist theirs on her way; and giving it, at any time was it in his power to let her go at convenience.

Returning to the account: having heard the unkind response of the Governor Pamphilo, the Treasurer followed for a little time until he lost sight of him; and then he bore away for the other boat at sea, being the one commanded by Penalosa and Captain Tellez, which waited for him. The two sailed together three hours, until nightfall. In consequence of that, the people suffered from extreme hunger; and from being wet the night before by the waves, they were all lying around, not five of them being able men. Thus wore away the night; and at four o'clock, the master of the boat belonging to the Treasurer threw the lead and found seven fathoms depth of water. As the sound of the breaking waves was very loud, they remained out until sunrise, when they found themselves a league from land, and putting the bows toward the shore, God be praised, they reached there in safety.

XI. Directly the Treasurer sent a man to some trees in sight, that, from their tops, he might survey the country. He returned and stated that they were on an island. Then he went back to examine for a path or fire: in the afternoon he returned and said he had found a small quantity of fish, which he brought. Behind him came three Indians, and in their rear two hundred bowmen, their ears bored and stuck with joints of cane. The Treasurer and the Inspector went out, and called to them, when they came; and they gave them some articles of traffic. Each warrior presented an arrow in token of friendship, and said, by signs, that the next day at sunrise they would bring food.

XII. They did so, returning in the morning with fish, and those roots they eat. They came in the same manner the next day. The Spaniards, provided with water, set about to continue their voyage. They undressed to throw their boat out into the water, and, thus at work, a sea struck her at the bows and wet those on one side engaged in rowing, causing them with that and the cold to let go their oars, so that the boat being on her beam ends another wave capsized her. The Inspector and two others remaining on their seats, she took them under, and they were drowned. The others came to shore naked without saving anything. They remained there on the coast, suffering severe cold until the evening, then the Indians coming to look after them, beheld them in that plight. They wept with the Christians,

as in grief for their troubles; and the Treasurer besought them to take the people to their houses. They did so, XIII. and in the morning said that other men like the Christians were near there. The Governor sent two men to find out who they were; and discovered them to be Alonso del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and the others belonging to their boat, which had been capsized on the same island; the fifth day of November, the other having come to land on the subsequent day. The food and clothing they had, which were very little, they divided with Cabeça de Vaga and his companions.

### CHAPTER III.

After the people of the two boats had counselled together, they concluded to refit the boat of the Treasurer. This they accomplished the best they knew how; and threw her out into the water. Finding that they could not keep her afloat because of worms and other difficulties, which must necessarily lead to shipwreck, they agreed to winter there, as indeed nothing further could be done. Believing Panuco to be near, they sent a hidalgo, named Figuerva, three XIV. men and an Indian thither, that they might give information of the state of the survivors and the place at which they were.

Five or six days from that time the people began to die, and the hunger became so excessive that of five who were together, some were eaten. The natives also were stricken with pain in the bowels, of which the half died; and the Indians thought to destroy the few remaining Spaniards, declaring that they had brought that malign pest to the country; but God choose that one of the chief men should say that they ought not to do so, nor believe that the Christians brought the sickness, seeing how they likewise suffered, very few of them surviving; that if they had brought it they too would not die. In consequence of what the Chief said, the Christians were allowed to live. They were then two or three days without taking a morsel. More merciful would it have been under the circumstances had the Spaniards been killed, than left through this generosity to support pain, hunger and suspense.

The Christians, sick and feeling themselves dying like the natives, resolved to go over to the mainland, into some marshes and creeks, after oysters the natives eat for three or four months in the year, without other thing, at a time they experience hunger, and make exertion continually, day and night, to protect themselves from mosquitos, which are in such numbers as to render the endurance of them scarcely supportable. Brackish water only is to be got, and no wood. In other four months of the year, they eat black-

berries and the green things growing wild; for two other months, they suck certain roots, and eat lizards, snakes, rats, and great spiders; and for the other two months, they live on fish. They go after another root, like the ground truffle, got in water. At times there are deer, which they kill from canoes. The people are very comely, and the women endure excessive hard labor.

The Indians took Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes to the main, to eat oysters, where they staid till the end of March, in the year 1529, when they returned to the Island. The Christians there brought together numbered barely fourteen; the Treasurer was in an opposite part of the country, very unwell and with no hope of recovery. Two, for being very thin and without strength, were left; and the rest crossing the bay, traveled along the shore.

Cabeça de Vaga continued living there five years and a half, digging roots in the earth beneath the water from morning to night with a hoe or stick such as the Indians use, bringing one or two loads daily on the bare back with no other covering on than that of the savages. In this employment he served them, as well as in others they set him upon, such as bringing home game and carrying about their huts; since it is the practice while seeking roots to remove every three or four days, the great destitution over all that country permitting of no continued place of abode.

Nothing whatsoever is planted, nor can maize be got. The country is healthy, and is temperate, save in winter while the north wind blows, when the fishes freeze even out in the sea. Andres Dorantes says he knew snow and hail to fall on one occasion; that greater hunger is there sustained than can be credited, although farther on they found more severe; and that the people feared death more than any he has ever known, and weep for their deceased with feelings of tenderness and intense grief.

Cabeça de Vaga, finding the work not only hard but extreme, began trafficking among the Indians, and to bring things from other parts for them which they needed and could not get. In this occupation he went occasionally into the interior and by the coast forty leagues ahead. Three times on his outward travel he crossed the bay he supposed from appearances to be the one called Espiritu Sancto. Twice he went back that distance to bring a Christian, the survivor of two whom Castillo and Dorantes had left very emaciated on the island; the last time he was got off, across that bay, and taken ten leagues from it on the way to certain Indians at war with those of the other side. These gave them the names of some Christians, of whom they had killed three or four, stating that many others had died near there of starvation, and that the survivors were in a wasted condition. They gave much other



bad news, and drew arrows at the hearts of the Spaniards, menacing to kill them. Unable to keep him, the man Cabeça de Vaga had rescued went back; and after two or three days the Treasurer secretly departed. Coming upon two Indians they conducted him to Alonso del Castillo and Andres Dorantes; the latter was waiting there the arrival of a slave he owned.

Asturiano, the clergyman, with a negro, had been living *the first winter* on an island back of the one where the vessels, were lost to which they had gone for subsistence. The Indians brought them back again across the bay in a canoe to the island, where was Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, Diego Dorantes and Pedro Valdivieso, with six others who had survived the cold and hunger; and together, on the first day of April, they took their departure. Two were left for want of strength to march, as also Cabeça de Vaga and another, who were inland and could not be got at to bring away. In return for some things, the Indians passed them over another bay.

The Christians traveled thence two leagues to a large river that was beginning to swell from freshet and rain, where they made rafts on which they crossed with much labor, they having few swimmers. Having gone three leagues more, they came to another river, running powerfully from the same cause, with such fury, that the fresh water extended a good way into the sea. They made rafts as before. The first being assisted went over in safety; the other was driven to sea more than a league; for the men being emaciated and worn out by the hardships of winter and the journey, had no strength. On the way they had eaten only of the abundant rock-weed, of which glass in Spain is made, and certain crabs hatched in crevices along shore and are little else than shell. Two men were drowned, two escaped from the raft by swimming, and one who remained sitting, finding himself beyond the current got on to the top, where the wind acting on him as a sail, took him thence again and cast him on the shore in safety.

The ten were now joined by another Christian. After going four leagues they came to a river and found a boat they recognized as that of the Comptroller, Alonso Enriquez, and the Commissary, but could find nothing of the people. Having gone five or six leagues, they arrived at a large river, where were two ranchos, from which the tenants fled. Other Indians, from the opposite side, who knew what they were, having before seen those of that boat and others belonging to the one of the Governor, having assured themselves took them over in a canoe to their houses. Nothing was found there to eat; but the Christians received a little fish which sufficed to sustain them through the night.

The Spaniards left the next day, and on the fourth day arrived at a bay, having lost two of their number by hunger and fatigue, nine now remaining. The bay was broad, nearly a league across; the point on the side towards Panuco, running out nearly a quarter of a league to sea, has on it some large white sand stacks which it is reasonable to suppose can be seen from the ocean, and consequently were thought to mark the river Espiritu Sancto. Finding no way of passing they were greatly harrassed. At last they discovered a broken canoe, which setting to rights in the best manner possible, they crossed in the two days they were there. Going on much depressed by hunger, the greater number swollen by the sea-weed they had eaten, with much exertion they came, at the end of twelve leagues, to a small bay, not over the breadth of a river. They tarried the day of their arrival. The next day, seeing an Indian on the opposite shore, they called to him, but he gave them no attention, and went off. In the afternoon, he returned, bringing with him one of the four that had been sent forward the previous winter to reach the land of Christians. Presently they came over; and he, Figuerva, there recounted to the nine the fate of his three companions, two having died of hunger, and the third being killed by Indians. He stated that he had come upon a Christian named Esquivel, the sole survivor in the boats of the Governor and Alonso Enriquez, from subsisting on the flesh of those that died, the rest perishing of hunger, some feeding upon others; that the boat of the Comptroller was wrecked where they saw her, and the Governor following along by the coast came upon those men, as he still kept the sea in his boat; that on discovering them he concluded to lighten the vessel, by setting his people on shore, that they might travel together along the coast, being weary of the voyage and without food, and that keeping in sight of them on coming to any river or bay he would pass them over to the other shore. In this manner they arrived at the river supposed to be Espiritu Sancto, where the Governor crossed them to the other shore, remaining in the boat unwilling to land, there being with him only a pilot, Anton Perez, and his page Camps. As the night set in, a strong wind came on to blow from the north; and from that time nothing was ever heard of them. Narvaez at the time was covered with spots; and as those with him were not robust, it may be considered that they were taken by the ocean. The people going by certain pools and overflowed grounds, went inland, where, without resource, they all perished during the past winter.

Thus ended the account of Figuerva, without his being able to add more than that Esquivel was about there in the possession of some natives, and they might see him in a little while; but, in

about a month from that time, it was known that he no longer lived; having gone from the Indians, they had followed after and put him to death.

The Christian tarried a few moments, long enough to relate the sad news. As the Indian who brought him would not permit him to remain, he was constrained to go back. Asturiano, the clergyman, and a young man being the only ones who knew how to swim, accompanied them to the intent of returning with fish which they were promised, and that they should be brought back over the bay; but when the Indians found them at their houses, they would neither bring nor let them return; on the contrary they put their houses into canoes and took the two Christians with them, saying that they should soon come back, and they went to gather a certain leaf they use for a beverage that is drank as hot as can be borne. One of the men, who came next morning and brought a small quantity of fish given him, related the circumstances. The eight companions remained there that day to appease their hunger, and the next morning they saw two Indians of a rancho coming over the water to place their dwelling on the hither side. The object was to live on the blackberries that grow in some places along the coast, which they seek during a season they know very well, and, when they can be had, are a food that will support them. They called to the Indians, who came as to persons they thought lightly of, taking some part of what they possessed almost by force. The Christians besought the natives to set them over, which they did in a canoe, taking them to their houses near by, and at dark gave them a little fish. The next day they went out for more, and returned at night, giving them a part of what they had caught. The day following they moved off with them; and never after were the two Christians seen the other Indians took away.

Immense God! How excessive these labors for a life so short as that of man! What unheard of torments for the human frame! What intolerable hunger for the body so weak! What adversities so extreme for flesh so sensitive! What deaths so desperate for the understanding so unreasonable! With what did the captains and ministers of these journeyings, who were so deceived and mocked, repay the unhappy beings they led to die such deaths? It may be said that they who gave credit to these words received the reward of their cupidity.

We know that Pamphilo de Narvaez was never in that land, where he proposed to take this people, believing himself to be Lord and Governor, when it appears to me he knew not how to govern even himself. Can there be greater folly than to follow after such leaders? And behold how dexterous were his pilots, who, passing over

to that country, knew not whither they were going nor where they were. Thus closed the lives of those both of the sea and land in evil deaths, neither knowing what they were about.

\* \* \* \* \*

Tell me now, ye who have read, if you ever heard or knew of a people so unfortunate as these, so worked and so evil counselled. Look at that perigration of Ulysses, that navigation of Jason, the labors of Hercules, that are all fictions and metaphors which, understood as they should be, nothing could you find in them to marvel at; they are not to be compared in equality with the labors of these sinners who made so sad a journey and end.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

### III.—AN EARLY NEW YORK PUBLICATION.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"THE ARTICLES OF FAITH OF The Holy Evangelical Church, According to *The Word of GOD, AND THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION*. Set forth in FORTY SERMONS.—By Magist. Petrus Sacharia Naksow, Præpositus, and Minister of the Gospel in *Jutland, in Denmark*.—Translated from the Original into English, By Jochum Melchior Magens.—NEW YORK: Printed and Sold, by J. PARKER and W. WEYMAN, at the New Printing-Office in *Beaver-street*; Also to be Sold by GODFRIED MULLER, Reader in the Lutheran Church, in *New-York*, and Mr. SCHLEYDORN in *Philadelphia*, MDCCLIV."

Pp. ii, ii, (2), 314; but page-numbers 111–210 are repeated, and the last page should be 414. Sm. 4to.

Bound with these sermons, and evidently designed to make part of the same volume, (though separately pagged), is—

"THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF THE XXVIII. ARTICLES OF THE Evangelical unvaried CONFESSION, Presented at AUSBURG," etc.: translated, as appears by an address to the Reader, (dated, "New-York, the 11th, Nov. 1755,") by the Rev. "John Albert Weygand, Minister of the Gospel in the old Lutheran Church in New-York, and Hackensack:" and printed by J. Parker and W. Weyman, 1755. Pp. 80, (2).

A quarto of four hundred and fifty pages from a New York press, in 1754, deserves more notice than it appears to have received from local historians or bibliographers. It may not be unknown to New York collectors; but I have not found its title in any American Catalogue; and the copy now before me is the only one I have ever met with.

Magister Magens, the translator, had lived

several years at Flushing, and was chosen an Elder of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in New York. The Dedication of his book may be worth reprinting in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for the personal and local history it contains.

"To the Honourable VESTRY of the EVANGELICAL CHURCH in The City of New-York.

"*Reverend Fathers, and Brethren in Christ:*  
"It is now going on five years since I arriv'd here from the *West Indies*, in order, if I should like the Place, to settle here, or else remove to *Copenhagen*, where I have had my Education in the Royal University; though born in the Island of *St. Thomas*, under subjection of his most Sovereign Majesty the King of *Denmark*: But I cannot express how I was griev'd in my Mind, when, upon Inquiry after the State of our Holy *Evangelical Church* and Brethren, I mostly met with a general Contempt and Discommendation, partly occasion'd by the bad and immoral Lives of so well Preachers as some of their Hearers; partly by the great Prejudice that prevail'd among the other Congregations, concerning our Holy Doctrine: And, therefore I resolv'd to translate the *Forty Sermons*, of the Worthy Magister *Petrus Zachariæ Nakskov*, upon the Articles of our Faith, in order to have them printed; *First*, For the better Conviction of all who are unacquainted with the Purity of our Holy Doctrine; and, *Secondly*, For the Edification of them that are desirous to be instructed in the true Way of Salvation. And since the Honourable *Vestry* have chosen me to be an Elder of our Church, in the City of *New-York*, I thought it proper to dedicate this, my well-meaning Labour, to them.

"I shall always endeavour to help the promoting of this our sound Doctrine, and remain with due Regard,

"Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

"Your most Obedient,

"J. M. MAGENS.

"FLUSHING, Jan.

"31, 1754."

#### IV.—NOTES ON THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONGRESS AT PARIS.

FROM LETTERS BY PROFESSOR CARL VOGT TO "THE COLOGNE GAZETTE." TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR RAU FOR THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

The Congress was opened on the seventeenth day of August, 1867, in the Ecole de Medicine; and its labors lasted two weeks. The various

countries were thus represented: France, by Longperrier and Quatrefages; Scandinavia, by Nilson; England, by Franks; America, by Squier; Denmark, by Worsaae, and Germany and Switzerland, by Vogt, who delivered the opening address. Mr. Larted being President.

The collection of antiquities from the drift-period, the caves, the Lacustrian villages and the kitchen-middens, &c., were exhibited in the large halls where the Congress met, and are described as really magnificent, affording the investigator of the primitive condition of man unusual facilities for research and comparison. The most interesting relics in the French department were, according to Professor Vogt, those of the rein-deer period, from the caverns of Dordogne, consisting of representations engraved on horn, bone, ivory, and stone, and of carved articles. "There is the 'mammoth,' says Vogt, 'the elephant of the diluvial period, with his long mane, engraved on ivory, or carved to serve as a handle; there are the rein-deer, the cave-tiger, and the cave-bear; the stag, the aurochs, the horse, and the wild goat; there are birds, fishes, groups of frogs, and even representations of plants, only recently found, among which is a tulip-like flower with twisted stem. And the very same 'savage men, who displayed so much artistic taste, were not yet far enough advanced to know how to grind stone, but merely *chipped* the edges of their weapons of flint."

It will be of interest to the Society to learn that our associate, Mr. E. G. Squier, made remarks relating to his discoveries in Peru, exhibiting at the same time the large plans and diagrams, which have become familiar to us. Mr. Squier used the English language; but his friend, Alfred Maury, translated for him into French.

Bertrand exhibited a map showing the distribution of cromlechs on the Eastern Hemisphere. They are chiefly found along the coasts and in the large river-valleys, occurring most frequently and of the largest size in Bretagne, North Germany, and Denmark. The question whether they belong to one or more periods, or were constructed by one or by various nations, remained unsolved, because the facts thus far collected are not yet sufficiently numerous to justify a final conclusion. Their number, however, is astonishing. Mr. Cartailhac exhibited an album containing about a hundred representations of cromlechs occurring in one Department. Longuemar spoke of seventy-six cromlechs and nineteen barrows in the Department of the Vienne. Worsaae mentioned that hundreds of them had been examined by him in Denmark, and by Lisch, in Mecklenburg.

Very important discoveries relating to the antiquity of man were communicated during the session of the Congress. Two gentlemen of the Catholic clery, exhibited bones of the *Halitherium*,

an animal of the whale kind, from the *faluns*, or shell-marls of Touraine, which are coeval, geologically speaking, with the tertiary limestones of the basin of Mayence, or the sandstones of the molasse in Switzerland. These bones, which constitute a whole skeleton, bear on their surface cuts and marks evidently produced by flint implements, and it would seem, therefore, that man is even older than the diluvium, for the *faluns* of Touraine belong to the tertiary period, and the bones discovered in them claim a much higher antiquity than the remains of mammoths and hippopotami of the diluvium. At a period, when Mount Rigi did not yet exist, and sharks and rays swam about between the Jura and the Alps, hunting tribes already roamed through France and feasted upon a whale which the sea had floated ashore. The Abbe Bourgeois, one of the reverend gentlemen, admitted the high antiquity of man in a paper which he read before the Congress. An Italian investigator, Issel from Genoa, exhibited human bones found in the blue clay of the sub-Appennine formation which belongs also to the tertiary. These bones were exhumed near Colle del Vento. There can be but little doubt that man existed already in the tertiary epoch, long before the ice-period.

The indications that the primitive inhabitants of Europe were cannibals are rapidly accumulating. Hamy, one of the Secretaries, reported several facts, which have already been brought before the Anthropological Society of Paris. Vogt gave a minute account of the finding at Chauvaux, near Liege, where Spring discovered bones of young human individuals, which were treated exactly like the bones of animals that had served for meals. He also spoke of the human bones found at Uelze, in Westphalia, of which Professor Schaaffhausen of Bonn has given a similar account. Broca made interesting remarks relating to cannibalism. He stated he had doubted for a long time that man-eating had existed in Europe in pre-historic times, but a human bone, extracted by Dr. Clement from the pile-work of Concise, on the lake of Neuchatel, had convinced him. On this bone, he said, the cuts of flint hatchets and the marks of gnawing teeth could plainly be seen; and the marrow has evidently been scraped out from the cavity of the bone. Other testimonials were brought forth. Roujou found, near Villeneuve St. Georges, thigh bones and jaws opened and partly roasted. Julien found in a cavern near Buis, the bones of three individuals treated in the same manner. Worsaae discovered in a tumulus of the North, in one corner, the bones of animals which had served for the funeral meal; in the other corner, he found a heap of human bones, indicating by their appearance that they were likewise the remains of a meal; and Spring, who was just at that time in

Copenhagen, identified the latter instantly with those found by him at Chauvaux. All those, who had devoted their attention to this subject, agreed with Vogt, that the finds indicating cannibalism in Europe, were to be referred to the end of the stone age, or, perhaps, to the beginning of the bronze period. "Our ancestors," says Vogt, "were evidently savages in every respect; why then, should they not have done like other savages, who kill and eat their prisoners?"

The museum of St. Germain contains many beautiful models of cromlechs and dolmens, constructed in a manner that they can be taken asunder, and that their proportions and inner structure are perfectly laid open to view. The stone weapons, earthen vessels, and bones, found in the cromlechs, and casts of the large stone slabs, which constitute the latter, are likewise exhibited in the museum. The casts of the stone plates of the dolmen of Garr 'iness, in Bretagne, are the most interesting, being covered all over with intricate spiral lines. On one stone, a compact grey granite, are to be seen rude representations of stone axes and chisels, the outlines of which are regularly and deeply cut in the hard stone. How was that possible without metal, without steel or hardened bronze? These sculptures certainly must have been executed with metal. Such, at least, is the opinion prevailing among the antiquarians who are present. But Mr. Bertrand thinks differently, and proceeds to make a trial. A fine piece of the same granite is worked with stone chisels and axes; and the experiment proves to be a perfect success. After a day's labor, a circle and a few lines are engraved. A chisel of polished flint used during the whole time was hardly injured; one of nephrite had become somewhat blunted, and a similar implement of greenstone still more. But the edge of a bronze axe used in the operation was instantly bent, and it became evident that those sculptures had not been executed with bronze, but with stone. The labor of years, however, was probably required, before the builders of that cromlech succeeded in tracing all their figures on the surface of the stones.

The museum of St. Germain contains also, among other valuable relics, many antiquities of the Gallo-Roman period, put up there to facilitate the imperial studies of Julius Cæsar and his times.

On a certain day, a number of the delegates made an excursion to Amiens, the capital of Picardy, for the purpose of inspecting the classic grounds, where Boucher de Perthes discovered those remarkable flint implements associated with the bones of extinct animals of the diluvial period. Between the city and an institution founded by the Jesuits and called St. Acheul, there extends a sterile, almost horizontal plateau, consisting of layers of sand and pebbles, the whole

thickness amounting to thirty feet and more. This formation rests on the white chalk, which encloses many nodules of flint. The flint axes and bones are found in the layer just above the chalk. These rude flint implements, fashioned by the wild men who hunted the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the gigantic elk, are now somewhat rare, and as there is considerable demand for them, the working men of the neighborhood supply the want by fabricating them; and the excursionists were much amused by the discovery of several modern working places. While they were on the spot, an individual made his appearance, who professed to have a great fancy for flint implements. Taking up a piece of flint, he begins to operate on it with another piece in lieu of a hammer. The flakes which he splits off, have exactly the shape of knives and scrapers; and in a few minutes he has made a flint axe, that perfectly resembles a genuine one. The fracture, of course, is fresh; but our artist informs the savants how this defect can be easily remedied. The specimens, he says, are boiled in lime-water, and, by that process, covered with a white crust; they are then greased and burned in smoke, and the sharp edges are smoothed with sandstone. After these manipulations, the most practiced eye can hardly distinguish these imitations from the originals. The excursionists bought a great many of these modern flint articles for the purpose of comparing them with the genuine ones.

The Congress will meet next year in London; and Sir Roderick Murchinson is designated as President.

#### V.—PARALLEL AND COMBINED EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE CHEROKEE INDIANS IN SOUTH AND IN NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1776.

BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

[In the Summer of 1776, the Cherokee Indians in the Western part of North Carolina, as we learn from Martin's History of that State, page 383, "commenced their invasions "on the unprotected and unsuspecting back settlers.

"Early in the month of July, Griffith Rutherford, Brigadier-general of the militia of the District of Salisbury," [the Court-House of Rowan County, and at that time including Iredell] "passed the mountains at the head of nineteen hundred men, while Colonel Williamson led a party of the "militia of South Carolina against the Cherokees. As General Rutherford crossed the wilderness, parties of Indians, "lying in ambush, harassed him by a galling fire. He "however, after a short time, succeeded in silencing them, "ranged the settlement of the enemy undisturbed, laid waste "the plantations, and destroyed their provisions. This "timely chastisement produced the most fortunate effect; "most of the Indians surrendered themselves, and sued for "peace."

\* The best, and probably the only full account of Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokees in 1776, is found in the *University Magazine*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina) for May, 1852, (i. 132-136) which we shall reproduce in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for November.

From Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, 383-384, we learn more particulars of this expedition. "In 1776," he says, "he [Rutherford] commanded an army of two thousand "and four hundred men to subdue the Overhill Cherokee Indians. He marched to the territory, destroyed thirty-six towns, cut up their standing corn, and drove off their cattle. . . . Rutherford crossed the Blue Ridge at "the Swannanoa Gap, and passed down the French Broad, "and crossed the river at the ford, which passes to this day "by the name of the War Ford; then up the Valley of Hominy Creek; then crossing Pigeon (River) to the Tuckasege (River.) From thence they crossed the Cowee Mountain to the Tennessee River. In the Valley of the Tennessee River "in Macon County, North Carolina] they burned the towns "of Watanga, Esteetoea, and Ellajay. Here, on the fourteenth of September, they met General Williamson, with troops from South Carolina, who had crossed the Blue Ridge at the sources of the Tennessee River. In his march for the valley towns, General Williamson was attacked in a narrow pass near the present town of Franklin "Macon County], by a body of Indians in ambush. He "lost thirteen men killed and thirty wounded. The Indians "were routed with great slaughter."

"Rutherford, in a skirmish at Valley Town, Ellajay, and near Franklin, lost three men; but he completely subdued the Indians, and turning his large stock of cattle, which he had for subsistence, along with the army, on their growing crops, destroyed their means, and with his troops burned their towns. He returned in October, and at Salisbury disbanded his troops. The Rev. James Hall, of Iredell, accompanied this expedition as Chaplain."

From Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, 326, we learn that "When it was necessary for the American forces to "march into the Cherokee country in Georgia" [adjacent to the country inhabited by the same tribe in North Carolina, and the same expedition spoken of above] "to quell the "Indians, a company was raised in Iredell" [then part of Rowan] "for that expedition, and Mr. Hall" [Rev. James Hall, D.D.], "went with his friends as Chaplain to the army. "During the expedition, which lasted about two months, "the Chaplain offered public prayers, very regularly, every "morning and evening; but had but one opportunity of "preaching. On that occasion he took his stand under a "large shady tree; the army, consisting of about four thousand men, was drawn up around him; the soldiers brought "from the neighboring woods each a young sapling, or long "branch of a tree, with all the foliage, and as they were "drawn up in close ranks, seating themselves on the ground, "and resting their shady branches upon the earth, they "formed a dense shade, and under this novel shelter from "the sun, listened to the sermon."

These extracts will enable the reader to understand the following. Sixteen or more years ago, the writer found in Iredell County, a portion of an old pamphlet, without title-page or conclusion. It was traditionally called the "ROSS PAMPHLET," probably the Journal of a Captain Ross, in the Expedition of General Williamson, above mentioned, through the Northwestern part of South Carolina, into the Cherokee country of North Carolina, where, as it will appear from the Journal, just where it breaks off, they fell in with the North Army (i. e. Rutherford's), and that "evening "they had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, "being in the North Army." At that time we advertised in several newspapers for a complete copy, and published the fragment which we had, but have never heard of any more than what appears in the following pages of the Journal.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

E. F. R.

#### JOURNAL.

July the eighth day, being Monday, we assembled at Captain Peter Clinton's, in the province of South Carolina, and on or by the waters of Ellison's creek, to engage the Indians, on account of the insurrections they made on the white inhabitants, killing and plundering all they came to. This express occasioned us to rise to stop them in their present undertaking. Being commanded by Colonel Neel, and under Captain Clinton, we started, and marched to William

Hall's, and encamped after a day's march of about fourteen miles.

Tuesday, the ninth day of July, 1776, we marched over Broad River, about two miles, and meeting a party of our men, it gave us fresh fortitude in the pursuing of our heathen enemies. We encamped here after a day's march of about eighteen miles.

Wednesday, the tenth, we started, and marched twenty-five miles to one Moor's. We continued our march next day, fifteen miles, to one Mr. Wal-ford's fort, on Lawson's fork, hearing that the Indians had persisted as far as Prince's fort, on Tiga, and killing and plundering all before them, hurried us on in our march to the aforesaid fort, where we arrived Friday, the twelfth instant. We found no enemy there. We stayed there two days: then hearing our enemies were harbored and encouraged at the house of one Perris', we started and marched within two miles, being joined with, or assisted by, Colonel Thomas's regiment, in all about three hundred men. We encamped on a hill all night, in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning. When daylight came, we surrounded the house, but, contrary to our expectations, we found no Indians there, for they had left that place, and had embodied themselves together and marched to another fort called Lindly's fort, being assisted by or with a number of white men, in order to destroy the same; but by the conduct and valor of the inhabitants of the fort, the designs of the heathen enemy were frustrated, being forced to retreat after a smart firing from both sides. After a retreat of these heathens, the battle ended with little or no slaughter on either side, save some few wounded. We will next return to Perri's, and let you know that we took his wife and daughters, and, in short, all his family, as likewise some Tories that harbored there; so taking all prisoners, and committing his houses to the flames, we took his effects, as free plunder, driving cows, steers and horses, and brought all to our camp at Prince's fort, distant twenty-five miles. When we arrived, we saw a man that had gone that night to a mill, about six miles off, with a wagon for provisions, who intended to return that night; so as he was returning, within two miles of the fort, and riding a horse across the creek, not thinking of danger, on a sudden there was an Indian within two rods of him, and to his surprise fired at him, and shot him through the thick of the thigh, and the horse scaring, threw him down. The Indian immediately made to him, but to save himself he jumped into the creek; then rushed forth another Indian with his gun ready to fire, which made the poor water-prisoner expect nothing but death. But to be short, he fired at him, and the bullet took him below the shoulder and out by the left breast.

By this last shot the poor helpless white man fell back into the water. The Indian seeing this, drew his tomahawk and made to him, thinking to have sunk it into his brains; but, contrary to his expectations, the wounded man snatched it out of his hand, and made to the Indian, who retreated with the halloo of "hoboy, hoboy." When the white man saw this, he made his best way back to the mill, knowing that the Indians were between him and the fort, and got some men at the mill to conduct him back to the fort. This was a remarkable deliverance that one man could escape from four Indians, well armed, as says the beholder.—This aforesaid man is of the name of Reed, a man of superior dignity, courage and flexibility, which appears by his valor during his escape from the Indians. I am next to inform you, that we began to vendue the aforesaid plunder on the sixteenth, and continued till the eighteenth instant, and, by a vulgar guess, amounted to seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency.

Friday, the twenty-first day of July, 1776, our next orders was to make to our enemies. So we started with a silent and secure march, being determined to rout and scatter them if possible. We continued our course to one Hight's, and seeing there what slaughter was made by our heathen enemies, by killing and scalping all they met with; this sight seemed terrifying, to see our fellow creatures lying dead and massacred in such a manner, as hindered us almost from interring or burying them, their effects being destroyed, their houses lying in ashes; this, with all other of their actions, occasioned us to vow revenge or die in the attempt.—So we continued in the pursuit of revenge, and marched on to Perri's place; beholding with satisfaction the ruins of the same, we lay here encamped till Thursday, the third day of August.—Then, Friday, the fourth, we marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a round hill.—Saturday, the fifth, our orders were to form ourselves in a hollow square, with the wagons around us. Then there was a party appointed to stay with the wagons and baggage, as guards, while the rest of us marched to our enemy's towns. We continued our course to Streke, an Indian town, called Estatoe. When within about two miles of the same, we parted in divisions as follows: Colonel Thomas ordered his men to the right flank to surround our enemy's towns, and the light horse of both regiments to the left, and us, to Colonel Neel's regiment, in the front or center. We marched very carefully till coming within sight of the town, then rushed in with all speed possible, but, contrary to our expectation or desire, we got no Indians there, save one that escaped with being shot in his thigh. After this we set the houses on fire, and marched as quick as possible to another town,

called Qualhatchee; and our enemies having left that also, we committed it to the flames, and started with rather running than marching to another town called Taxaway. And the inhabitants thereof being deserted, we stayed there but a short time, and left it on fire to warm themselves by at their return. We well remember this also, that while we marched to the aforesaid town, a few of our men detained in this Qualhatchee town, gathering peaches, and roasting ears, being tired with traveling, they laid themselves down to rest, and the enemy, who always watches such opportunities, coming close to two of our aforesaid men, fired at them, and shot one of them through the thigh. This shot coming so unexpectedly, set the men in great surprise; for no assistance being nigh, they expected nothing but death. But making the best speed they could up a neighboring mountain, being tired with running, and the wounded man almost ready to faint, they halted to rest themselves; and casting their eyes towards the ground that they left, they espied about sixteen Indians there, looking as earnestly for blood as a hunter after his game. After this discovery, they started to our baggage guard, and got safe there. By this time we came up, wishing for such game, but finding none we made to our wagons, and arrived about sunset, being distant about nine miles.

Sunday, the sixth of August, we started, wagons and all, and marched to our aforesaid towns again, to help them off with some of their crops and vegetables, of which they were very well stored, far beyond our conception. But to be short, we persisted in that undertaking as far as the furthestmost of the aforesaid towns. After these performances, we were yet ordered to continue, and marched down Savannah river to Sugartown, in order to meet General Williamson there, according to his own appointment. When we arrived, we found the town destroyed, and them gone. We set out after them, down the aforesaid water, to another town called Keewee, where we met with a party of the aforesaid General's regiment, whilst the other party was a hunting for towns, camps, or any other place of harboring for or of our enemies.

Thursday, the eighth, we started in our turn, scouting the Cane Brakes that was confined by the aforesaid Savannah river, and continued to Taxaway, where we routed a camp of Indians in the said town. In discovering us they all fled, save one sturdy fellow, who allowing himself to fight some, but being prevented of his design, was forced to surrender up his camp, and worse for him, his life also, with doing no other execution than wounding one of our men through the side of his belly. Then we had to leave two companies of our men with the wounded man, and the rest of us continued hunting for more of such

game, and came along the said Savannah river to a town called Chittitogo, where we started some more of our foresters, and killed one squaw, and captivated a squaw and two negroes, and got information from the captives of an Indian camp up in the mountain, where was confined old Mrs. Hite and her two daughters, whom they took prisoners, when they killed the remainder of the family. They likewise informed us, that there were three hundred warriors started to Keewee, and were determined to take that town and wagons; and likewise that there was a body of them yet guarding the camps.—This information put us to a stand, whether it would be expedient to return, or advance to relieve the poor prisoners; after a long consultation, it was concluded by our good Colonel Neel to pursue our enemies, which we willingly complied to, and started with a small body of men; for Colonel Thomas's was ordered by him to go back to camp. But to proceed, we marched over mountains very difficult to climb, but allowing not to be conquered, we crossed them with some difficulty, and persisted as far as a mountain within three miles of the camp. Being to our view unclimbable we ascended partly to the top of the same, and making our best speed up were halted by a shot of a gun, which came from our enemies, who were screened by blinds made with broken limbs of trees; and no sooner we stopped, but they fired about fourteen guns, killed one horse and wounded another. We received no more damage, but spread round the mountain to surround them; but they cleared themselves, night coming on. We had to encamp here all night upon this mountain. So on Friday, the ninth, we started about daylight, and marched down to their camp. But they were all fled, and had carried Mrs. Hight about one hundred yards from their camp, and had killed her there, leaving her on her face, naked. After burying her, we ransacked the camps, getting some plunder, they not having time to carry all off.—So started back to Keewee to our camps, and lay there till an express arrived from General Williamson's scouting party, which gave the following intelligence, to wit: That on the twelfth instant, General Williamson came to Towmossy, where he saw signs of Indians very fresh—Detached Captain Perkins and Captain Anderson with sixty men to reconnoiter or track the enemy; likewise Major Downs went out with twenty men, Captain Anderson with twenty-five men, parted from Captain Perkins, and crossed a creek. Soon after Captain Perkins and his thirty-five men saw two Indians, and fired at them. The Indians instantly set up the war whoop and ran. The party followed, and was quickly met by a party of the enemy, supposed to be between two and three hundred, who engaged them very furiously, when Major Downs fortunately came

up in the rear, and Anderson falling on the back of the enemy. To the right the firing was heard at the town, when Williamson turned out with one hundred and fifty men, who coming close on the back of the enemy, made them quickly give way. The furthestmost of their party being almost surrounded, and were entirely cut off, sixteen were found dead in the valley where the battle ended. These our men scalped, but did not look any further: it being now near sunset, they were called off by beat of a drum. We had two killed and sixteen wounded: three of the latter died next day, of whom was Captain Neel and Captain Lacy, a couple of brave officers and good men. So close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other, when the cracker had his thumb instantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried "Canaly," "Enough" in English; "Damn you," says the white man, "you can never have enough while you are alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains. It would have been fun if he had let the latter action alone, and sent him home without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated. I am next to inform you that our provision being out, we concluded to return for a fresh supply of the same, and steered homewards with but one day's allowance.—Marched, eastward, crossed Six Mile Creek—next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek; from thence to Reedy River; then next waters were Lawson's Fork; so continued to Pacolet; next to Tiga River; next marched to Broad River; so continued our course home; and the number of miles that we marched from Keewee was one hundred and seventy-three miles, traveling the chief of the same on the one day's allowance; yet for all that slavery and hardship it did not deter nor daunt us from trying it again, for as soon as we got a supply of provisions, we all assembled at our noble Captain's again, the day appointed, voluntarily, to go and destroy all opposing enemies, and to pursue the Indians as far as mountains and roads admitted of.—So,

Friday, the twenty-third day of August, 1776, we started from Captain Peter Clinton's, on Ellison's Creek, and continued our march to John Smith's, meeting nothing material, being a day's march of about ten miles.

Saturday, the twenty-fourth, we started from camp, and marched to Mr. Smith's, at Broad River, distant about nineteen miles. This night we received an account that Major Robinson had made his escape, being some time ago confined on account of his misbehavior; after this account, Colonel Neel ordered off Captain Andrew Neel

to the aforesaid Robinson's habitation, where they found none but his wife, whom they mistook not, but committed his effects to the flames. After this they returned to our camps.

Sunday, the twenty-fifth, we started, to march by order, to Sinacha Fort, where we were to meet General Williamson, our head commander, which orders we obeyed, and marched to Mr. Goudilock's meeting, nothing material happening, distant twenty miles. So we continued from thence to Waford's fort, on Lawson's fork, finding nothing worthy our relating, distant twenty-one miles. From thence we steered our course to Tiga River, and made the best of our way to Prince's fort, on the aforesaid waters. From thence to one Vernar's, a day's march of about twenty-three miles. So,

Wednesday, the twenty-eighth instant, we next steered our course to Hight's old place, next to Perris's place, on Reedy River, a day's march of thirty-three miles. We steered from camp at Perris's and marched across Soludy River, about six miles, and continued along the road about six miles more; then took to the woods for a night cut to our desired Fort. In this manner we marched about five miles, crossed two small branches of Twelve mile creek, our day's march about seventeen miles, and encamped by a small branch.

Friday, the thirtieth, in the morning, a little after the wagoners started to hunt their horses, our camps were surprised by a negro of Captain Ross's, who had lately arrived from hunting, who gave us the following relation, viz.: That after hunting for his horses some time, he finding them by a thicket, distant from camp about one mile, and when mounting on one of them, there was a shot fired from the thickets, and he casting his eyes about, perceived a sturdy Indian rushing out therefrom and making to him, who, when he perceived, trusting to his horse for safety, set off with all speed possible, and kept his distance pretty well for about one hundred yards; but, on a sudden, the horse fell dead, occasioned by the aforesaid shot; which, when the Indian perceived, increased his pace, thinking to have had a negro to wait on him. But contrary to his expectation, the boy being supple and unwilling to have an Indian for his master, he cleared himself, and came to the camps. After this account, we instantly started in the pursuit of them, though all in vain, for we could not find them. So they cleared themselves, and took with them nine horses, and shot at another horse hunter, but he happily escaped, with having his horse shot in the rump. So close was the Indian to him, that the smoke and powder lashed against him, but he fortunately escaped. After these surprises, we started and marched across the Ninety-sixth road, so on that course about two miles, encamped, after a day's march of about sixteen miles.



■ This night there came a man to our camp, who gave the following account of his adventures, to wit: That he was at Senica Fort, with General Williamson, and being so necessitated that he had to go home, and missing his road, happened on an Indian town called Soquani, and alighted off his horse to gather peaches or such like; and being some distance off his horse, casting his eyes round towards him, espied Indians coming to him, when he made the best of his way to our camps. This information being delivered, our Colonel ordered forty-two light horsemen to go to the aforesaid Soquani town, it being all we could raise; so they steered to the town, and coming into the same, they found the aforesaid man's horse tied where he left him; and searching further, they found four Indian's horses—a small restitution for upwards of nine they took from us before. After this, we started, and marched down to Senica Fort, where we met or found General Williamson and regiment, and encamped.

Sunday, the first day of September, there was a company of light horse scouts raised, and taking the Cotappo Indians with them, they being entire foes to the Cherokees, they marched along through Sugartown, likewise through Taxaway, and coming upon some fresh signs of their enemies, one of the Cotappo's being detached to track the enemy, and made out the sign as far as their camps, confined in a hollow. After this reconnoiter of the Indian, he returned to the white men, and informed them as follows: That there was a great many of them, too numerous for our white men that were there. This information occasioned them to send down an express to Sinache, our camps, for a reinforcement of men and some more provision. This being delivered, we started as quick as possible to their assistance very securely; but they not having patience to wait for our arrival, and doubting that the enemy would not stay long there, they attacked the camps; but being deceived by the situation of the same, they attacked the wrong end, and gave them a clear passage to run—as they did the first shot. The Cotappos being in the front, espied a Cheerokee coming out of one of their houses, and being so confounded by the surprise, ran the wrong road for him, for instead of clearing himself, as the rest of his countrymen did, he made right in the face of our Indians, who, willing to see such a chance, embraced the opportunity, and committed him to the terrors of death. After the departure of those cowards, the Cotappos searched next for plunder, and got a great parcel of beads, wampum, garters, and deerskins, and likewise some horses; and in getting this booty were vastly encouraged; but as they were returning with their prize, and ascending up a hill, some small distance from their camps, the Cheerokees waylaid

the Cotappos, and being unperceived by being behind trees, fired at them, and killed one of the head warriors among them, he who first discovered their camps. Our men instantly rushed up; but, as soon as our enemies fired, they ran so that they cleared themselves. After this they started down to Taxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement; and having nothing more to do there, we all marched back to Senica Fort, and arrived Thursday the third, and lay there waiting for Colonel Sumpter and regiment, before we could start to the Middle Settlements, being too scarce for ammunition; so lay encamped till Thursday, the twelfth instant, when arrived two hundred and seventy men of Colonel Sumpter's, who encamped.

Friday, the thirteenth day of September, 1776, we started by beat of drum to march; our intent was for the Middle Settlements, a habitation for Indians. We, or our lines of battle, were ordered as follows: We were drawn up in three lines or wings, Colonel Sumpter commander of the right wing, Colonel Hammon commander of the left wing, and Colonel Neel commander of the front or center. In this manner we marched to the waters of Cane Creek, and encamped after a day's march of about eight miles.

Saturday, the fourteenth, we started from camp, and marched untill we came to the mountains of Ocope, and crossed them with some difficulty, and at length came to a small branch, and encamped there after a day's march of fifteen miles. Next day we marched about twelve miles, and encamped at a river called Tugla, at the mouth of Warewoman's Creek. From there we marched next day, and crossed Warewoman's Creek, it being so crooked that we crossed it above sixteen miles in the distance of eight. Then coming into a mountainous country, our marching becoming the more difficult, we scarcely exceeded twelve miles per day; but allowing that this distance itself would some time or other bring us to our enemy's towns, it fared us as follows: We next came to the waters of Little Tugla, and encamped by the foot of two mountains—this day's march about twelve miles.

Tuesday, the seventeenth of September, we started as formerly, and marched to the waters of Tinnissy River; from thence to the Gassy Plains, and on to the Narrows made by the mountains on one side, and Tinnissy River on the other, where we expected to have an engagement with our enemies, being so advantageous for them, being the spot where they repulsed General Grant the last war, with killing upwards of fifty men, a great many horses, and lost a vast deal of provision; so much that a great many suffered before they returned. But to be short: we came through these narrows with great courage, and continued our march to the first town in the Mid-

dle Settlements, called Thisintheagh, and finding the Indians all had fled, we encamped in this town, it being convenient on account of house-room. Here we stopped till further orders, which soon came; for on Wednesday, the eighteenth instant, we marched along Tennessey River to Coweachee Town, and finding the north army had been there, commanded by Brigadier General Rutherford, we started in pursuit of them as far as a town called Cannutee, where we found a party of the aforesaid army; that is to say, a baggage guard, whilst the rest marched to the vallies. We started at the north fork of Tennessey, and marched this day to the south fork of said waters, being about twelve miles. This evening we were informed that the north army had started to the vallies was bewildered on account of being destitute of a pilot. This account occasioned us to send two pilots to them, allowing them to attack the lower end of the vallies, whilst we were to attack the uppermost town. Here we encamped by the aforesaid Tinnissy River.

Thursday, the nineteenth day of September, 1776, we started to the vallies, and a most difficult road it was, marching along Tennessey River or branch, called Cowechee; the path or road we marched led us into a long valley, or rather a hollow, surrounded by mountains on all sides, only the entrance. This place goes by the name of Black Hole, and well it deserves that title. But to proceed: on our entering, our front guard, commanded by Captain Ross, was about half through these narrows, and seeing some very fresh signs of Indians, had a mind to halt, until the two wings, that is, Colonel Sumpter and Colonel Hammon's would come up even with him; but they being tedious, the passage being narrow and difficult, and he being hurried by one John Sentpeers, who was hurrying fast to his end, as appears by his conduct. But to be as short as possible: as I informed you, the aforesaid Captain, being about half through these narrows, the enemy was all ambuscaded around us, and not being discovered until Captain Hampton, who was Captain of the main guard, and marched on the front of the right wing, had ascended up the mountain, when he espied Indians behind a tree. After this discovery he instantly fired at them. This alarm opened or rather emptied our enemy's guns. To our surprise they poured down their bullets upon us beyond the standing of any common soldiers; but we being resolute, were determined not to be conquered, which plainly appears by our valor and magnanimity, our noble Colonel Neel being partly in the front, fought most admirably, considering his age and frailty; but casting these infirmities away, and putting on the coat of invincibleness, and rushing through his enemies like a Hercules or one fearless of danger, with his men at his back, determined to fight

while there was one of them; and by our obedience to his orders we, through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of thirteen gallant men. A merciful escape, considering the wonderful form those heathens were placed in; likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest and indeed almost all the killed and wounded were in Colonel Neel's regiment, on account of our being in front of the battle. This engagement may be spoken of as a miracle, considering the multitudes of enemies, and an admirable place they had to fire on us, that we were not almost all killed; for nature never formed such an advantageous place for our enemies, which was allowed of by all spectators. This mountain is of a hemispherical form, and had to march over the center of the same, where our enemies had us partly under their fire before they were discovered. This battle continued the space of two hours very warm. But according to our orders, which was as follows: the first fire, our line (that is Colonel Neel's regiment) was ordered to the right, to assist the guard who was first attacked; and leaving our line, according to order, and none to fill up our place, the poor front guard was left amongst their heathen enemies, with none to assist them, so that them that could not get retreating died by the hand of the enemy; for Colonel Sumpter was ordered with his regiment to a mountain to the right, distant almost a mile; the chief design of that, I suppose, was to hinder our enemies from coming round on our baggage and provisions, which orders they executed very manfully; but as for Colonel Hammon's regiment, I cannot give any account of their orders, as I had not an opportunity of seeing them; the line however that they ought to have cleared of our enemies was the left, which kept up a constant and hot fire against us; but by risking and running upon them, cleared them off their mountain, which seemed an impossibility to do, considering the advantage they had of us, on account of the situation of the mountain they were on, and likewise the grass being so admirably long, that they always had the first shot; and also the mountain being so steep, that they could handily clear themselves, so that we had, to appearance, but little chance with them. One thing, we pretty soon cleared them off their mountain; for there was no other way to conquer them than the method we took, which was to run right upon them as hard as we could run; for it would have been next to vanity to stand and fight them. But to be short, we cleared them off their mountain, without giving them so much time as to take off all their luggage; for they left baggage of about two hundred of them, that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, matchcoats, deer-skins, &c., &c.

I must here give a sketch of the conduct of some of Colonel Neel's men who were wounded and escaped, first of Captain Ross, who was in the front, was slightly wounded; the Indian that fired at him thought to have his scalp, and making to him, his head being down and bleeding, struck with the gun in his hand until the force of the stroke broke the butt thereof; but the Captain recovering, and acting like a gentleman becoming his station, with all the intrepidity that nature ever endowed a hero with of this age, soon overcame him and got his scalp. This aforesaid Captain ought to be extolled to the utmost for his wonderful conduct and patriotism, who is always acting for the good and advantage of his country; and none who is not bigoted up in enthusiasm, that is to say, heat of imagination. If we were here to applaud him according to his deserts, we should neither have room nor expression to accomplish the same. But to proceed: we will next take notice of a lieutenant that was that day in the front with him, named William Patrick, a man of distinction as well as property: he was in the midst of his enemies during the whole engagement, and shewed all the valor and dexterity imaginable. Next our noble Captain Clinton, who ought to be in the front of our journal on account of his valor and elegance, being a gentleman of superior dignity and flexibility, his courage is unbounded, and his conduct inexpressible, as plainly appeared by the sudden retreat of these foresters, occasioned by the undaunted courage of such superior officers, and the assistance of their good soldiers; but more particularly by the hand of Providence that interposed in our behalf, we conquered our heathen enemies.—The number of Indians that fought us that day, by information, was six hundred; the number of them that was killed is not exactly known, but we found but four dead on the ground. We had to encamp here all night, on account of burying our dead and attending the sick and wounded: a most dreadful sight to behold our fellow creatures lying massacred in such a manner by the heathens; for there was three or four scalped and one sadly speared and tomahawked. His name was John Sentpepers, who, when the battle began, ran violently up among the thick of them; so that they had time and liberty to do with whatsoever they listed. There was also killed Samuel Thompson, a young man of great courage and valor, likewise a man of conduct, and gained the good will and esteem of all that ever was acquainted with him; in short, he was of that evenness of temper, that all his acquaintance desired his company. If I had time and room to display his merits, or was really able to do so, it would make the most obdurate heart lament the loss of such a hero, to think that power or authority over such a good man. But why should I say so; who by ap-

pearance was in that assembly fitter to go and attend the call he was commissioned or summoned unto? It was allowed he was deceived, by thinking it was one of our own Indians, until the Cheerokees shot him with two bullets in the body. There was likewise killed John Guyton, rWilliam Moore, James Caldwell, John Branne, James Lusk, and one the name of Linch, the remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground thirteen, and eighteen wounded; in all, killed and wounded, the number of thirty-one gallant and brave soldiers.

Friday, the twentieth, we gathered our sick and wounded, and sent them back to the North army, and sent with them a guard of one hundred men, and the remainder of us continued our march to the vallies; so started and came into the greatest of the narrows, where were great numbers of our enemy's camps, confined by the sides of admirable laurel thickets. Our road seemed to go up such a large mountain, or rather between two mountains, which seemed the wildest part of the world we were ever in—the precipice of which seemed unclimable; but not fearing these seeming difficulties whilst our good preceptor Colonel Neel was able and willing to lead us through all danger. In this manner we marched, expecting we should see our enemies every mile, whom we were always ready to engage, being prepared for them. At length we came to the top of the mountain with some difficulty, and finding it so high and open, we encamped thereon, after a day's march of about five miles.

Saturday, the twenty-first instant, we continued our march as formerly, and as I have mentioned of the day's march before, of the difficulties contained therein, I think this day will afford us little restitution therefor, only this, it seems something descending, we marched through laurel swamps and thickets, a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us, neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, occasioned by the narrowness of the path, being closed in by mountains on both sides; and also the thickets of laurel so closed over our heads, that it hindered us, I might say, from the light of the firmament. It also hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched about five miles, and on a sudden the front espied an Indian squaw; at her they fired two guns, which put us all in an alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found to the contrary. Seeing no more Indians there, we sent up one Bremen, a half Indian, that was in company, to ask her some questions; for although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows, viz.: That all the Over-Hill Indians, and the chief of the Indians of the towns we had gone through, were at that battle that was fought the day be-

fore; and further, that they were encamped about four miles ahead, and was preparing to give us battle by the river or waters of Tennesse. Hearing this account we started, and the informer being unable to travel, some of our men favored her so far that they killed her there, to put her out of pain. But to proceed, we marched as quick as possible to the aforesaid waters, beholding, as we marched, the backs and forms they had to lay their guns on, in case of an engagement, as we conjectured; and by the appearance of the same, there appeared to be great numbers of them, which gave us fresh assurance of our having another engagement with them, which we much wished, if we could get an equal chance with them in the ground, which is almost an impossibility to do, they having such opportunities of choosing it; and likewise, they will not stand a battle with any, but when they have such advantages. By this time we came within sight of the aforesaid river, which seemed the most advantageous place for our enemies of any water we had hitherto met with, being closed in by a thicket on one side and by a large mountain on the other; however, placing our men in order, as follows, we sent the left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountain, and us in the front or centre. These were the orders of our head commander, General Williamson, which we obeyed, and marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear, and encamped there, after a day's march of nine miles.

We are to mind, that the number of men that marched from Sinachee Fort, that drew provisions were one thousand eight hundred and sixty, but the aforesaid battle reduced us to the number of one thousand six hundred, exclusive of one hundred and sixty-four who were sent back with the sick and wounded.

Sunday, the twenty-second day of September, 1776, we started, and it seemed as if we were never to get a road again that was travelable, for this day showed us the worst road we hitherto met with; the reason was, this day Colonel Neel's regiment was appointed for the right wing flank, which occasioned us to take to the tops of the mountains, which seemed a task hard enough for birds; but it was not a time when to hesitate; go we must, and go we did all with one consent, knowing that there was no danger or material affair to happen. Colonel Neel's regiment was all they depended upon in the execution of it, and it always happened that we came off fortunately and victorious, being crowned with fortitude capable to bring us through the greatest difficulties. So we marched from one mountain to another, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to accomplish it, or for the most curious writer to describe. At length we came to a moun-

tain more curious than the rest, because it gave us a more clearer view of the neighboring mountains, and a small valley or grassy plain. This we wished to be our desired port; the distance we could not give an exact account of. I have taken notice of this extraordinary mountain which was almost impassable, being nearly perpendicular. The next mountain that offered was named by us Slatey Hill, on account of its natural produce, abounding mightily with slates. Over this we came also, and arrived at the path where the army had to march, which was little inferior to ours, only not high so high, but abounding with laurel swamps and sideling thickets. After this manner we marched to the waters of Highwassa, and encamped between two mountains, after a day's march of nine miles.

Monday, the twenty-third, we made ready to march. The orders from our General was, that there should be forty men chosen out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies, to discover the situation of the towns; so we set off, and always minded to take possession of all the hills and mountains we came to. We crossed a small mountain named Knotty Hill; from thence we steered to another, where we had a full view of a town called Burning-town, distant from us about one mile. So took to the right to surround it, and continued in that course about half way. By this time we espied the main body of our army marching into it. The front of the town we took, where we got peaceably, without shooting a gun, though a large town, having upwards of ninety houses, and large quantities of corn; but they had cleared themselves, and took with them the chief of all their effects, save some of their horses. A party of Colonel Thomas's regiment being on the hunt of plunder, or some such thing, found an Indian squaw and took her prisoner, she being lame, was unable to go with her friends; she was so sullen, that she would, as an old saying is, neither lead nor drive, and, by their account, she died in their hands; but I suppose they helped her to her end. Here we encamped among the corn, where we had a great plenty of corn, peas, beans, potatoes and hogs. This day's march about three miles.

Tuesday, the twenty-fourth instant, we were ordered to assemble in companies to spread through the town to destroy, cut down and burn all the vegetables belonging to our heathen enemies, which was no small undertaking, they being so plentifully supplied. So after accomplishing this we were ordered to march. By this time there was an express arrived from the North army that gave us the following intelligence, viz.: That the first town they came to they surrounded it, and killed and took the number of sixteen Indian fellows and squaws, without the loss of one man, the enemy not being apprized of their com-

ing. After this agreeable account we started, and came along a small mount, called by them Bloody Hill; and so on to another town, called Timossy, distance two miles, and encamped.

Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, we engaged our former labor, that is, cutting and destroying all things that might be of advantage to our enemies. Finding here curious buildings, great apple trees, and, whiteman-like, improvements, these we destroyed, and marched down said vallies to another town named Now-youwee; this we destroyed, and all things thereunto belonging, distant two miles. From hence we started to another town called Tilicho, a brave plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid rarities; I may call them rarities; why so? because they are hemmed in on both sides by or with such large mountains, and likewise the settlements of the soil, yielding such abundance of increase, that we could not help conjecturing there was great multitudes of them; the smallest of these valley towns by our computation, exceeded two hundred acres of corn, besides crops of potatoes, peas and beans. These creatures are most curious in their way of building, according to their opportunity of instruction; they raise in each of their towns a large house, which they call a town, or in other terms, a Fowwoing-house; they raise it partly round, first by four large forks stuck in the ground upright, then from each of these forks there goes a beam to the other, which forms a frame, and by laths and other small pieces of timber, forms it a hollow square, and brings it to a top much resembling our home-made barrack-sheds, covered with bark or grassy sods; the door or entrance is extremely narrow or straight, and when in, it is as dark as a dungeon, having no chimneys, windows, or any other hole wherein light might shine. We allowed that in these houses they hold their idolatrous worship, it being all so tramped around, where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is made some one way, and some another; some is made with sapplings stuck in the ground upright, then laths tide on these, with splits of cane or such like; so with daubing outside and in with mud nicely, they finish a close warm building. They have few or no chimnies, and their fires in the middle of their houses. I am next to inform you that we marched to another town called Cannasation, and encamped; this day's march six miles.

Thursday, the twenty-sixth, we started, and marched about two miles to another town called Canucy; here we stopped to destroy their handy work. From thence to another town named Ecochee; here we stopped, and served it as the last mentioned. From hence we steered to another, called Highwassah, where we met the North army, and encamped. This evening, we had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister,

being in the North army, where Brigadier General Rutherford brought us sixteen prisoners, that is to say, Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Matthew McMahan, Richard Ratleiff, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, and Alexander Vernon, Hick's old squaw, named Peg, Scot's squaw and two children, one Indian fellow, named the Barking Dog, Charles Hicks, and one old squaw; these prisoners were committed to our care to secure or commit them for punishment according to their deserts, being confederates or assistants to the Indians.

## VI.—CAMBRIDGE, IN 1775.

COMMUNICATED BY J. RUSSELL, Esq., of WASHINGTON CITY.

[The following letter, from the late Judge Winthrop, who was appointed Provincial Postmaster at Cambridge, Mass., at the beginning of the American Revolution, exhibits a great contrast between that day of small things, and the present time. The present salary of the Postmaster there is \$5000 per annum, with a corresponding increase of business.—J. R.]

CAMBRIDGE, July 5 1775

SIR

When the Congress did me the honor to appoint me postmaster for this town, I was in hopes it would have enabled me to tarry here. But as the office will not furnish the single article of victuals, as the establishment is at present, I shall be constrained to quit the *place of business*, & seek for a subsistence somewhere else. All the money I have received since the oath was administered on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, amounts only to £7.07.10<sup>d</sup>—15 per cent of it is my pay for six weeks, that is at the rate of 6 1-4<sup>d</sup> a day nearly. Judge then, Sir, whether this be sufficient to furnish one, who has no other support, with a Subsistence—or indeed, whether the office is worth keeping up on this plan; for it is in vain that we expect it to grow better during times of confusion, & a suspension of trade. But I will not take up your attention any longer than to observe that it is with reluctance I think of leaving Cambridge, & that I shall be glad of any opportunity to promote the common cause, as far as shall come within my small sphere of action. Unless the Congress think fit to alter the establishment, I must beg the favor of them to consider this letter as a resignation, & grant an order for paying the money which I have received to the Treasurer, after a deduction of my 15 per cent, that the Bond may be forthwith delivered up. The letters which remain I shall be ready to deliver to any new Postmaster whom the Congress shall appoint & remain with great respect Sir

Your most obedient servant

JAMES WINTHROP

To the Honorable JAMES WARREN, Esq  
President of the Massachusetts Congress  
WATERTOWN .

[ACTION OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS ON THE  
ABOVE LETTER.]

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

WATERTOWN July 7 1775

The Committee appointed to take into consideration the Letter from Mr James Winthrop Postmaster in Cambridge have attended to that service, and beg leave to report

That from the representation made by Mr Winthrop in said Letter it is evident that the profits arising from said Office upon the present plan are not sufficient for his support, and considering he has no other business in the town, it is reasonable he should be dismissed according to his request and it is recommended that he be directed to pay the money already taken to the Receiver General (his fees being deducted) & that the letters now in his hands be committed to the care of the Committee of Safety, and they be desired to recommend some person to the aforementioned office

*A true copy from the Minutes*  
Attest

SAMUEL FREEMAN

Sec'y

VII MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON'S REPORT  
OF THE BATTLE OF MONOCACY.

HEAD QUARTERS GORDON'S DIVISION, {  
July 22, 1864.

MAJOR :—In accordance with orders from Corps Head-quarters, I have the honor to submit the following report.

About half-past two P. M., on the ninth day of July, I was ordered by Major-general Breckinridge, commanding Corps, to move my Division to the right, and cross the Monocacy about one mile below the bridge and ford (on the Georgetown pike), which were then held by the enemy. On reaching the river, I directed my Brigade commanders to cross as rapidly as possible, and then to file to the left in the direction of the enemy's line, and I rode to the front in order to reconnoitre the enemy's position. I found that Brigadier-general McCausland's cavalry Brigade (dismounted) had been driven back by superior numbers, and that the enemy was posted along the line of a fence, on the crest of the ridge running obliquely to the left from the river. In his front lay an open field, which was commanded by his artillery and small arms to the extent of their range, while in his rear, ran a valley nearly parallel with the general direction of his line of battle. In this valley, I discovered from a wooded eminence in front of his left, another line of battle in support of the first. Both these lines were in advance of the Georgetown road. The

enemy's line of skirmishers covered the front of his first line, and stretched far beyond it to the left. Having been ordered to attack this force, I had the Division skirmishers, under Captain Keller, of Evans's Brigade, deployed, and directed one Brigade (Evans's) under the protection of a dense woodland, about seven hundred yards in front of the enemy's left, to move by the right flank and form so as to over-lap the enemy's left. The two Brigades (Hays's and Stafford's) united under the command of Brigadier-general York, were ordered to form on the left of Brigadier-general Evans, — and Terry's Brigade to move in support of the left of my line. These dispositions having been made, I ordered the command to advance *en echelon* by Brigades from the right. The troops emerged from the woods seven hundred yards in front of the enemy's left, under heavy fire from infantry and artillery, and had advanced but a short distance when, on account of the wounding of one Brigade commander, (Evans) to whom explicit instructions had been given as to the movement of his—the leading Brigade—and the killing of several regimental commanders, and the difficulty of advancing in line through a field covered with wheat-shocks and intersected by fences, the perfect alignment of this Brigade was, necessarily, to some extent, broken. However, this temporary confusion did not retard its advance, which as I had anticipated, forced the enemy to change his front under fire. At this point, the Louisiana Brigades, under the command of Brigadier-general York, became engaged, and the two Brigades (Evans's and York's) moved forward with much spirit, driving back the enemy's first line in confusion upon his second. After a brief halt at the fence, from which this first line had been driven, I ordered a charge on the second line, which was equally successful. At this point, I discovered a third line, which over-lapped both my flanks, and which was posted still more strongly in the deep cuts along the Georgetown road, and behind the crest of the hill near the Monocacy bridge—and at once ordered Brigadier-general Terry, who as yet had not been engaged, to attack vigorously that portion of the enemy's line nearest the river, and from which my troops were receiving a severe flank fire. This Brigade advanced with great spirit and in excellent order, driving the enemy from his position on a portion of the line. He still held most stubbornly his strong position, in front of the other two Brigades and upon my right. He also advanced at the same time, two fresh lines of troops, to retake the position from which he had been driven by Terry's Brigade. These were repulsed with heavy loss and in great confusion. Having suffered severe loss in driving back two lines, either of which I believed equal in length to my command, and having discovered the third line longer than either of the others, and protected by the cuts in the road,

and in order to avoid the great loss it would require to drive the enemy from his position by a direct front attack, I despatched two staff officers in succession to ask for a brigade to use upon the enemy's flank. Ascertaining, however, that a considerable length of time must elapse before these could reach me, I at once ordered Brigadier-general Terry to change front with his brigade to the right, and attack the enemy's right. This movement, promptly executed, with a simultaneous attack from the front, resulted in the dislodging of this line and the complete rout of the enemy's forces.

This battle, though short, was severe. I desire, in this connection, to state a fact of which I was an eye-witness, and which, for its rare occurrence, and the evidence it affords of the sanguinary character of this struggle, I consider worthy of official mention. One portion of the enemy's second line extended along a branch, from which he was driven, leaving many dead and wounded in the water and upon its banks. This position was in turn occupied by a portion of Evans's brigade, in the attack on the enemy's third line. So profuse was the flow of blood from the killed and wounded, of both these forces, that it reddened the stream for more than a hundred yards below.

It has not been my fortune to witness, on any battle-field, a more commendable spirit and courage, than was exhibited on this, by both officers and men. To my brigade commanders, for their good example and prompt execution of orders, I am especially indebted. They rode in the midst of their troops, under the severest fire, and exhibited that cool courage so essential in an officer on the field. There are many other officers, of lower grade, who well deserve particular mention,—among them, I desire to call attention to the admirable conduct of Colonel Peck, Ninth Louisiana, commanding Hays's brigade; Colonel Atkinson, commanding Evans's brigade; Colonels Funk and Dungan, commanding the remnants of the "Stonewall" and Jones's brigades, of Terry's command.

I regret to state that my loss was heavy in both officers and men, amounting in the aggregate, as shown by tabular report, of brigade commanders, to six hundred and ninety-eight. Among the killed, are Colonel J. H. Lamar and Lieutenant-colonel Van Valkenburgh, both of the Sixty-first Georgia regiment, of Evans's brigade, and both meritorious officers. Colonel Lamar, a most promising young officer, was shot from his horse at the head of his regiment. Several other regimental commanders of this brigade, were wounded; some, it is feared, mortally. Lieutenant-colonel Hodges, Ninth Louisiana regiment, Hays's brigade, an officer of rare merit, was severely wounded and left at hospital in Frederick City.

I cannot too highly commend the conduct, on the field, of the members of my staff, Major R. W.

Hunter, and Captains V. Dabney and L. Powell. The prompt, fearless, and intelligent manner with which they bore my orders to every portion of the field, met my hearty approbation. Lieutenant S. Wilmer, my signal officer, had been previously wounded, during the skirmishing in front of Maryland Heights, bearing, under severe fire, an order from me. Major Moore, my Inspector, rendered efficient service in his Department. My senior Surgeon, Dr. J. H. Stevens, labored assiduously during the afternoon and night, in caring for the many wounded.

I am, Major,

Very respectfully,

Your ob't serv't,

J. B. GORDON,

Major-general.

Major J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,

A. A. G., Breckinridge's Corps.

#### VIII — PIONEER GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES—EXPLORATIONS AND SURVEYS IN THE "LOUISIANA PURCHASE."

By HENRY O'RIELLY, Esq.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The recent lecture before the New York Historical Society concerning the exploration of the regions tributary to the Red River of the North, reminds me of the propriety of showing some facts respecting the geographical researches of our old friend, William Darby, in another section of the Continent.

Though the value of his Geographical and Statistical labors is measurably appreciated by people familiar with events in the first half of this century, Mr. Darby's merits are comparatively unknown to the generality of readers at the present time. His unassuming disposition caused him, during life, to show far less than he was; and now that he is no more among us, it is the duty of his surviving friends to present such facts as may aid in placing him in proper position among the Pioneers of Progress, whose memories should be gratefully remembered in connexion with our national advancement.

While occupying an humble position as a Clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington, in 1847-8, (seven years before his death,) the necessities of age and the scantiness of salary impelled him to seek some acknowledgment from the Government for services early rendered in exploring and surveying a large section of the "Louisiana Territory," soon after its annexation by purchase from the first Napoleon.

With this purpose, he gave me some privately-printed statements, along with oral information, concerning the service on which this claim, or rather appeal, was founded—that I might inform

such friends as could be induced to aid in promoting the object.

It was not merely of unrequited labor that the worthy veteran complained. He spoke with greater sensibility of the fact that the *credit* to which he was justly entitled had been bestowed, along with the resulting profits, on another person—that person being merely the compiler of the Map for which Mr. Darby had furnished the essential surveys referred to by the National Government—those surveys being the result of his own personal toil and expense.

The recognition of "Melish's Map" as an authority by our National Government, in diplomatic intercourse and treaty stipulations, (indicated, for instance, by the treaty of 1819 between the United States and His Catholic Majesty,) gave prestige and profit to the compiler—leaving the explorer and author, who acquired the information by actual field labor, in surveying at his own expense, to mourn for non-requited toil and misdirected credit.

The simple statement of these transactions, by Mr. Darby himself, is an interesting contribution to the history of the "Louisiana Purchase"—while it furnishes another evidence of the facility with which persons who dearly earn recompense and distinction are injured by the misdirection of credit as well as compensation to other parties. I give the statement as it was given to me by the author—but it is proper to add that the title given by him is entirely too modest—as his explorations and surveys covered a much broader field than the valley of the Sabine River.

The States of Louisiana and Texas, of which he explored and surveyed essential parts, and in which he could not find sufficient encouragement to publish his maps, (consequent on which want of patronage, was his falling under the compiler above-mentioned,) may yet honor themselves by at least recognizing the early and unrequited services of WILLIAM DARBY, in naming some of the new counties or cities that will be established within the boundaries he first surveyed.

HENRY O'RIELLY.

NEW YORK, 24 Pine-st., Oct., 1867.

[STATEMENT OF MR. DARBY, REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING LETTER OF MR. O'RIELLY.]

#### NOTES IN REGARD TO MY SURVEY OF THE SABINE RIVER.

"It was in the first part of the year 1808 that I first formed the design to make a map of, and write a statistical account of that region of country, including the State of Louisiana and parts adjacent. From the time mentioned to the month of August, 1811, I kept the plan in view, though

only incidentally collecting material; but thenceforward, until late in 1814, my attention was turned and my time devoted almost exclusively to the project.

When seriously engaged I soon found that all the maps and other data descriptive of the region intended to be represented, and which were then published and attainable, even when added to element produced by the public surveys, yielded very insufficient material, particularly as to the outlines; and that to construct a map of the country with any pretence to accuracy or fullness, I had much to procure from my own means.

In the latter part of 1811, I made an extensive tour over the northern part of what is now the State of Louisiana, and became still more convinced of the necessity of an actual survey of the northwestern and western part of the regions intended to be represented and described. In consequence of these convictions, I made, in 1812 and 1813, a regular survey, which was commenced at the flag-staff of Fort Claiborne, at Natchitoches, and extending thence, over the intermediate space, to where north latitude thirty-two degrees crosses the Sabine river; thence down that stream to its discharge into the Gulf of Mexico; thence along the shore of that Gulf to the mouth of the Calcasieu river; and thence up that stream to its upper lake.

The element obtained by this survey, incorporated with all other requisite data, which I had been enabled to obtain, constituted the element for my map and statistical account of Louisiana, and part of the then Mississippi territory.

All these surveys and collections were made at *my own expense*, and for which I have *never received the smallest recompense*; except what may be supposed to have accrued from the sale of the map and book, which, from a cause I shall fully shew, *never returned to me a tithe of their own expense*. Application was made to the Legislature of Louisiana for aid in publication and refused; but, though thus left to my own slender resources, I persevered, and in the month of August, 1814, had made preparation to proceed to New York and Philadelphia, with a view to publication; but when about to set out was arrested by the depressing news that the seat of Government of the United States had been taken and in part destroyed by a British army. The natural effect on the public mind of such an event was, for the time, to render abortive all attempts to carry into execution any such an undertaking as the one on which I was employed. Rapidly following the report of the capture and partial conflagration of Washington, came the rumor of an intended invasion of Louisiana, which was realized in the month of December, of the same year. Of how my time was employed during the invasion to its glorious termination, the subjoined



documents will show. They are copied from the originals now on my table :

"HERMITAGE September 7th, 1827.

"DEAR SIR :

"Your note of the 14th ult. has been received, and as you have requested I send you a testimonial of my approbation of your services as one of my Topographical Staff, in the campaign before New Orleans, in the years 1814-15. You will find it below. I regret that you have lost the one heretofore given you.

"With my best wishes,

"I am, dear sir,

"Yours,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Be it remembered, that during the late war, and whilst the enemy were before New Orleans, William Darby acted as one of my Topographical Staff, performed his duty much to the satisfaction of the Commanding General, and at the close of the war I gave him a written testimonial that his services had obtained for him my full approbation.

"Given under my hand, this 7th September, 1827.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

After the British fleet and army had retired from the fields and waters of Louisiana, General Jackson made preparation to give up the command of the Seventh Military District to General Edmund P. Gaines, preparatory to setting out to return to his home in Tennessee. The latter arrived at New Orleans about the same time that the British army retreated, and a few days after, at his request, I accompanied General Gaines on a tour of inspection to Petite Coquille, Bayou Terre Aux Bœufs, and other places.

Before leaving Louisiana, General Jackson inspected the rough copy of my map, and gave the attestation, which I now copy from the original :

"HEAD QUARTERS, NEW ORLEANS, }  
"5th April, 1815. }

"I have no doubt whatever that Mr. Darby's map of Louisiana is more correct than any which has been published of that country.

"He has certainly taken extraordinary pains to acquire correct information ; and, as far as my opportunities have enabled me to judge, I am induced to think his delineations very correct.

"ANDREW JACKSON,

"Major-general commanding

"7th military district.

"The Honorable Secretary at War."

Louisiana was not a new field to General Gaines; he had resided in it and the neighboring parts many years. I had the honor of his acquaintance, and therefore he had learned from personal

knowledge the pains I had taken to gain correct data for my works, the rough drafts of which I submitted to his inspection, and received from him the following attestation, which I copy from the original in his own hand :

"I have examined Mr. Darby's Map of Louisiana, and am of the opinion that the delineations are faithfully drawn, and that it exhibits much more correct information of the topography of this country than any map heretofore published, and I heartily concur in the opinion expressed by Major O. Winston.

"Given at New Orleans,

"April 2d, 1815.

"EDMUND P. GAINES,

"Major-general by brevet."

The testimony of Major Winston, alluded to by General Gaines, is also now before me, in the original, as follows :

"Mr. William Darby having mentioned to me his intention to publish a general map of the State of Louisiana, I have no doubt, from the industry and capacity of Mr. Darby, his map is correct. It is drawn principally from actual survey and the most minute observations. Mr. Darby having been a surveyor in this country, and very extensively engaged as such, and possessing a genius most peculiarly adapted and directed to geographical studies, I am of opinion his map will be very full and minute. Having some acquaintance with the topography of Louisiana, on examining his map, I find it very accurate, as far as my observation extends.

"No trouble, expense, or labor have been spared by Mr. Darby in compiling his map, and the scale upon which it is proposed to be published will make it the most full, perfect, and complete map of Louisiana which has ever been published.

"The historical notes proposed to be appended by Mr. Darby, from the extent of his information and capacity, I have little doubt will be no small acquisition, as well to the literature as the history of the United States.

"WILLIAM O. WINSTON.

"New Orleans, April 1st, 1815."

For remuneration in this case, strictly speaking, I cannot urge a legal claim; but I confidently think I have a very rightful one in equity.

That I was made the victim of a flagrant wrong is susceptible of full proof. Though certainly, in no wilful manner, a party to that wrong, the Government by its act contributed to its consummation. Adopting, in the most solemn manner, my work, in the name "Melish," gave a character to the map highly favorable to the publisher, but ruinous to the original collector of the material. The case cited was again produced by the Treaty

of Mexico, on the twelfth of January, 1828, Article Third, in which the same terms are used, when describing the same boundary.

Thus, under circumstances I could not control, another person received the immediate profit and, for nearly one third of a century, the credit of my labor. Let a careful and candid comparison be made between my maps of Louisiana and Melish's general map, and, with a knowledge of the fact that mine was published first and that from actual original surveys, and it can need no more to prove, that as far as the Sabine region is particularly concerned, as well as the adjacent country, mine was the original: and I go farther, and assert, that in 1819 there did not exist other material to construct a map of the Sabine river and its valley.

Furnished with these testimonials, and aided by what I could not have advanced without, but which I very generously received, some private assistance, I left Louisiana and arrived in Philadelphia, June, 1815.

When I reach Philadelphia, I found Mr. John Melish in the full possession of the map publishing business, and through him I obtained the publication of my map and statistical volume. But, on what terms? Why, with some other not very moderate terms, to have the privilege of incorporating mine, with other material, on his map of the United States, then in preparation, and soon after published. With these terms I was obliged to comply, and no farther proof need be given to prove that the procedure virtually transferred the real value of my map to Mr. Melish, as his general map contained in a condensed and connected form all my data. But this was not all, nor the worst. Mr. Melish not only secured the profit, but received the credit, and that in a very eminent degree, was the subjoined document will shew.

In the Treaty of Washington, dated the twenty-second of February, 1819, entitled *Treaty of Amity, Settlements and Limits, between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty*, Article Third, we read:

"The boundary line between the two Governments west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea; continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the thirty-second degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; when following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude one hundred west of London and twenty-three from Washington; then crossing the said river, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its

"source in latitude forty-two north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea. The whole as being laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, and improved to the first of January, 1818." Vide Elliott's *Diplomatic Code*, i, p. 417.

Nor were my contributions to the map of the United States, bearing the name of John Melish, confined to the comparatively narrow limits of Louisiana and adjacent country. All that part of the map from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and including the whole basin of the latter, was supplied by myself. On no map then extant and which I could ever hear of, were the bays and rivers of Texas represented in sequence with any approach to accuracy of either name or position.

Any person who may choose to examine the map in question will find, that all beyond north latitude twenty-three degrees, and all its western extent, so as to include the Pacific coast, were added to the original design. These additions were made at my suggestion, and much of the material came from the same source. Mr. Melish was a compiler and no more; and it is a sense of self justice on my part to say that my materials were original, hardly earned, and when incorporated with its other data formed the most important section of the map.

To conclude, my best days were spent in the collection of what my country has long had the use of, and a small recompense—a trifle to that country—will, if granted, contribute to smoothe the downhill of life, and will be gratefully received by

WILLIAM DARBY.

WASHINGTON, 16th December, 1847.

#### IX.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

69.—THOMAS NELSON, JR. TO COLONEL AVERY.\*

WMSBURG Sept 27—1781—

SIR—

Business of the greatest Importance obliging Colonel Blane, Commissary General of Purchases, to visit your shore, you will be pleased to lend him any assistance in Horses &c which he may require—

I am, Sir,  
your Obedt Servt  
THO<sup>s</sup> NELSON JR.

[AT FOOT OF ABOVE AND ON SAME SHEET THE FOLLOWING APPEARS.]

\* From the original in the collection of Francis S. Hoffmann Esq., of New York.

The Governor being informed that the Refugees, who accompanied Lord Cornwallis to York, are making their Escape across the Bay, begs that you will Strictly examine all Persons, who cross from the Western to the Eastern Shore, & that you will have such confined as cannot render to you a Satisfactory Acct of themselves—

ROBERT ANDREWS. Secy

COL AVERY  
COL CROPPER

[Addressed]

COLONEL AVERY

favor'd by } Northampton County  
COL BLAINE } Eastern Shore

70.—DOCTOR SOLOMON DROWNE TO MR. HOWELL.\*

PROVIDENCE, R. I. Nov<sup>r</sup> 4th 1782.

DEAR SIR:

The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is still the glorious Seat of undiminished Freedom. On Friday the 1<sup>st</sup> inst. the important question was put to y<sup>e</sup> Assembly: Shall this State agree to vest in Congress the power of levying a Duty of five per cent. on import<sup>d</sup> goods, etc. agreeable to their recommendation and request. Resolved unanimously in y<sup>e</sup> negative, 53 deputies being present. I am happy, that I can hail you the guardian representative of a free and sovereign community, which having ever experienced the sweets of unmixed liberty, is more cautious not to suffer the least infringement of it.—

I am greatly obliged to you for the pamphlet inclosed in your favour of the 16<sup>th</sup> ult. but confess I was somewhat disappointed that the extolled sovereign remedy was not disclosed.—

It is with heart-felt pleasure I learn our foreign affairs are *en bon train*. Gustavus then, has learnt to respect the rights of freemen. This is a distant atonement for having invaded the liberties of his own country.

The benefits of American Commerce have been felt even in his borders. Do you really imagine the British will negotiate in earnest y<sup>e</sup> ensuing winter? It is true they have long been playing a losing game, and are sinking in the same proportion as this country is rising in the estimation of mankind; but, as you forcibly express it, I believe his Brittanic Majesty most cordially hates us.

If G——l C——l may be compared to a luminary, that luminary has fallen from its orbit. The man whose ostensible principles have for their basis, *Auri sacra fames*, almost deserves 2000 Dollars per annum, as some compensation for y<sup>e</sup> opprobrium of honest minds.

\* From the original belonging to Henry T. Drowne, Esq., of New York.

† Probably intended for *imported*. ED. HIST. MAG.

I was at your house yesterday; and saw your happy family in perfect health. I shall be very glad to see you next month; in the interim, am, with y<sup>e</sup> greatest esteem:

your very obed<sup>t</sup> humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

SOLOMON DROWNE.

HON<sup>BL</sup> DAVID HOWELL.

71.—CADWALLADER COLDEN TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.\*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

I believe that you observed that when your Excell<sup>y</sup> first laid your Commands on me to inform you of the State of the lands & of the Grants of them in this Country that I receiv'd them with pleasure, but that afterwards I was under some uneasiness & diffidence. Much of my time since I had the Office of Survr<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of Lands has been employ'd in acquiring that Knowledge of the State of the Lands which I believ'd would recommend me to the favor of the King's Ministers & I was in hopes that my zeal therein would be an effectual way to secure their Patronage. As it is the thing of the greatest Consequence in which I am capable of distinguishing myself your Excellency's Proposal at first brought into my remembrance the pleasing prospects I had once formed to myself. But afterwards when I began to reflect on what I had already suffered by looking into Secrets which so nearly Concern the interest of many powerful men & that I will likewise for the future have their utmost resentment to struggle with. That the making discoveries & forming schemes upon them tho they never be put in Execution would have all the ill effects, if not worse than they could have if they were actually put in Execution & took effect. That the Kings Ministers have their whole time employed in such weighty affairs is of immediate consequence, that their attention to such remote affairs cannot be expected unless every thing were prepared for them with the most accurate care & follow'd with a constant application And that a poor Officer at the distance America is unavoidably will be forgot however his services may at any one time be esteemed, but the people here who may imagine that they have received an injury will never forget their resentment. These reflexions may it please your Excell<sup>y</sup> upon second thoughts staggered my resolution & discomposed me so far that I could not talk to your Excell<sup>y</sup> with that freedom which my duty requires And when your Excell<sup>y</sup> considers that I have a numerous family who<sup>s</sup> well-fair depends upon my conduct you will excuse a little diffidence in an affair which may in its con-

\* From the original in the Collection of M. M. Jones, Esq., of Utica, N. Y. It has neither date nor endorsement.

sequences so deeply concern them. But after your Excellency was pleased in the kindest manner to assure me of your Patronage & Encouragement I am resolved to do my duty as far as my Capacity enables me. And I shall do this the more cheerfully because I hope thereby not only to recommend my self to your Excellency's favour but do my Country also a Considerable Service, for I am of opinion that the present State of the lands is of the greatest prejudice to the peopling & improving of this Country and I am persuaded, that this affair will some time or other come under the Consideration of the Legislature here or of the Parliament of Great Britain—

I herewith send your Excellency a Copy of the Papers you desired, by which your Excellency will in some measure see the importance of this affair, tho' they are very far from containing a complete state of the lands. I was not then so well informed of many particulars as I have been since. Indeed I find my papers so bulky & indigested more than I imagined, that I have not had time since I received your Excellency's Commands to read them over. I have been so much discouraged in the prosecution of the Design of them that I had for several years laid aside all thoughts on that subject & the Plan has very much escaped my memory, but I shall do all I can this Winter to satisfy your Excellency after you shall please to let me know of what particulars you desire to be more fully informed. I beg leave of your Excellency to say again that any surmise of an Inquiry into the affairs of Land will be more prejudicial to your Excellency's affairs with the present Assembly men than the actual Execution of well concerted measures can be and any schemes which I have formed will require very few in this Country to be privy to them till they are ripe for Execution—

The winter set in so unexpectedly & violently while I was in the County of Albany that I was forced to return home before I could inform my self of the mines which I mentioned to your Excellency. One man has assured me that he has already seen a copper mine, that he has taken out some of the Ore with his own hands, that he has melted the Ore & got good copper from it, but that it is at a great distance from the River & a bad road to it. He adds that there is a large quantity of fine land near it & has promised to come to my house some time this winter to inform me more fully. I have likewise heard of two other mines one copper & the other lead but I do not find that the Indians have as yet discovered them to any Christian & while I was in that part of the Country all the Indians were gone to hunt at above forty miles distance. These two last mines are thought to be not far from the River & in lands that are not granted, but the first mine & the fine land I am afraid may be within the bounds of that Tract which in my Memorial to

Governor Burnet I suppose to be larger than Yorkshire but the Patentees know nothing either of the land or mine.

While I was in that part of the Country I likewise discovered some considerable parcels of valuable land some of them improved & settled by tenants holding under the Corporation of Kingstone. I am well Satisfied however that they have no right to these lands & if the Bounds between the Counties of Albany & Ulster be fixed by a West line from the Mouth of the Sawyer's Kill as was truly the design of the first Act limiting the Counties & proposed in the Bill which passed the Council but stopped with the Assembly last Sessions the claims of Kingstone will be at an end. I have no hopes that this Assembly will pass that Bill, but the Lawyers are of opinion that your Excellency with the Council can pass an Ordinance for that purpose without the concurrence of the Assembly & that it will be effectual & I make no doubt of the Councils consenting to an Ordinance in the terms of that Bill. Some persons, I expect, will pray your Excellency for such an Ordinance without knowing however any thing of this use to be made of it which I now mention.

I beg to be allowed to join with your Excellency in taking up some of these lands. it will be some reward to me & when my interest is so closely united with your Excellency that it is the same, there can be no doubt but that I will promote it to the Outmost of my power. If your Excellency agree to this please to order a Petition to be given into Council for a Grant of 4000. Acres of land in the County of Albany. I suppose your Excellency will use some persons name for your self, but for me please to Order Andrew Mc Dowal to be inserted. I hope to include some of the Mines in these 4000 acres, but in the Petition for the Grant the words uncultivated & *unimproved* usually put into Petitions of that kind must be left out because I expect to include some improved land in the Grant, but it will be proper to have the Ordinance passed before the Petition be put in. It will be Convenient to have both the Ordinance & the Petition passed before Spring because delays may create new difficulties & if this vacant land be discovered so many will put in & expect a share, that a share will be of little value & if the Grant of the land be soon passed your Excellency will avoid perhaps giving a refusal to some of your friends & it may not be proper to let it be known that I am concerned in it, but that you join with some Countryman, otherwise it may raise a jealousy of its being something extraordinary—

I have trespassed already upon your Excellency's Patience, but I must beg your Pardon for it proceeds from my endeavouring to be

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and  
Most humble Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

72.—GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN TO GOVERNOR  
GEORGE CLINTON.\*ANNAPOLIS JAN<sup>y</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1784.

SIR,

As I am informed That, the western Country over which I marched in the year 1779 appertains to New York : and that, the State is about making grants to Officers and Soldiers who served in the Late war : I take the Liberty of mentioning to your Excellency that I shall feel myself under the greatest obligations if your Legislature should think my services and fatigues in that Country wr<sup>th</sup>y of notice.

This Expedition alone was the means of that Loss of health which compelled me to retire from the field ; and consequently deprived me of all the Emoluments which as an officer I had a right to expect,

Other officers commanding Expeditions not more dangerous, and much less fatiguing ; have had ample experience of the Bounty of States, never more famed for Generosity than the Inhabitants of the State over which you preside.

I have the honor to be with the most lively Sentiments of Esteem & Attachment, Sir,  
your Excellency  
most obedient & very humble Servant

J<sup>N</sup> SULLIVAN,His Excellency  
GOVERNOR CLINTON.

## 73.—HENRY CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.†

PRIVATE ASHLAND 22 June 1848

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for the friendly feelings and sentiments which you have kindly expressed on the occasion of my failure to obtain the Presidential Nomination at Philadelphia. The event is to be attributed, among other causes, to the conduct of the majorities of the Kentucky delegations in Congress and in the Convention. I yield to it in quiet submission, so far as I am personally concerned.

H. CLAY.

ADAM BEATTY, Esq  
Prospect Hill,  
near Washington  
Ky.

74.—HON. WM. J. DUANE, FORMERLY SECRETARY  
OF THE TREASURY, TO JOHN BICKLEY.‡

PHILA Oct. 17, 1833.

DEAR SIR,

I have just now rec'd your letter of the

\* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† Copied by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

‡ Copied by C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

10<sup>th</sup> instant, expressing your approbation of my course as Secretary of the Treasury. I have always been, and am, opposed to the U. States Bank and all such aristocratic monopolies ; but I considered the removal of the deposits, unnecessary, unwise, vindictive, arbitrary, and unjust. I believed that the law gave to the Sec'y of the Treasury, and not to the President, discretion on the question ; and I would not act to oblige the President or any one else, when I thought it improper to do so : I never asked office—I accepted it reluctantly—and was removed for an honest discharge of my duty. If to keep office at \$6000 a year, I had given up my judgment, I should have brought shame upon the gray hairs of my father, and upon my numerous children ; so that I am content to return to humble life with a tranquil mind. If our old worthy friend Neave were alive, he would say, " Well done, William, "I am not disappointed in thee."

With kind wishes, I am

Respectfully Yours

W. J. DUANE.

To Mr. JOHN BICKLEY  
Washington,  
Kentucky.

75.—COLONEL RICHARD M. JOHNSON TO THE  
EDITORS OF THE "DEMOCRATIC REVIEW."\*27<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1843

GENTLEMEN,

I have rd the within, and owing to pecuniary embarrassment I have not been able to pay my Subscription, which I sincerely regret

I have continued a subscriber till I have found a friend to take it & who will pay you the 10\$ upon his arrival at New York for me & please enter S. Hart, Natchez as Subscriber in my Stead —& whenever I am able to be punctual I will again be a Subscriber—your friend & ob. Sert.

RH: M: JOHNSON

Mr Harts Father lives in N. York. Send his democratic review to S. Hart. Esq<sup>r</sup> Natchez. Mississippi RMJ

[Addressed]

Free

Editors &amp;c

D. VANDENLIN P. M.

Democratic Review  
City New York

## 76.—JARED SPARKS, LL. D., TO S. B. NOYES.†

CAMBRIDGE, 15 Feb. 1864

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter making inquiry

\* From the original in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society.

† From the original in the collections of the Long Island Historical Society.

about the reception of Franklin at the court of France. All the information, which I have on the subject, is derived from "Franklin's Works." I am persuaded that there was no other ceremony than what was usual on receiving a foreign minister or political agent.

Some of the French artists at the time celebrated the occasion by pictures or little groups of porcelain statuary, but the imagination furnished the designs, making Franklin a prominent object; and there seems no reason why the ladies of Brooklyn should not commemorate the event in the similar manner.

Very truly yours,  
JARED SPARKS.

S. B. NOYES, Esq<sup>r</sup>

#### X.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED.

##### 3.—JOHN WARD DEAN.\*

It would be a curious study to attempt to trace the effects of the labors of men who have been content to lay the foundations and fill in the walls of those intellectual structures which are our pride and delight. Whoever enjoys the perfected monuments which the genius of a Macauley, a Prescott, a Motley, or a Palfrey, has raised to departed generations, must feel a tribute due to those who prepared the material now embodied in such glorious form. In this country, the workers have been numerous and indefatigable; and in our just admiration of the great constructors we must pause to give due credit to their assistants. Foremost among these are men like Prince, Belknap, Farmer and Eliot, who have preserved the facts which were hastening to oblivion. Hutchinson, and even Cotton Mather, must be forever respected as being wise beyond their generations, in rescuing invaluable information for the present age.

Of late years the principle of association has received a proper appreciation; and now, in nearly every State in the Union, bodies of students are joined together to mutually aid in the welcome labor. The volumes of this Magazine testify at once to the wide-spread taste for the study of our own history, and to the valuable results which have sprung from comparison of ideas and exchange of knowledge.

Those who are familiar with the workings of such associations will however confess that in most cases the labor falls upon comparatively

few members, on whom devolves the daily routine. Especially is this the case where the Society attempts a publication upon any special topic; since the utmost that can be expected is a clean balance-sheet, without affording pay to editors or contributors. The editorial duties are generally heavy, since the writers are often unfamiliar with the rules of publication, and too often are in the highest degree crochety and captious. To make and maintain a first-class Magazine under the circumstances, necessitates incessant labor somewhere; and from the nature of things it is labor grudgingly acknowledged and rarely appreciated.

We hold, however, that any one who has for years performed this necessary toil, has earned the thanks of the public; and it is with pleasure that we proceed to cite an example from before our eyes.

JOHN WARD DEAN, the subject of this sketch, was born in Wiscasset, Me., on the thirteenth of March, 1815. His youth was spent in that town and in others in his State; and in Portland he learned the book-binder's trade. This trade he pursued in Boston, New York, Andover, and Providence, finally, in 1843, returning to Boston, where he still continues to do business as a leather-stamper and gilder.

In 1850, Mr. Dean was elected a member of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society, in which he was to find a wide field of usefulness. The Society was then young; and its objects had hardly received public approval. Instead of the numerous family histories which now crowd our shelves, only about fifty volumes had appeared, scattered throughout the United States.

*The Historical and Genealogical Register* had been established; but few would have ventured to predict that, in 1867, it would complete its twenty-first volume, and still see before it a prospect of continued usefulness. Mr. Dean's official connection with it began in 1854, when he became one of the Publishing Committee—a position he has ever since held by annual election. During this period, and even before, his labor on it has been unremitting. In connection with William B. Trask and William H. Whitmore, he edited the volumes for 1859 and 1860, and alone, the number for October, 1862, the volume for 1863, and the July and October numbers for 1864.

This, however, is but a portion of the work, for in each year that he has belonged to the Publishing Committee, he has aided the acting Editor, preparing copy, reading proofs, verifying dates and quotations, and adding those little items which add so much to the symmetry of the completed essays. The drudgery of this is immense; and as we have before said, these preparations beforehand are unknown to the reader who reaps the full benefit of the watchfulness and care of his assistant.

\* We are indebted to our friend, William H. Whitmore, Esq. of Boston, the accomplished author of *The Handbook of American Genealogy*, for this sketch of one of the founders and the first Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

We are sure our readers will feel gratified with the information which we are permitted to communicate, that Mr. Whitmore's carefully prepared articles will hereafter be found more frequently in our pages than they have been in times past; and none will be more welcome. ED. HIST. MAG.

It is probably owing to this cause that so few of Mr. Dean's contributions have been in a form to receive separate publication. The list is as follows:

1. *The Dean Genealogy*, written in connection with Mr. W. R. Deane, in 1849;
2. *Declaration of the Remarkables in the Life of John Dane*, 1854;
3. *The Kingsbury Genealogy*, 1859;
4. *Memoir of Michael Wigglesworth*, 1863;
5. *Brief History of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1866;
6. *Memoir of Giles Firmin*, 1866;
7. *Embarkation of Cromwell*, 1866.

Mr. Dean's article on Michael Wigglesworth, a most capital Memoir of one of our early divines, has been reprinted in part in the new edition of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*. (New York, 1867.)

Mr. Dean has also been an active member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, having held the offices of Treasurer, Recording Secretary, and Corresponding Secretary. He was also one of the founders of the Prince Society, one of the earliest of the book-publishing Clubs; and has been a member of its Council from the beginning. For this Society, he proposed to edit one of Nathaniel Ward's books, and to prepare a sketch of the author's life. His work, however, increased in size as his materials, new and unused, accumulated; and having at last exceeded the limits of a preface, Mr. Dean has wisely consented to issue it as a distinct volume, of which Mr. Joel Munsell of Albany is to be the publisher. It will without doubt be a most welcome contribution to our literature, since thoroughness and fidelity are the characteristics of Mr. Dean's researches.

In 1858, he was elected a Fellow of the American Statistical Society; and, since 1860, has been its Recording Secretary. He is also a Corresponding Member of many of our Historical Societies.

As we have said, the published works of our author bear but a small proportion to the untraced labors he has performed, and which in another shape would have brought him deserved credit. That their value has not been overstated, is evident when we compare the position of the Genealogical Society to-day with its rank fifteen years ago. Then, everything was accepted for truth; the fables of the Three Brothers Emigrants, of the English Estates, of the Noble Descent, passed without contradiction. Town histories were few in numbers and slight in value. To-day, we see scores, even hundreds, of Genealogies in print; and already the students of Social Science begin to recognize in this agglomeration of facts, the foundation for an investigation into obscure problems of Race, Climatic effects, and habits of Civilization. If man

be his own noblest study, then genealogists are co-workers in a noble cause; and despite whatever of foolish personal pride may be at times their incentive, the results will be garnered and sifted by others, who will thence extract the precious grains of Truth.

We find on every hand, the growing recognition of the value of our labors: already our English critics speak in terms of admiration of the extent and precision of our larger volumes. There is something peculiarly republican even in the form adopted, by which no one branch of a family is singled out for distinction, but *all* are traced with equal care to a common ancestor. With this appreciation of our work, we are beginning to receive the benefit of co-operation abroad; and English antiquaries are gradually discovering the extent of their possible audience in America.

In remembering these gains however, let not the claims be forgotten of those who initiated the movement, one of the chief of whom has been described in the preceding pages.

It would be an unpardonable omission not to mention Mr. Dean's connection with the Magazine. In connection with Mr. Charles B. Richardson and William H. Whitmore, he projected and commenced this enterprise, and continued as its Editor until the March number of the second volume, when the publication was transferred to New York. He was a painstaking and industrious Editor; and the form thus given to the new Magazine has been continued ever since.

Mr. Dean was married to Lydia Emerson, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1853, and has no children. He resides in Medford; and his place of business is No. 11 Shoe and Leather Street, Boston.

W. H. W.

## XI. THE FERRY BETWEEN NORWALK, CONN. AND LONG ISLAND.

PETITION OF THE TRUSTEES OF HUNTINGTON, L. I., TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK.\*

To

WILLIAM NICOLL and NATHANIEL WOODHULL, Esquires, Members in the General Assembly of the Colony of New York, for the County of Suffolk

GENTLEMEN

As the Trustees of the Town of Huntington in Suffolk County have for a number of years past hired out the Ferry from Huntington Harbour to Norwalk to some particular persons for the Publick good of the inhabitation of the said Town with-

\* Communicated for publication in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by Edward Holland Nicoll, Esquire, of New York City

out much trouble or interruption untill of late some other persons for mercenary ends have frequently from time to time carried sundry passengers and horses to the damage of those that hire said Ferry.

Therefore We Your most Humble Petitioners the Trustees of the said Town of Huntington in behalf of the said Town do Most Humbly Intreat that you would use your uttermost endeavours to have an Act passed by the Honourable Assembly that the Trustees of said Town for the time being and their successors shall have full liberty to hire out the said Ferry for the publick good of the said Town.

The said Ferry when so stated will doubtless be of extensive advantage not only to the Town of Huntington in general, but also to many persons in other Towns both in Suffolk and Queens County who have frequently gone over said Ferry in times lately past.

It is desired that in said Act all persons shall be prohibited from carrying any passengers over said Ferry except those to whom the Trustees shall hire out the said Ferry.

As to the prices to be stated and conditions of said Ferry for Passengers and horses, the Honourable Legislature may either insert the same or refer it to their Petitioners which they shall see most proper.

Your compliance will much Oblige your Most Humble Servants

NATHANIEL KETCHAM, P.T.  
SOLOMON KETCHAM  
JOHN WOOD  
TIMOTHY CONKLING  
MATTHEW BUNCE  
HENRY SCUDDER  
JONAS WILLIAMS

## XII.—MEMORANDA.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH COMSTOCK, M. D.\*

LIBERTY HILL, CONN., October 3d, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

I receive your Journal with much pleasure and thank you for your politeness. I send you what follows, hoping they may please you as articles worthy of insertion in the same.

Your most obedient,  
JOSEPH COMSTOCK.

### 1.—PETER THE GREAT,

*as an Anatomist, Surgeon, and Medical Man.*

In the year 1698, Peter commenced the study

\* With the liveliest pleasure we find room for this article, from the pen of one who is probably our most venerable reader.

Doctor Comstock was old enough, nearly sixty-eight years ago, to be selected by his townsmen to pronounce a Eulogy on General Washington, immediately after the decease of that great and good man; and to-day, our venerable friend and correspondent is enjoying excellent health, walks with

of anatomy at Leyden, in the Netherlands; and afterwards pursued it at Amsterdam, under the great anatomist, Ruysch. He seems to have had peculiar pleasure in witnessing human dissections. At Moscow, he was, at one time, punctual in his attendance on the anatomical lectures of M. Bidloo.

It is told of the Czar, as an evidence of his zeal in this kind of knowledge, that he directed the dissection of a half-witted page, who had died of intoxication, should be postponed till he could be present.

He ordered that all monstrosities produced in the Empire should be brought to St. Petersburg, for preservation. This accounts for the enormous collection of these freaks of nature, in the Imperial Museum, still in good condition and to be seen at this time.

He always carried a case of surgical instruments in his pocket, in which were lancets, tooth drawers, a saw-knife, spatula, scissors, a sound, and catheter.

He was extremely ambitious to be thought a first-rate operator. He required that notice should be given him of all important operations; and he attended as many of them as the nature of his multifarious concerns, as Emperor of the greatest Empire, geographically considered, on the globe, would allow. Tooth-drawing, bleeding, etc., he was continually engaged in.

A merchant had an abscess on his foot opened by his terrific majesty, which proved so successful, that the Royal Surgeon became enamored with his own professional abilities. People began to fear their Monarch's love of the art of healing; and therefore governed themselves accordingly.

When the news reached a certain lady of high rank, who had a similar disease on her foot, she left her abode, post-haste, lest assistance should be tendered from the palace.

A merchant's wife, who was laboring under a dropsy of the abdomen, utterly refused to be governed by the advice of her medical attendants. Such was the singularity of the case, that, like everything of the kind, the Czar heard of it. He immediately waited upon the lady, and partly by persuasion, but probably more through the danger apprehended from refusing the chirurgical services of the Royal operator, in the presence of the faculty, he actually, with his own hands, performed the nice operation of *paracentesis abdominis*, and drew off twenty-four pounds of water. Unfortunately the patient died.

He had a remarkable giant, and a dwarf, equally remarkable. Both died, and by his express command they were both flayed and their skins

much of the activity of his early manhood, and hardly seems to be aware of the extent of his years. With the most earnest wishes for his continued health and activity, we welcome him to our pages. Ed. Hist. Mag.



stuffed for the future wonder and admiration of the curious.

## 2.—LONGEVITY.

By the census of the United States in 1850, there were two thousand, five hundred, and fifty-five persons of one hundred years old and upward—a greater number than are to be found of that age, in any other country, kingdom or empire, in the known world.

A late number of the *London Lancet* states that a man of that age is very rare in England, and that a single centenarian was then unknown.

Ireland, on the contrary, in 1853, presented the following singular instance: "Owen Duffy, of Monaghan County, Ireland, is one hundred and twenty-two years old. When he was one hundred and sixteen he lost his second wife, and subsequently married a third, by whom he had a son and daughter. His youngest son is two years old, and his eldest ninety. He still retains in much vigor his mental and corporeal faculties; and frequently walks to the county town, a distance of eight miles."

China, by a modern census, which we have seen, had only four centenarians, in a population of four hundred and seventy millions.

It is possible that Russia exceeds any other country in very aged people. An instance which we have seen related, of a man, who married at the age of one hundred and two, had two daughters by that marriage, and lived to see them both married before his own decease. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty-eight.

## XIII.—THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

AN IMPORTANT LETTER FROM GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSON.

SELMA, MARCH 21.

EDITORS OF SELMA DAILY MESSENGER.

GENTLEMEN: The life of Lieutenant-general (Stonewall) Jackson, by a member of his staff, evidently, be generally read in the South. It is, therefore, important to me to endeavor to correct the errors relating to myself, which I observed in glancing over that part of the work preceeding and referring to the battle of Manassas. On that account, I respectfully ask the publication of what follows, in your paper:

PAGES 196-7: "When General Johnston, however, arrived at Harper's Ferry, and claimed to relieve Colonel Jackson of his command, the latter had received no directions from the State government to surrender his trust. And here arose a temporary collision between the two authorities, which displayed the inflexibility of Jackson's character. He replied that he had been intrusted by Major-general Lee, at the command of the State of

"Virginia, with this charge; and he could only re-linquinsh it by his orders. In this position he was while respectful, immovable; and as the Confederate commander was equally firm, a mischievous strife was anxiously feared. But very soon, the mails brought an application from some person pertaining to Colonel Jackson's command, upon which was indorsed in the handwriting of Major-general Lee, a reference to the authority of General Johnston, as commanding at Harper's Ferry. This furnished Colonel Jackson all the evidence which he desired, to justify his surrender of his trust." \* \* \* \* \*

I think that this statement magnifies the circumstance in question, and does injustice to General Jackson's character. The State of Virginia had joined the Confederacy and transferred the control of its military affairs to the President, several weeks before my arrival at Harper's Ferry, on the twenty-third of May, 1861. Within an hour after my arrival, General (then Colonel) Jackson came to see me; and the order assigning me to the command he had been exercising was shown to him. On the following morning, my order assuming the command was sent to him, with a request, in writing, that he would have the necessary number of copies made and distributed to the troops. After acknowledging my note and order, he wrote: "Until I receive further instructions from Governor Letcher or General Lee I do not feel at liberty to transfer my command to another, and must, therefore, decline publishing the order. Meanwhile, I beg you to be assured that it will give me pleasure to afford yourself and the other officers named, every facility in my power for obtaining appropriate information relating to the post, and departments of the service connected with it." Major Whiting, who fell in defence of Fort Fisher, as Major-general, a West Point associate of General Jackson, at my request, represented to him that the authority of the Confederate Government was paramount in the case, and the manner of transferring the command in accordance with military rule. He soon reported General Jackson convinced. The whole affair occupied little more time than was consumed in going twice and back from my Quarters to General Jackson's. There was no display of inflexibility on his part; nor exhibition of firmness on mine. There was nothing in the affair to call forth those qualities. If there was any "collision between the two authorities" I was not conscious of it, as well as of the danger of "mischievous strife."

PAGE 201: "On this expedition, Colonel Jackson was ordered by General Johnston to destroy the locomotives and cars of the Baltimore Railroad, at Martinsburg. At this village there were vast workshops for the construction and repair of those cars; and more than forty of the finest

"locomotives, with three hundred burden cars, were now destroyed. Concerning this, he writes: 'It was a sad work; but I had my orders, my duty was to obey. If the cost of the property could only have been expended in disseminating the Gospel of the Prince of Peace, how much might have been expected.'

"That this invaluable property should have been withdrawn to Winchester, by the way of Harper's Ferry, before this point was evacuated, is too plain to be argued. Whose was the blunder cannot be ascertained; that it was not Colonel Jackson's appears from the extract of his letter just inserted."

The letter quoted does not refer to the removal of the property, and therefore furnishes no evidence on the subject. It only expresses the natural regret of a good man, at a great destruction of property, rendered necessary by a state of war. If Colonel Jackson had thought the suggested removal right, he would have attempted it while in command at Harper's Ferry, between the twenty-ninth of April and twenty-fourth of May, as I should have done, between the last date and fifteenth of June. Colonel Jackson's course was probably prompted by the consideration that directed mine; and gives the authority of his great character to my course. It would not have been right, on our part, to seize the property of that road before the evacuation of Harper's Ferry; nor politic to commit such an act of war against citizens of Maryland, when we were receiving so much aid from that State and hoping for much more. The seizure or destruction of that property by us, could have been justified only by the probability of its military use by the enemy. That probability did not appear until about the time when Colonel Jackson received the order in question: then, being unable to remove, we were compelled to destroy it.

But the most valuable part of this property, the engines, could not have been removed in the manner pointed out. Up to the time of evacuating Harper's Ferry, we were removing the machinery for manufacturing small arms, as fast it could be transported on the railroad, to Winchester. To expedite this work, I proposed to borrow engines from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but was assured by the engineers of both roads, that that to Winchester, especially near Harper's Ferry, where it was supported on trestles, was not strong enough to bear those engines, which were much heavier than those for which it was constructed; and that if brought upon that road they would inevitably crush it. This would have stopped the removal of the machinery from Harper's Ferry, which was far more valuable to the Confederacy than all the rolling stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Road.

PAGE 211: "Accordingly, on the forenoon of Thursday, the eighteenth, the Army of the

"Valley, numbering about eleven thousand men, was ordered under arms."

PAGES 212-13: "The forced march of thirty miles brought the army to Piedmont Station, at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, whence they hoped to reach their destination more easily by railroad. General Jackson's infantry was placed upon trains, there, on the forenoon of Friday, (the nineteenth day of July), while the artillery and cavalry continued their march by the country roads.

"The President of the Railroad Company promised that the whole army should be transported on successive trains to Manassas Junction, by the morning of Saturday; but by a collision, which was, with great appearance of reason, attributed to treachery, the track was obstructed, and all the remaining troops detained without any provision for their subsistence, for two precious days. Had they been provided with food and ordered to continue their forced march, their zeal would have brought the whole to the field long before the commencement of the battle."

It is twenty-three, not thirty, miles from Winchester to Piedmont, and thirty-four thence to Manassas. Jackson's brigade reached Piedmont early on Friday; but the other troops arrived at the usual time of ending a day's march—making two marches of this distance of twenty-three miles. At that rate, the thirty-four miles remaining would have consumed nearly three days; and the troops, if they had marched on with the least practicable delay, would have arrived at the scene of action the day after the battle. Jackson's might have reached it Sunday night. The author said his army amounted to eleven thousand men. More than eight thousand of them were in the battle, conveyed on trains, the first of which arrived at Manassas on Friday evening, and the last about noon, on Sunday. The detention of the remainder was due to the wretched mismanagement of the railroad trains. The only collision occurred on Saturday night, of a train bearing the Sixth North Carolina regiment and an empty one returning. The regiment was carried on, reached Manassas Station on Sunday morning, and took part in the battle. Elzey's brigade, on another train, passed over the place of collision soon after the occurrence, and reached Manassas Station soon after noon on Sunday. The facts prove that the track was not obstructed, at least not seriously. None of the troops were left without any provisions for their subsistence. If any of them suffered for want of food, it was in consequence of throwing away their rations—then not unusual on a march. We left Winchester with as much provisions as we had the means of transporting; and had enough for two days after the arrival of the troops at Manassas, on Monday. The author asserts that:

all the remaining troops (Jackson's infantry being placed on trains), were detained at Piedmont two days, without food. These troops got to Piedmont on Friday afternoon, and the battle began on Sunday morning, not much more than one marching day after the arrival at Piedmont. About eight thousand, three hundred of the eleven thousand, at which he estimates the army of the Shenandoah, were engaged in the battle; therefore, but two thousand, seven hundred could have been detained at Piedmont. The fact that these troops were two days in marching twenty-three miles from Winchester to Piedmont, shows that they could not have marched thirty-four miles, from Piedmont to the scene of action, in less than two days; and that the only hope of getting them into the battle was by the railroad.

PAGES 215-16: "The plan of battle which was adopted, after the designs of the enemy were fully disclosed, was worthy of the genius of Beauregard, who suggested, and of Johnston, who accepted it. This was to send the two reserve brigades, which were at hand, to sustain the shock upon the left, and to enable that wing of the army to hold its ground for a time, while the centre and right were advanced across Bull Run, and swung around into a position parallel to the enemy's line of march, toward the Stone Bridge, with the view of assailing their rear-guard and their line of communication at Centreville."

"The plan of battle," so extolled by the author, was made impracticable by McDowell's turning movement and therefore was abandoned, when the "designs of the enemy were fully disclosed." The movements of Bee and Jackson to the left, so far from being the consequence of the disclosure of the enemy's plans, preceded that discovery; indeed, it was Bee's encounter with the Federal army which revealed to me its designs, and "such reinforcements as could be spared from the centre and right" were then ordered to hasten to the firing. The plan the author supposes and admires, would have kept our centre and right (six brigades,) out of action, and enabled the Federal army to crush the other three. Centreville was three and a half miles north of our centre on Bull Run, and the field of battle was a mile and a half south of our original left on Bull Run; so that it is clear that the troops which might have moved to Centreville in the beginning of the action could by no possibility have reached the field in time to take part in it, but would have assisted McDowell in his turning operation, and made it impossible to prevent his seizure of our depot at Manassas.

PAGES 216-17: "The two generals despatched the order for this movement to the commanders of the right and centre, and then galloped for the scene of action." \* \* \*

Not orders for the movement supposed, but countermanding it, and directing troops from the centre and right to march rapidly to the fight.

PAGE 217: " \* \* and Beauregard, after listening in anxious suspense to hear his guns open upon the heights of Centreville, until the day and the battle were too far advanced for any other resort, relinquished the movement. \* \* The only tactics which remained for the Confederate Generals were to bring up such reinforcements as could be spared from the centre and right successively." \* \* \*

General Beauregard could not have listened for the opening of guns on the heights of Centreville, for none had been sent there. McDowell's turning movement was revealed by Bee not earlier than half-past ten o'clock, A. M. If the centre and right had then been ordered to Centreville, as the author states, they could not have reached it much, if at all, before two o'clock P. M. If those troops had then been ordered into the action, they could not have joined in it: it would have been too late. As it was, of the three and a half brigades ordered up, two were too late, although those orders were despatched at least as early as eleven o'clock, A. M.

This account of the battle does great injustice to General Beauregard and to Bee's and Early's brigades and their commanders. General Jackson's great fame is in no degree enhanced by such disparagement of his associates.

PAGE 230: "The pursuit of the enemy was not continued beyond Centreville, and this was the first error which made the laurels of the Confederate army, so fair to the eye, barren of substantial fruit. It was accounted for, in part, by the paucity of cavalry; but this excuse was no justification, because the cavalry in hand, of which only two companies had been engaged in the actual combat, was not pertinaciously pressed after the fugitives, but paused even before it met with any solid resistance from them."

The "substantial fruit" of this victory was the preservation of the Confederacy. No more could have been hoped for. The pursuit of the enemy was not continued, because our cavalry (a very small force) was *driven back* by the "solid resistance" of the United States infantry. Its rear guard was an entire division, which had not been engaged, and was twelve or fifteen times more numerous than our two little bodies of cavalry. The infantry was not required to continue the pursuit, because it would have been harrassing it to no purpose. It is well known that infantry, unencumbered by baggage trains, can easily escape pursuing infantry. Napoleon's victories of Lutzen and Bautzen are strong instances. I maintain that, considering the relative strength of the belligerents, the Southern people could not have

hoped for more "substantial fruits" of this victory. The defeat of the Confederate army would have involved the immediate overthrow of the Confederacy.

PAGE 230: "Another cause of the interrupted pursuit was a rumor brought at sunset to the commanding Generals, by some alarmed scout, who had seen some bewildered picket of the enemy wandering through the country, that a powerful Federal force was about to attack the lines of Bull Run, near Union Mills, where they were now denuded of defenders. This caused them to recall the fresher regiments from the chase, and send them upon a forced march of seven or eight miles, to meet an imaginary enemy, and to return next morning to the field of battle."

We had, of course, but one commanding General—myself. The story of the "alarmed scout" and "bewildered picket" is doubtless intended for sarcastic surmise—not fact. It is out of place in a Biography of Jackson. No troops were "recalled from the chase and sent seven or eight miles by night" or day "to meet an imaginary enemy." Holmes's brigade, which arrived too late to join in the battle or pursuit, and Ewell's, reported by its commander to be four miles off after the fight was over, were ordered to return to their camps, for the comfort of the men and to spare Ewell's a needless march. The latter, in his conversation with me, said that the Federal troops which had been facing our centre and right during the day, were reported to be advancing. He agreed with me, however, that if this were true, they would soon be recalled to serve as a rear guard. Still, he and Holmes were cautioned to be on their guard. No soldier was ordered by me to march in consequence of this report, or exposed to discomfort or fatigue. No troops were ordered to the "field of battle" next day, except those detailed to collect the arms, etc. Our infantry, which pursued the enemy from the field, finding their pursuit ineffectual, soon abandoned it.

PAGE 231: "It was expected that the Confederate commanders would at least pursue the enemy to the gates of their intrenchments before Alexandria and Washington; and it was hoped that it might not be impracticable, in the agony of their confusion, to recover the Virginian city, to conquer the hostile capital, with its immense spoils, and to emancipate oppressed Maryland by one happy blow."

These expectations and hopes were expressed at the time, not by military men who understood the state of affairs, but by the same military critics of the Press who had but a little while before heaped denunciation on me for the measure which averted the capture of our army in the Valley, and enabled it to preserve the Confeder-

acy at Manassas,—the abandonment of Harper's Ferry. Such a pursuit would have been fruitless. We could not have carried the intrenchments named by assault, and had none of the means to besiege them. Our assault would have been repulsed, and the enemy, then become the victorious party, would have resumed their march to Richmond. But if we had captured the intrenchments, a river a mile wide lay between them and Washington, commanded by the heavy guns of a Federal fleet. If we had taken Alexandria, which stand on low and level ground, those guns would have driven us out of it in a few hours, at the same time killing our friends, the inhabitants. We could not cross the Potomac, and therefore it was impracticable to "conquer the hostile capital" or "emancipate oppressed Maryland." The failure of our invasions in 1862 and 1863, with far greater means, might convince the Southern people, I think, that the author's expectations extravagant.

PAGE 231: "The toiling army, which had marched and fought along the hills of Bull Run through the long July day, demanded with enthusiasm, to be led after the flying foe, and declared that they would march the soles off their feet in so glorious an errand, without a murmur."

My information of the disposition of the army was very different. According to it, the troops believed that their victory had established the independence of the South—that all their country required of them had been accomplished—the war ended, and their military obligations fulfilled. They therefore left the army in crowds, to return to their homes. Such was the report of the Generals, Colonels, staff-officers, and railroad officials. The exultation of victory cost us more than the Federal army lost by defeat.

PAGES 231. "But more than this; the morning after the battle saw an aggregate of ten thousand fresh men, composed of the remainder of the Army of the Valley, who had at length reached the scene, and of reinforcements from Richmond, arrive within the intrenchments at Manassas Junction, who were burning with enthusiasm, and expected nothing else than to be led against the enemy at once."

I have no records; but according to my recollection, the Sixth South Carolina Regiment constituted the only reinforcements from Richmond at the time referred to. On Page 211, the Army of the Valley is estimated at eleven thousand. So that less than two thousand, seven hundred men of that army must have arrived the day after the battle, as more than eight thousand, three hundred were engaged in it. I am confident that, if we had marched a few days after the battle to "conquer Washington," and "emancipate Maryland," we should not have brought twenty thou-

sand men to the banks of the Potomac. Our men, as has been already said, believed the contest decided—their objects achieved—and were more disposed to go home and enjoy the independence and glory they had won, than to renew the war on Northern soil.

PAGES 231—32. "In a few days the patriotic citizens of Alexandria sent authentic intelligence of the condition of the beaten rabble, there and in Washington, which a true military sagacity would have anticipated, as Jackson did, without actual testimony."

No such intelligence was sent to me. Nor were the Federal troops south of the Potomac, a rabble. Mansfield's, Miles's, and Runyon's divisions, a larger force than we could have brought against them, had not been beaten nor engaged; and the reports of the commanders of the brigades engaged, show that they entered the intrenchments organized, except those who fled individually from the field. These latter undoubtedly gave an exaggerated idea of the rout, to the people of Washington; as those from our ranks, met by the President, before he reached Manassas on his way to the field, convinced him that our army had been defeated.

PAGE 232: "For days there was neither organization, nor obedience, nor thought of resistance on the south side of the Potomac."

This assertion is unfounded. It is disproved by the reports of the Federal general officers, and the fact that General Scott, who had near twenty-five thousand men idle within twenty-four hours of Washington, brought up none of them; and that the President, Cabinet and members of Congress seem to have been unconscious of danger—or such a state of things as that describes.

PAGE 233: "Now, then, said the more reflecting, was the time for vigorous audacity. Now a Napoleonic genius, were he present, would make this another Jena in its splendid fruits. \* \* \* "He would firmly press upon the disorganized masses; he would thunder at the gates of Washington; and replenishing his exhausted equipments with the mighty spoils, rush blazing, like the lightning that shineth from one part under the heaven to the other, through the affrighted North." \* \* \*

The author surely does not expect rational readers to believe that this bombast was really uttered in the army, or that our soldiers condemned their General for not being a "Napoleonic genius," when but one is found in all history. The "splendid fruits" of the battle of Jena were due to the fact that Napoleon with about equal force, turned the Prussian army before defeating it. Had it been able to take refuge in intrenchments covering the passage of a river a mile wide, those "fruits" would have been less

than ours—which were, the preservation of the Confederacy, for the time.

The masses referred to were less disorganized by defeat than our army by triumph. By "gates of Washington" is meant, I suppose, the fortifications upon which skillful engineers, commanding the resources of the United States, were engaged for several months—manned by double our numbers, half of whom had not seen the battle—and a river a mile wide commanded by the guns of the United States fleet. We attempted invasion in 1862, and again in 1863. First, after General Lee's victories over McClellan and Pope, and Jackson's over Banks, Fremont, and Shields. The second time, when the way was supposed to have been opened by the effects of the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

On these occasions, the forces defeated were ten times as great as those repulsed on the twenty-first day of July, 1861, and their losses twenty times as great. Yet those defeated armies met us at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg, so strengthened in numbers and spirit as to send back the war into Virginia. These events show how far, in July, 1861, our army could have "rushed blazing" through the North (and it could have crossed the Potomac), and how much the North would have been "frightened." The failure of invasions conducted by Lee, aided by Longstreet and Jackson, and attempted under such circumstances, proves that the Confederacy was too weak for offensive war, and is a conclusive argument in favor of the course against which the author declaims so vehemently.

PAGE 234: "He (General Jackson) was then compelled to sit silent and see the noble army, with its enthusiastic recruits, withering away in inaction on the plains of Bull Run, now doubly pestilential from the miasma of the August heats and the stench of the battle-field; under camp fevers ten-fold more fatal than all the bullets of the enemy. Regiments dwindled, under the scourge, to skeletons; and the rude, temporary hospitals acquired trains of graves, far more numerous and extensive than those upon the hills around the Stone Bridge."

If General Jackson had seen the state of things described above he *could not* have been compelled to "sit silent." He *would have* done his duty by protecting his brigade from the effects of such wretched incompetence, by remonstrance to the General, and if that proved ineffective, by appeal to the Government. His silence proves that he did not see the evils his biographer describes.

It is well known that large bodies of new troops are sickly in all climates. Our sick reports were larger in the healthy climate of the Valley than at the time referred to. No troops were then encamped in the valley of Bull Run, or nearer to the "battle-field" than four or five

miles. The dead had been buried so that the ladies visited the field without inconvenience. The writer's own estimate and General Beauregard's, very strongly contradict this account of our great losses by disease. He estimates the army of the Valley at eleven thousand when it left Winchester. General Beauregard reported his to be about twenty-one thousand, including one thousand five hundred mounted men, and the garrison of Manassas (two thousand soldiers and seamen), in all about thirty-two thousand; deducting one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three lost in battle, leaves thirty thousand, one hundred, and seven—not estimating the thousands who went home in the belief that their victory had terminated the war. On page 239, the author says, after their "forces had grown to about "sixty thousand men," the Confederate Generals "pushed their lines forward to Munson's and "Mason's Hills." This was early in September. According to this, the army had then been increased by the difference between sixty thousand and thirty thousand, one hundred, and seven—twenty-nine thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three. If my recollection is correct, it had received since the battle ten regiments—one from South Carolina, one from North Carolina, one from Texas, one from Alabama, two from Mississippi, and four from Georgia, averaging less than six hundred men. So that these reinforcements amounted to not more than six thousand, leaving twenty-three thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-three, as the growth of the regiments represented to have "dwindled under the scourge to "skeletons." But these assertions—that our regiments dwindled to skeletons during August, and that the army had grown to about sixty thousand men early in September,—are altogether incorrect. I have contrasted them to show the carelessness of the author's accusations. The battle and its consequences reduced our army to about twenty-seven thousand men. When its advanced guard occupied Munson's and Mason's Hills early in September, it had received, since the battle, not more than six thousand. So that its strength was little more than half of the biographer's estimate.

PAGE 236: "The wearied Confederate soldiers "did not find the rain any the less dreary on the "next day, because they were either counter-"marched up and down Bull Run, or left to "crouch on the battle-field in fence corners, with-"out tents, instead of engaging in the inspiring "pursuit of the enemy."

None of our troops were countermarched up and down Bull Run the next day. None were on the battle-field but those detailed to collect arms, &c. Beauregard's troops had a full supply of tents, and those from the Valley a partial one. Pursuit would have been fruitless, and therefore anything but inspiring.

PAGE 236: "The country was then teeming "with supplies; herds of bullocks were feeding "in the pastures around Centreville; and the "barns of the farmers were loaded with grain."

The country between Bull Run and Washington is poor and thinly peopled, and never teemed with supplies. If there were ever herds of bullocks in the pastures around Centreville; any Southern man can tell how many would have been left by a Federal army of four divisions (near forty thousand men), encamped there from the seventeenth to the twenty-first of July; and if there was ever abundance between that place and Washington, those who have seen a country through which a Federal army had marched once, can judge of the abundance left where it had passed twice.

PAGE 236: "A march of twenty-five miles "could surely have been accomplished without "baggage or rations, especially when the short "effort might lead them to the spoils of a wealthy "capital."

It is about forty miles from the field of battle to Washington by the main road, through Alexandria—perhaps four less by Munson's Hill. At the end of that march a broad navigable river would have separated our army from "the spoils "of a wealthy capital."

J. E. JOHNSTON.

NOTE.—The numbers given above express effective force.

#### XIV.—PATENT OF THE TOWN OF QUEENSBURY, NEW YORK.

COMMUNICATED BY A. W. HOLDEN, M. D.

[The following document copied verbatim from the original Patent, was written upon two large sheets of Parchment in the old English character, and engrossed with great precision and elegance. It is the property now of the family of Richard Wing, deceased, to whom it has descended as an heir-loom—it having been confided to the keeping of his grandfather, Abraham Wing, by the original grantees, and remained in the possession of the family ever since. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Asahel Wing, Richard Wing's son), Cashier of the Fort Edward National Bank, for the personal and opportunity of copying this and other parchments and documents. A. W. H.]

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, TO all to whom these Presents shall come, GREETING. WHEREAS our loving subjects, Daniel Prindle, Elihu Marsh, Thomas Hungerford, Samuel Hungerford, John Buck, Daniel Tryon, Amos Leach, Benjamin Seeley, Anthony Wanzer, Jonathan Weeks, John Page, Elihu Marsh, Junior, Abraham Wanzer, Benjamin Elliot, John Seeley, Aaron Prindle, Thomas Northorp, Ezekiel Pain, Jedediah Graves, David Commins, Ebenezer Preston, David Preston, and Joshua Agard, did by their humble petition presented unto our tru be

and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in chief of our Province of New York and the territories thereon depending, in America, in Council, on the thirty-first day of March, now last past, humbly pray our Letters Patent granting to each of the said Petitioners especially and to their respective heirs, the quantity of One Thousand Acres of a certain Tract of Land, in the said Province, vested in the Crown that had been surveyed and laid out for the said Daniel Prindle and his associates above named of the contents of six miles square adjoining to the lands intended to be granted to James Bradshaw and others between Fort Edward and Lake George under the Quit Rent provisoes, Limitations and restrictions directed and prescribed by Our Royal Instructions together with the like privileges of a Township (as were lately granted to Isaac Sawyer and others) by the name of Queensbury Township, WHICH PETITION having been then and there read and considered of, our said Council did afterwards, on the fifteenth day of April now last past, humbly advise our said Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief to grant the prayer thereof. WHEREFORE, in obedience to our said Royal Instructions our Commissioners appointed for the setting out all lands to be granted within our said Province have set out for the petitioners above named ALL that certain Tract or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the County of Albany on the north side of Hudson's river between Ft. Edward and Lake George BEGINNING at the north west corner of a certain Tract of land surveyed for James Bradshaw and his associates and running from the said northwest corner, north twenty-seven chains, then west, five hundred and thirty-five chains, then south, five hundred and thirty-six chains to Hudson's River, then down the stream of said River as it runs to the west Bounds of the said Tract surveyed for James Bradshaw and his associates, then along the said West Bounds North to the place where this tract first began, containing after deducting for sundry ponds of water lying within the above mentioned Bounds Twenty-three thousand acres of land and the usual allowances for Highways. AND in setting out the said Tract of Land the said Commissioners have had regard to the profitable and unprofitable acres, and have taken care that the length thereof doth not extend along the Banks of any other River otherwise than is conformable to our said Royal Instructions for that purpose as by a certificate thereof under their hand bearing Date the Twenty-first Day of April now last past and entered on Record in our Secretary's Office in our City of New York may more fully appear. Which said Tract of Land set out as aforesaid according to our said Royal Instructions, We being willing to grant mifhe said

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knowledge

granted ratified and confirmed and DO by these Presents for us our Heirs and Survivors give, grant, ratify, and confirm unto them the said Daniel Prindle, Elihu Marsh, Thomas Hungerford, Samuel Hungerford, John Buck, Daniel Tryon, Amos Leach, Benjamin Seely, Anthony Wansar, Jonathan Weeks, John Page, Elihu Marsh, Junior, Abraham Wanser, Benjamin Elliot, John Seeley, Aaron Prindle, Thomas Northorp, Ezekiel Pain, Jedediah Graves, David Commins, Ebenezer Preston, Daniel Preston and Joshua Agard their Heirs and Assignees for ever ALL THAT the aforesaid Tract or parcel of Land set out abutted bounded and described in Manner and Form above mentioned together with all and singular the Tenements and Appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, and also all our Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Claim and Demand Whatsoever of, in and to the same Lands and Premises and every part and parcel thereof and the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders, Rents, Issues and Profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, EXCEPT and always reserved out of this our present Grant, unto us, our Heirs and Successors for ever, all mines of Gold and Silver and also all White and other sorts of Pine Trees fit for masts of the Growth of Twenty-four Inches Diameter and upwards at twelve Inches from the Earth, for Masts for the Royal Navy of us our Heirs and Successors, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD one full and equal Three and Twentieth part (the whole into Twenty three equal parts to be divided) of the said Tract or parcel of Land, Tenements, Hereditaments and Premises by these Presents granted, ratified and confirmed, and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their appurtenances, (except as is herein before excepted) unto each of them our Grantees above mentioned their Heirs and Assignees respectively, TO their only proper and separate use and Behoof respectively for ever as Tenants in common and not as joint Tenants. TO BE HOLDEN of us, our Heirs and Successors in fee and common socage as of our Manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent within our Kingdom of Great Britain; YIELDING, rendering, and paying therefore yearly and every year forever unto us our Heirs and Successors at our Custom House in our City of New York, unto our or their Collector or Receiver

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the yearly rent of two shillings and six pence Sterling for each and every Hundred Acres of the above granted lands and so in proportion for any less in quantity thereof saving and except for such part of the said Lands allowed for Highways as above mentioned

in Lieu and stead of all other Rents, Services, Dues, Duties, and Demands whatsoever for the hereby granted Lands and Premises, or any part thereof. AND WE DO, of our especial Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, create, erect and constitute the said Tract or parcel of Land hereby granted and every part and parcel thereof a Township for ever hereafter to be, continue, and remain, and by the name of QUEENSBURY Township for ever hereafter to be called and known. AND for the better and more easily carrying on and managing the public affairs and Business of the said Township our Royal will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us our Heirs and Successors, give and grant to the inhabitants of said Township all the Powers, Authority, Privileges and Advantages heretofore given and granted to or legally enjoyed by all, any, or either our other Townships within our said Province. AND we also ordain and establish that there shall be forever hereafter in the said Township, One Supervisor, Two Assessors, One Treasurer, One Overseers of the Highways, Two Overseers of the Poor, One Collector and four Constables elected and chosen out of the Inhabitants of the said Township yearly and every year on the first Tuesday in May at the most publick place in the said Township, by the majority of Freeholders thereof,

*[End of contents of first piece of parchment.]*

THEN and there met and assembled for that purpose, hereby declaring that wheresoever the first Election in the said Township shall be held the future Elections shall forever thereafter be held in the same place as near as may be, and giving and Granting unto the said officers so chosen, power and authority to exercise their said several and respective officers have or legally may use or exercise their offices in our said Province. (*sic*) AND in case any or either of the officers of the said Township should die or remove from said Township before the Time of their Annual service shall be expired or refuse to act in the Offices for which they shall

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of the said Township to meet at the place where the annual election shall be held for the said Township and chuse other or others of the said Inhabitants of the said Township in the place or stead of him or them so dying removing or refusing to act within Forty days next after such contingency. - AND to prevent any undue election in this case, We do hereby ordain and require, That upon every vacancy in the office of Supervisor, the Assessors and in either of the other offices, the Supervisor of the said Township shall within ten days next after any such vacancy first happens appoint the Day for such Election and give public Notice thereof in Writing under his or their Hands by affixing such Notice on the Church Door, or

other most public place in the said Township, at the least Ten days before the Day appointed for such Election, and in Default thereof we do hereby require the Officer or Officers of the said Township or the Survivor of them, who in the order they are hereinbefore mentioned, shall next succeed him or them so making Default, within ten days next after such default to appoint the day for such election, and give notice thereof as aforesaid, HEREBY Giving and Granting that such person or persons as shall be so chosen by the majority of such of the Freeholders of the said Township as shall meet in manner hereby directed, shall have, hold, exercise and enjoy the Office or Offices, to which he or they shall be so elected and chosen from the Time of such Election, until the first Tuesday in May then next following, and until other or others be legally chosen in his or their place and stead as fully as the person or persons in whose place he or they shall be chosen might or would have done by virtue of these presents. AND WE do hereby will and direct that this method shall for ever hereafter, be used for the filling up all vacancies that shall happen in any or either of the said Offices between the annual Elections above directed, PROVIDED always and upon condition nevertheless, that if our said Grantees, their heirs or assignes, or some or one of them, shall not, within three years next after the conclusion of our present war with France, settle on the said Tract of Land hereby granted so many families as shall amount to one Family for every thousand acres thereof, OR if they, our said Grantees, or one of them, their or one of their heirs or assigns, shall not also within three years, to be computed as aforesaid, plant and effectually cultivate at the least three acres for every thousand acres of such of the hereby granted Lands as are capable of cultivation, OR if they our said Grantees or any of them, or any of their heirs or assignes

*[Defaced and illegible.]*

person or persons by their or any of their privacy, consent, or procurement, shall fell, cut down or otherwise destroy any of the Pine Trees by these Presents reserved to us, our heirs and successors, or hereby intended so to be, without the Royal License of us, our heirs or successors for so doing first had and obtained, that then and in any of these cases, this, our present Grant and every Thing therein contained, shall cease and be absolutely void, and the Lands and Premises hereby granted shall revert to and vest in us, our heirs and successors, as if this our present Grant had not been made, anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding, PROVIDED further, and upon condition also nevertheless, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors direct and appoint that this our present Grant shall be



registered and entered on Record within six months from the date thereof, in our Secretary's Office, in our City of New York, in our said Province, in one of the Books of Patents there remaining and that a Docquet thereof shall be also entered in our Auditor's Office there, for our said Province, and that in default thereof this our present Grant shall be void and of none effect any Thing before in these Presents contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. AND WE DO moreover, of our Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, consent, and agree that this our present Grant being registered, recorded and a Docquet thereof made as before directed and appointed, shall be good and effectual in the Law, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes whatsoever against us, our heirs and Successors, notwithstanding any Misreciting, Misbouding, Misnaming, or other Imperfection or Omission of, in, or in any wise concerning the above granted or hereby mentioned or intended to be granted Lands, Tenements, hereditaments and premises, or any part thereof. IN TESTIMONY whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS our said trusty and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our Province of New-York and Territories depending thereon in America. At our Fort, in our City of New-York, the Twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-two and of our Reign the scecond. (First Skin, Line 31, the word "of" interlined; line 47, the words "any or" wrote on an erasure; and Line 49, the word "the" interlined.)

CLARKE.

[*Endorsements on the back of the Parchment Skin No. 1*]

SECRETARY'S OFFICE 25th May 1762 The Within Letters Patent are Recorded in Lib Patents No 13 Pages 478 to 483.

GOW. BANYAR D Sec'y  
NEW YORK AUDITOR GENERAL'S OFFICE 1st June, 1762. The within Letters Patent to Daniel Prindle and others are Docqueted in this office.

GOW. BANYAR Dept Auditor

#### XV.—DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT SEPULCHRAL MOUND NEAR NEWARK, OHIO.\*

By O. C. MARSH, F.G.S.

In the first volume of the *Smithsonian Contributions*, Messrs. Squier and Davis have ably described the most important of those ancient

monuments of the Mississippi Valley, which render that region so interesting to the student of American archaeology. By discarding vague speculation, which had been the prominent fault of most previous investigators, and adopting that rigid method of research inaugurated so successfully by Scandinavian antiquaries, these authors were enabled to embody in their work all that was valuable in previous accounts, and to add much new and important information concerning that ancient population of this country, who have left behind them so many imposing structures. The subsequent researches of Squire, Latham, and others, have thrown additional light upon this interesting subject, so that at the present time the "Mound-builders" can no longer be regarded as an unknown people, although both tradition and history are silent in regard to them.

Few of these ancient monuments of the West have attracted more attention than the group of "Enclosures," or "Forts," near Newark, Ohio, which have long been celebrated on account of their great extent, and remarkable regularity. They consist mainly of elaborate earthworks, in the form of a circle, octagon, and square; and enclose an area of about four square miles, on the upper terrace, between two branches of the Licking River. They were well described by Atwater, in 1820, who regarded them as works of defense; and subsequently by Squier and Davis, who, however, considered them sacred enclosures. Scattered over the same plain, and crowning the neighboring hills, are numerous tumuli, or mounds, evidently erected by the same people who built the larger works.

While on a geological excursion through the West, during the last autumn, the writer spent several days at Newark, examining these various monuments, in company with George P. Russell, Esq., of Salem, Mass., who is well versed in everything relating to American antiquities. In the course of our investigations, a sepulchral mound was opened, which proved to be in many respects the most interesting one of the kind yet examined. Mounds of this class received from Squire and Davis much less attention than the smaller "Altar Mounds," as the latter usually contain more relics of ancient art. These authors, moreover, examined none of those belonging to the Newark group of works, although the mounds in that vicinity appear to present some points of difference from those of other localities. For these reasons a more detailed account of our explorations will be given than would otherwise be necessary. The mound selected for examination was about two and a half miles south of Newark, on the farm of Mr. Thomas Taylor, and was known in the neighborhood as the "Taylor Mound." It was conical in form, about ten feet in height, and eighty in diameter at the base, these being about the average

\* From the *American Journal of Science*.

dimensions of the burial mounds in that vicinity. It was situated on the summit of a ridge, in the midst of a stately forest. On the mound itself several oak trees, two and a half to three feet in diameter, were growing, and near them were stumps of others, evidently of greater age. The mound stood quite alone, nearly half a mile from its nearest neighbor, and about three miles from the large earthworks already mentioned. In our explorations we were greatly assisted by Dr. J. N. Wilson, and Messrs. Dennis and Shrock, of Newark, and Charles W. Chandler, Esq., of Zanesville, who are all much interested in the local antiquities of that region.

An excavation about eight feet in diameter was first made from the apex of the mound, and after the surface soil was removed the earth was found to be remarkably compact, probably owing to its having been firmly trodden down when deposited. This earth was a light loam, quite different from the soil of the ridge itself, and its peculiar mottled appearance indicated that it had been brought to the spot in small quantities. In excavating the first five feet, which was a slow and very laborious undertaking, nothing worthy of notice was observed except some traces of ashes and pieces of charcoal and flint, scattered about at various depths. At five and a half feet below the surface, where the earth became less difficult to remove, a broken stone pipe was found, which had evidently been long in use. It was made of a very soft limestone, containing fragments of small fossil shells, apparently Cretaceous species. No rock of precisely this kind is known to exist in Ohio. Pieces of a tube of the same material, and about an inch in diameter, were found near the pipe. The cavity was about two-thirds of an inch in diameter, and had been bored out with great regularity. Similar tubes have occasionally been found in mounds, but their use is not definitely known.

About seven feet from the top of the mound a thin white layer was observed, which extended over a horizontal surface of several square yards. Near the centre of this space, and directly under the apex of the mound, a string of more than one hundred beads of native copper was found, and with it a few small bones of a child, about three years of age. The beads were strung on a twisted cord of coarse vegetable fibre, apparently the inner bark of a tree, and this had been preserved by salts of the copper, the antiseptic properties of which are well known. The position of the beads showed clearly that they had been wound two or three times around the neck of the child; and the bones themselves, (the neural arches of the cervical vertebrae, a clavicle, and a first rib), were precisely those which the beads would naturally come in contact with, when decomposition of the body ensued. The remains evidently owe their preservation to this fact, as they are all colored

with carbonate of copper, and the other parts of the skeleton had entirely decayed. The position the body had occupied, however, was still clearly indicated by the darker color of the earth. The beads were about one-fourth of an inch long, and one-third in diameter, and no little skill had been displayed in their construction. They were evidently made, without the aid of fire, by hammering the metal in its original state; but the joints were so neatly fitted that in most cases it was very difficult to detect them. On the same cord, and arranged at regular intervals, were five shell beads, of the same diameter, but about twice as long as those of copper. All had apparently been well polished, and the necklace, when worn, must have formed a tasteful and striking ornament.\*

About a foot below the remains just described, and a little east of the centre of the mound, were two adult human skeletons, lying one above the other, and remarkably well preserved. The interment had evidently been performed with great care. The heads were toward the east, slightly higher than the feet, and the arms were carefully composed at the sides. A white stratum, similar in every respect to the one already mentioned, was here very distinct, and extended horizontally over a space of five or six yards, in the center of which the remains had been laid. The earth separated readily though this stratum, and an examination of the exposed surfaces showed that they were formed from two decayed layers of bark, on one of which the bodies had been placed, and the other covered over them. The smooth sides of the bark had thus come together, and the decomposition of the inner layers had produced the peculiar white substance, as a subsequent microscopic examination clearly indicated.† Directly above these skeletons was a layer of reddish earth, apparently a mixture of ashes and burned clay, which covered a surface of about a square yard. Near the middle of this space was a small pile of charred human bones, the remains of a skeleton which had been burned immediately over those just described. The fire had evidently been continued for some time, and then allowed to go out; when the fragments of bone and cinders that remained were scraped together, and covered with earth. All the bones were in small pieces, and most of them distorted by heat; but among them were found the lower extremity of a humerus, and

\* Native copper seems to have been the favorite material for ornaments among the mound-builders. The metal was, without doubt, derived originally from the Lake Superior deposits, although it may have been found in the drift. It was more probably taken directly from the deposits themselves, as they exhibit abundant evidence of ancient mining operations, which no one familiar with such matters would attribute to the more recent Indians.

† This white layer, which was thought by Squier and Davis to be the remains of matting, is a characteristic feature in burial mounds. It has only been found where the interments were unquestionably those of mound builders.

some fragments of a fibula, which showed them to be human, and indicated an adult rather below the medium size. The two skeletons found beneath these remains were well formed, and of opposite sex. The ossification of the bones indicated that the female was about thirty years of age, and the male somewhat older. It is not impossible that these were husband and wife—and latter put to death and buried above the remains of her consort; and the charred bones may have been those of a human sacrifice, slain at the funeral ceremonies.\* Near these skeletons was a small quantity of reddish brown powder, which proven on examination to be hematite. It was probably used as a paint.†

On continuing our excavations about a foot lower, and somewhat more to the eastward, a second pile of charred human bones was found resting on a layer of ashes, charcoal and burned clay. But one or two fragments of these remains could be identified as human, and these also indicated a small-sized adult. The incrimation had apparently been performed in the same manner as in the previous instance. Immediately beneath the clay deposit a third white layer was observed, quite similar to that just described. In this layer was a male skeleton, not in so good a state of preservation as those already mentioned, although evidently belonging to an individual considerably older. In this case also the head was toward the east, and the burial had been carefully performed. Near this skeleton about a pint of white chaff was found, which appeared to belong to some of the native grasses. The form was still quite distinct, although nearly all the organic substance had disappeared. A few inches deeper, near the surface of the natural earth, several skeletons of various ages were met with, which had evidently been buried in a hurried manner. All were nearly or quite horizontal, but no layer of bark had been spread for their reception, and no care taken in regard to arrangement of limbs. These skeletons were in a tolerable state of preservation, some parts being quite perfect. A tibia and fibula, with most of the corresponding bones of a foot, were found quite by themselves, and well preserved.

Our excavations had now reached the original surface of the ridge on which the mound was erected, and we were about to discontinue further researches, when the dark color of the earth at one

point attracted attention and an examination soon showed that a cist, or grave, had first been excavated in the soil, before the mound itself was commenced. This grave was under the eastern part of the elevation, about four feet from the center. It consisted of a simple excavation, in an east and west direction, about six feet long, three wide, and nearly two deep. In this grave were found parts of at least eight skeletons, which had evidently been thrown in carelessly,—most of them soon after death, but one or two not until the bones had become detached and weathered. Some of the bones were very well preserved, and indicated individuals of various ages. Two infants, about a year and eighteen months old respectively, were each represented by a single os ilium, and bones of several other small children were found. One skull, apparently that of a boy about twelve years of age, was recovered in fragments, and this was the best preserved of any obtained in the mound. The skeleton of an aged woman of small stature was found resting on its side. It was bent together, and lay across the grave with its head towards the north. Some of the loose, human bones, exhumed from the bottom of the grave were evidently imperfect when thrown in. Among these was part of a large femur, which had been gnawed by some carnivorous animal. The marks of the teeth were sharply defined, and corresponded to those made by a dog or a wolf.

Quite a number of implements of various kinds were found with the human remains in this grave. Near its eastern end, where the detached bones had been buried, were nine lance and arrow heads, nearly all of the same form, and somewhat rudely made of flint and chert. The material was probably obtained from "Flint ridge," a siliceous deposit of Carboniferous age, which crops out a few miles distant. These weapons are of peculiar interest, as it appears they are the first that have been discovered in a sepulchral mound, although many such have been carefully examined. They show that the custom—so common among the Indians of this country—of burying with the dead their implements of war or the chase, obtained occasionally, at least, among the mound-builders. Not far from these weapons six small hand-axes were found, one of which was made of hematite, and the rest of compact greenstone, or diorite, the material often used by the Indians for similar articles. Two of these corresponded closely in form with the stone hand-axe figured by Squier and Davis as the only one then known from the mounds. With these axes were found a small hatchet of hematite, a flint chisel, and a peculiar flint instrument, apparently used for scraping wood.

In the central part of the grave, near the aged female skeleton already alluded to, were a large number of bone implements, all exceedingly well

\* Among the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, when a ruler or other person of high rank died, his wives and domestics were often put to death at the tomb, and in some instances the remains were burned.

† A large quantity of the same substance was found in another mound near Newark. May not the "iron rust" discovered in the mound at Marietta, and regarded by some as a proof that the mound-builders were acquainted with that metal, have been merely this substance? Implements of hematite were, indeed, found in the same mound.—*Transactions American Antiquarian Society*, I. 168.

preserved. Among these were five needles, or bodkins, from three to six inches in length, neatly made from the metatarsal bones of the common deer; and also a spatula, cut from an ulna, and probably used for moulding pottery. With these were found about a dozen peculiar implements formed from the antlers of the deer and elk. They are cylindrical in form, from three to eight inches in length, and an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. Most of these had both ends somewhat rounded, and perfectly smooth, as if they had either been long in use or carefully polished. It is possible these implements were used for smoothing down the seams of skins or leather: they would, at least, be well adapted to such a purpose. A "whistle," made from a tooth of a young black bear, and several spoons, cut out of the shells of river mussels, were also obtained, near the same spot.

A vessel of coarse pottery was found near the western end of the grave, but, unfortunately, was broken in removing it. It was about five inches in its greatest diameter, six in height, and one-third of an inch in thickness. It was without ornament and rudely made of clay containing some sand and powdered quartz. It was filled with soft, black earth, the color being probably due to some animal or vegetable substance, which it contained when deposited in the grave. Fragments of a vase of similar material, but having the top ornamented, were found in another part of the mound. Neither of these vessels were superior, in any respect, to the pottery manufactured by the Indians.

Near the bottom of the mound, and especially in the grave, were various animal bones, most of them in an excellent state of preservation. Many of these belonged to the common deer, and nearly all the hollow bones had been skilfully split open lengthwise,—probably for the purpose of extracting the marrow,—a common custom among rude nations. Some of these remains of the deer indicated individuals of a size seldom attained by the species at the present time. Beside one of the skeletons in the grave, and evidently deposited with it, were several bones of the gray rabbit. This renders it not unlikely that the mound-builders used this animal for food, —a point of some interest, as the inhabitants of Europe in the stone age are supposed to have been prevented from eating the hare, by the same superstition that prevailed among the ancient Britons, and is still observed among the Laplanders.

Some of the animal remains in the mound, although well preserved, were in too small fragments to admit of accurate determination. Characteristic specimens, however, were obtained of those in the following list:

*Cervus Canadensis*, Erix., (elk).

*Cervus Virginianus*, Bodd., (common deer).

*Ursus Americanus*, Pallas, (black bear).

*Canis Latrans?* Say, (prairie wolf).

*Lepus sylvaticus*, Bach., (gray rabbit).

*Arctomys monax*, Gm., (woodchuck).

*Unio alatus*, Say, (river mussel).

It will be observed that these are all existing species, and, with one or two exceptions, are still living in Ohio—a fact of some importance in its relation to the antiquity of the mounds. The discovery of these remains under such circumstances shows, moreover, that the mound-builders depended, to some extent, at least, on the chase for subsistence. If, however, they were a stationary and agricultural people, as is generally supposed, we should expect to find in the mounds, the remains of domestic, rather than of wild, animals, but none of these have yet been discovered. This may be owing to the fact that comparatively little attention has hitherto been paid to the animal remains, and other objects of natural history found in the mounds, although a careful study of these would undoubtedly throw much light upon the mode of life of the mound-builders.\*

The excellent state of preservation of the various skeletons in this mound is remarkable, and has probably never been equalled in the hundreds that have hitherto been examined. The remains of undoubted mound-builders have almost invariably been found so much decayed that it was impossible to recover a single bone entire.† The preservation in this case was doubtless due in part to the excessive compactness of the earth above the remains, but mainly to the fact that the mound stood on an elevation, where moisture could not accumulate. The skeletons in the lower part of the mound were not so well preserved as those higher up, probably because the original soil of the ridge naturally retained more moisture than the earth above it. There may have been, moreover, a considerable interval between the irregular burials and those that followed, and thus some of the skeletons commenced to decay before the mound was completed. The interval, however, could not have been of very long duration, as no perceptible deposit of vegetable matter was formed over the small mound then existing. The same may be said of the intervals between the regular interments, and

\* The animal remains found near the Swiss lake habitations, show conclusively that the earliest inhabitants of those settlements were hunters, who subsisted chiefly on wild animals: at a later period, however, during the change to a pastoral state, domestic animals were gradually substituted as an article of food.—*Rutimeyer Fauna der Pfahlbauten der Schweiz*. Basel, 1861.

† Squier and Davis regard this fact as evidence of the great antiquity of the mounds, as in England, where the moist climate is much less favorable for preserving such remains, perfect skeletons of the ancient Britons have been found, although known to have been buried at least 1800 years.—*Smithsonian Contributions*, i. 168.

also of the subsequent period preceding the final completion of the mound. It should, perhaps, be remarked before proceeding further, that this mound had evidently never been disturbed by the Indians, and that all the human remains and other objects found in it were undoubtedly deposited there by its builders. This will readily be admitted by every one familiar with the subject, as the last interment was at least seven feet below the surface, directly under the apex of the mound, and the white layers—infallible indications of regular burials of the mound-builders—all extended over the grave, and remained undisturbed.\*

The skeletons found in this mound were of medium size, somewhat smaller than the average of those of the Indians still living in this country. The bones were certainly not stouter than those of Indians of the same size, although this has been regarded as a characteristic of the remains of the mound-builders. All the skulls in the mound were broken—in one instance apparently before burial—and most of them so much decayed that no attempt was made to preserve them. Two, however, were recovered with the more important parts but little injured. Both were of small size, and showed the vertical occiput, prominent vertex, and large interparietal diameter, so characteristic of crania belonging to the American race. In other respects there was nothing of special interest in their conformation. With a single exception, all the human teeth observed were perfectly sound. The teeth of all the adult skeletons were much worn, those of aged individuals usually to a remarkable degree. The manner in which these were worn away is peculiarly interesting, as it indicates that the mound-builders, like the ancient Egyptians and the Danes of the stone age, did not, in eating, use the incisive teeth for cutting, as modern nations do. This is evident from the fact that the worn incisors are all truncated in the same plane with the coronal surfaces of the molars, showing that the upper front teeth impinge directly on the summits of those below, instead of lapping over them. This peculiarity may be seen in the teeth of Egyptian mummies, as was first pointed out by Cuvier.

All the bones in this mound, animal as well as human, were very light, and many of them exceedingly brittle. They adhere strongly to the tongue, but application of hydrochloric acid shows that they still retain a considerable portion of the cartilage. Some of the more fragile bones, which showed a tendency to crumble on exposure to the air, were readily preserved by immersing

them in spermaceti melted in boiling water, a new method, used by Professor Lartet and other French paleontologists, and admirably adapted to such a purpose.

There are several points connected with this mound which deserve especial notice, as they appear to throw some additional light upon the customs of the mound-builders, particularly, their modes of burial and funeral ceremonies. One of the most remarkable features in the mound was the large number of skeletons it contained. With one or two exceptions, none of the burial-mounds hitherto examined have contained more than a single skeleton which unquestionably belonged to the mound-builders, while in this instance parts of at least seventeen were exhumed. The number of small children represented among these remains is also worthy of notice, as it indicates for this particular case a rate of infant mortality (about thirty-three per cent) which is much higher than some have supposed ever existed among rude nations. Another point of special interest in this mound is the evidence it affords that the regular method of burial among the mound-builders was sometimes omitted, and the remains interred in a hurried and careless manner. This was the case with eleven skeletons exhumed in the course of our explorations, a remarkable fact, which appears to be without a precedent in the experience of previous investigators. It should be mentioned in this connection that nearly all of these remains were those of women and children. Their hurried and careless burial might seem to indicate a want of respect on the part of their surviving friends, were there not ample evidence to prove that reverence for the dead was a prominent characteristic of the mound-builders. It is not unlikely that in this instance some unusual cause, such as pestilence or war, may have made a hasty interment necessary. The various implements and remains of animals found with these skeletons also deserve notice, as they far exceed in number and variety any hitherto discovered in a single mound. They prove, moreover, that, if in this instance the rites of regular burial were denied the departed, their supposed future wants were amply provided for. The contents of one part of the cist (which is itself a very unusual accompaniment of a mound) appears to indicate that the remains of those who died at a distance from home were collected for burial, sometimes long after death. The interesting discovery of weapons, which were found with these detached bones, would seem to imply that in this case the remains and weapons of a hunter or warrior of distinction, recovered after long exposure, had been buried together.\*

\* It is well known that the modern Indians occasionally buried their dead in the mounds, but invariably near the surface; the position of such remains, and especially the manner of their interment, clearly distinguished them from the original deposits of the mound-builders.

\* A similar custom still prevails among some tribes of western Indians.

The last three interments in this mound were performed with great care, as already stated, and in strict accordance with the usual custom of the mound-builders. The only point of particular interest in regard to them is the connection which appears to exist between some of the skeletons and the charred human bones found above them. Similar deposits of partially burned bones, supposed to be human, have in one or two instances been observed on the altars of sacrificial mounds, and occasionally in mounds devoted to sepulture, but their connection with the human remains buried in the latter, if indeed any existed, appears to have been overlooked. Our explorations, which were very carefully and systematically conducted, clearly demonstrated that in these instances the incineration had taken place directly over the tomb, and evidently before the regular interment was completed: taking these facts in connection with what the researches of other investigators have made known concerning the superstitious rites of this mysterious people, it seems natural to conclude that in each of these cases a human victim was sacrificed as part of the funeral ceremonies, doubtless as a special tribute of respect to a person of distinction.

All the skeletons in this mound, except one, appeared to have been buried in a horizontal position with the face upwards. The exception was the skeleton of the aged female found in the grave, which lay on its side; but this may have been owing to the fact that the body had been bent together, perhaps in consequence of age. The skeletons which had received a regular interment all had their heads toward the east, but no such definite position has been noticed in the remains found in other mounds. As the grave had the same direction, this can hardly have been unintentional, although it may have been determined by the position of the ridge on which the mound stood. The layer of charcoal, not unfrequently found in sepulchral mounds, was wanting in this instance, as was also the evidence, usually afforded by the same substance, that the fire, which consumed the human remains, had been suddenly extinguished by a covering of earth. Possibly the former, as well as other objects of interest, were contained in the outer portion of the mound, which was not examined, although usually everything deposited by the mound-builders was placed near the center; and hence our explorations were chiefly confined to that part.

Such is a brief and incomplete description of one of the ancient mounds of the West, of which at least ten thousand are known to exist in the single State of Ohio, and countless numbers elsewhere in the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries. These structures are the only remaining memorials of a race whose history has been buried with them, and from these alone can we

hope to learn who this people were and whence they came. The Indians of this country, although retaining no tradition of this more ancient population, regarded their works with great veneration; but the present possessors of the soil have, in general, little of this feeling, and hence hundreds of these monuments of the past are annually swept away by the plow, and their contents irretrievably lost. A few pioneers in American archæology have, indeed, rescued much that is valuable, but the work is hardly commenced; and a careful and systematic investigation of these various monuments would not only add greatly to our knowledge of this interesting people, but doubtless also help to solve the question of the antiquity of man on this continent, and, perhaps, that more important one of the unity of the human race.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., Feb. 1866.

#### XVI.—SONG OF McDONOUGH.

[The following Song was written by N. H. WRIGHT\* soon after McDonough's victory on Champlain. It is too good to be lost, and having the only copy I have seen in more than forty years, I transcribe it for you.

*Vermont Record.*

T.]

The banner of freedom triumphantly waving,  
Displayed in bright colors the stripe and the star,  
While the light-curling billows the war ships were laving  
And the foe-man was seen on the water afar.

In his bosom the heart of each freeman beat high,  
He thought of his country, his love and his honor;  
And he swore by the blood of his fathers to die,  
Or conquer and share in the fame of McDonough.

And now the dire conflict with fury was raging,  
And many an Hero lay panting for breath;  
Whilst the genius of war forbade pity assuaging  
The pains which could only be ended by death.

Yet no pang pierced the hearts of those freemen so brave,  
For they knew they had fallen in glory and honor;  
And their last parting sigh as it fled o'er the wave,  
Was a prayer for their country, their friends, and McDonough.

Mid the blaze of the battle their spirits ascended,  
And hovered aloft till the thunders were o'er,  
Then to regions of glory, by angels attended,  
The tidings of victory triumphantly bore.

\* A native of Cornwall, Vt., and author of a poetic volume the *Fall of Palmyra*, a work now exceedingly rare. It was published at Middlebury, in 1817.

The banner of England was lowered from its height—

That flag that was wont to have floated in honor;

While the stripes and the stars beam'd more brilliantly bright

As they gracefully wav'd o'er the head of McDonough.

For the brows of the brave let the fair hand of beauty

The laurel of victory and honor entwine;

And the heroes whose ardor kept pace with their duty,

Like the stars in a bright constellation shall shine.

Their country shall cherish their glory and fame,

Their deeds be enrolled on the records of honor:

And mem'ry shall cherish with fondness the name  
Of each warrior who fought by the side of McDonough.

#### VII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*]

**RED RIVER TERRITORY—ITS RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES.**—The first attempt to found a colony in that part of Rupert's Land now occupied by the Red River Settlements, was made in the year 1812, under the patronage of Lord Selkirk. In giving a brief sketch of the early history of the settlement, we cannot do better than give a curtailed quotation from the *Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Red River Settlement*, by the late Alexander Ross, published in London, 1856, whose long and intimate connection with the country gave him ample opportunity for collecting reliable information. He says: "The colonists consisted of several Scotch families, who after they had reached the spot which was to be their future home, they were met by a large party of half-breeds and Indians, in the service of the North West Company, and warned not to attempt to establish a permanent settlement. They were conducted by a number of those wild and reckless children of the prairie to Fort Pembina, a post of the Hudson Bay Company, where they passed the winter in buffalo skin tents, and soon adopted the habits of life belonging to the savage and half savage natives by whom they were surrounded.

"In May, 1812, the emigrants returned to the neighborhood of Fort Douglas, about two miles below the present site of Fort Garry, and here

"commenced their agricultural labors. In the fall of the year they again sought refuge at Fort Pembina, and after a winter of much suffering, revisited in the spring of 1814, the scene of the previous year's attempt to plant themselves on the banks of Red River, with a determination to make it a permanent residence. His Lordship had established a general store of goods, implements, ammunition, clothing and food, at Fort Douglas, from which the impoverished emigrants were supplied on credit. In July, 1818, several French Canadian families, under the guidance of two Priests, arrived in the Colony. In 1820, the foundation of a Roman Catholic Church was laid near the present site of the Cathedral of St. Boniface; and in the fall of that year, a minister of the Church of England visited that country, encouraged by the Church Missionary Society. In 1821, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies united, and from that time the condition and prospects of the Red River Settlement became more encouraging and their progress slow but sure. In 1823, the population of the Colony was about six hundred; twenty years afterwards it had increased to five thousand, one hundred, and forty-three, and thus assumed an important, though not a prominent, position among Christian communities, in the midst of barbarous and savage races."

It is now well known that, Northwest of Minnesota, the country reaching from the Selkirk Settlement to the Rocky Mountains, and from latitude forty-nine degrees to fifty-four degrees, is as favorable to grain and animal productions as any of the Northern States; that the mean temperature for spring, summer, and autumn observed in the forty-second and forty-third parallels, in New York, Michigan and Wisconsin, has been accurately traced through Fort Snelling and the valley of the Saskatchewan to latitude fifty-five degrees on the Pacific coast. Of the present community of the Settlement, numbering over ten thousand, about five thousand are competent to assume any civil or social responsibility which may be imposed upon them. The accumulations from the fur trade during fifty years, with few excitements or opportunities of expenditure, have secured general prosperity, with frequent instances of affluence; while the numerous churches and schools sustain a high standard of morality and intelligence. The present agriculture of the Settlement confirms the evidence from a variety of sources, to which we shall afterwards refer, that the districts west and north-west of the Red River valley are well adapted to settlement. For the production of wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, potatoes, vegetables, etc., the region in question will be unsurpassed by any other area of similar extent on the continent, and capable, it is estimated, of feeding forty millions of people. A writer elo-

quently remarks :—“ Are these innumerable fields “ of hay for ever destined to be consumed by fire “ or perish in the autumnal snows? How long “ shall these superb forests be the haunts of wild “ beasts? And these inexhaustible quarries,— “ these abundant mines of coal, gold, silver, “ lead, sulphur, iron, copper, salt and saltpetre,— “ can it be that they are doomed to remain “ for ever inactive? Not so : the day will come “ when some laboring hand will give them value ; “ a strong, active and enterprising people are de- “ stined to fill this void. The wild beasts will, “ ere long, give place to our domestic animals ; “ flocks and herds will graze in the beautiful “ meadows that border the numberless mountains, “ hills, valleys and plains, of this extensive re- “ gion.”

There are three religious denominations here, which are divided as follows :

FAMILIES AND CHURCHES.

Roman Catholics,	554 families,	3 Churches,
Episcopalian,	383 “	4 “
Presbyterian,	60 “	2 “

exclusive of the settlement of Prairie Portage and the Indian Missionary village. Education is in a far more advanced state in the Colony than its isolation and brief career might claim for it under the peculiar circumstances in which the country has been so long placed. There are sev-  
 enteen schools in the settlement, generally under the supervision of the ministers of the denomina-  
 tion to which they belong. One of the Episco-  
 palian clergymen remarks, “ On the ground of  
 “ education let none fear to make trial of the  
 “ country. The parochial school connected with  
 “ my own chapel is equal to most parochial schools  
 “ which I have known in England, in range of  
 “ subjects superior to most, though in method and  
 “ the apparatus of the school necessarily a little  
 “ inferior.”

At present there is a great want of good trades-  
 men in the settlement, especially blacksmiths,  
 carpenters and masons ; also a good tanner, and  
 one or two boot and shoemakers, and a tailor,  
 would also do well to save the importation of this  
 bulky and necessary article. There are among  
 the principal merchants several who would no  
 doubt be glad to assist in giving a start to such  
 tradesmen coming to settle among us. Our next  
 article will commence with our resources and  
 their means of development, beginning with Ag-  
 ricultural Industry.—*Nor'-wester.*

REMARKABLE DISCOVERIES — RESEARCHES  
 AMONG THE BONES OF DEAD CENTURIES.—It  
 may not be generally known that the ground on  
 which the City of Nashville now stands was once

the site of an ancient and populous town, yet  
 such is supposed to be the fact. Some of the  
 most interesting antiquities of our State are found  
 along the lower course of Stone River, but a few  
 miles from Nashville. A wide area of country  
 there is covered thickly with thousands of graves  
 of a now forgotten people.

But a few days ago several gentlemen made  
 some researches in this region and found their la-  
 bors richly rewarded by some striking discoveries.  
 At a place known as Schell's Spring they found a  
 mound of considerable height and perhaps forty  
 feet in diameter, which proved upon examination  
 to be nothing less than a vast mausoleum of the  
 dead. The graves were found to be made of flat  
 rocks, symmetrically joined together, and three  
 tiers deep from the base of the mound to its apex.  
 Bones were found in a remarkable state of pres-  
 ervation, together with pottery and shells. Very  
 large ornaments have been dug out in this local-  
 ity, made from shells found only in the Gulf of  
 Mexico.

A gentleman of acknowledged skill and au-  
 thority in antiquarian matters who conducted the  
 researches made a few days ago, estimated that  
 the remains which they unearthed could not have  
 less age than six or seven hundred years. What  
 is remarkable, no warlike implements are found  
 in this locality, from which it is inferred that they  
 were a peaceable race, and were probably exter-  
 minated or driven away by the Indians. In one  
 of the graves was found a beautiful little vase,  
 which had been placed in the hand of the inmate  
 at the time of the burial. Upon this little bit of  
 earthenware was the model of a diminutive an-  
 imal. The care which these people took of their  
 dead shows a high degree of humanity. We  
 learn that other investigations in this section are  
 to be made ere long. The field is certainly a rich  
 one for the antiquarian.—*Nashville (Tenn.) Press  
 and Times.*

CAPTAIN WADDELL AND HIS SLANDERER.—  
 Our readers will remember that in an article pub-  
 lished several weeks since we reviewed a work  
 purporting to be a history of the cruise of the  
 Confederate steamer *Shenandoah* written by one  
 Cornelius E. Hunt, who claimed to have been an  
 officer of the ship. In our previous notice of the  
 book we asked a suspension of judgment by the  
 public as to the charges against the Commander  
 of the *Shenandoah* contained therein, until we  
 could gather the facts necessary to a complete re-  
 futation of the slanders promulgated against one  
 of the noblest sons of the South. We have not  
 yet received, though expecting daily, the reply of  
 Captain Waddell to the miserable libel upon his  
 character as an officer and a gentleman ; but Dr.  
 McNulty, a fellow officer with Captain Waddell,



on the *Shenandoah*, writes us from Paris the following communication with regard to Hunt's book. It may be necessary, to a full understanding of its purport, to say that it is thought that from the Doctor's manuscript alluded to below, Hunt obtained the data for that portion of his narrative referring to the ship's cruise, captures, &c. :

PARIS, May 4, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PETERSBURG INDEX :

SIR.—Having seen several extracts from a book recently published in the United States, of which Cornelius E. Hunt—lately an Acting Master's mate on board the Confederate States ship *Shenandoah*—claims to be the author, I consider that, in justice to myself (having written a history of the cruise of the *Shenandoah*, the manuscript of which I have either lost or had purloined from me,) I am bound to disclaim any connection with the book entitled *The Cruise of the Shenandoah, or the Last Confederate Cruiser*. I am forced thus to obtrude my name upon the public, in consequence of it having been surmised by several of Captain Waddell's professed friends that I was the real author of Mr. Hunt's book.

From the extracts before me, I do not hesitate to assert that none of the language contained therein was written by me; and if Mr. Hunt obtained possession of my manuscript, he did so without my knowledge or consent, and has had the language altered to gratify his malice in publishing the grossest falsehoods in regard to his late commander.

On page 223 of Mr. Hunt's book, it is stated that when we received intelligence of the defeat of our cause from the Captain of the English barque *Barracouta*, Captain Waddell, in an address to the crew, promised "to run the *Shenandoah* into Sidney, and then without their cognizance steered for another and more distant "port." Captain Waddell never made any such promise to the crew. Of this I am positive, as I was an attentive listener to every word that Captain Waddell uttered on that occasion.

It is stated in Mr. Hunt's book that the reasons why Captain Waddell deceived his crew, in promising to run for Sidney, and soon after altering the course of the ship, was for the purpose "of securing a considerable sum of money which "he (Captain Waddell) knew to be lodged in the "hands of one of our secret agents at Liverpool." How was the Captain to know of such a deposit, when he had no means of receiving any communication from Liverpool for thirteen months? The absurdity of such a statement will readily be perceived.

On page 229, it is stated that a petition was signed by all the officers, with the exception of five, of which five Mr. Hunt claims to have been

one. Mr. Hunt is well aware that such is not the fact. Not being a commissioned officer, he was not called upon at any time for his opinion.

In regard to the allusion, on page 232, to extracts from a private letter which was published in some of the American newspapers, in which Captain Waddell is represented as denouncing all his officers, without discrimination, I, as one of the five who supported the Captain in his determination to proceed to Liverpool, and who naturally felt aggrieved at such wholesale denunciation, was perfectly satisfied after hearing his explanation. The letter was addressed to a friend in the United States; and he, without the knowledge, and much to the surprise, of the Captain, submitted it to the Editor of a newspaper, who by typographical distortion so rendered the language of it as to seriously reflect upon the character of all the officers of the ship. The letter, if published as sent by Captain Waddell, could not have given offence to any of the officers.

Mr. Hunt charges Captain Waddell, on page 261, with dishonesty, in having appropriated to himself funds set apart for the payment of the officers and crew. Mr. Hunt received, over and above what was due him upon the ship's books, fifty pounds sterling, as did each of the other steerage officers. I have heard him acknowledge this fact, both in Liverpool and London.

There are many other misrepresentations in Mr. Hunt's book, which, after the statement above, it is needless to notice.

Respectfully, &c.,

FRED. J. McNULTY, M.D.

Late Act'g Ass't Surgeon,

C. S. S. *Shenandoah* :

[Petersburg (Va.) Index.]

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO OLD CANADA. — In looking over an old map entitled the English Empire in North America, published in 1755, Canada, then belonging to the French, was bounded on the West by the River Outaouais (Ottawa), on the East by the River Bustard (Ottard), near the present Manicouagon Point, about forty miles westward of Point des Monts, on the North by the Hudson Bay Company's territory, and on the South by the river St. Lawrence. The country west, till lately Upper Canada, now by the Act of Confederation, Ontario, was then called Northern Iroquois, and inhabited by Indians bearing that name, and extended to the present Sarnia. From thence westward to the river Mississippi, the country now comprising Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, &c., was chiefly inhabited by the Outagamia, Mascoutens, and the Sioux or Nadonessian Indians. Here and there scattered over these large tracts of country, from the Ottawa to the Mississippi, were a few French Forts and settlements.

Now look at the present map of the Dominion of Canada, from the Strait of Canso, N. S., to the Straits of St. Clair, having its Parliament buildings at Ottawa (worthy in point of architecture for any country) a place not then in existence.

Go a step further back, to 1659, when the Royal Government in Canada was first established, and Mgr. de Laval arrived as Vicar-Apostolic of the See of Rome, and afterwards, in 1674, was named first Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec. Again to 1672, when De Courville obtained permission from the Iroquois to erect a trading fort at Catarqui (Kingston). Let our imaginations picture the state and condition of Canada then, continually at war with the Iroquois Indians, and conjure up its march of civilization under the French rule, till 1760, when Canada was solemnly transferred to the British Crown. In one hundred years we have, by means of the Victoria Bridge, made an uninterrupted line of railway, from Sarnia to the Atlantic, and along its length there have arisen flourishing towns and cities, where there was then nothing but the primeval forest. We have history since 1760, showing forth our valor and unity in the defence of our country. Instance our war medal bearing on its clasps, "Detroit," "Fort Erie," "Chateauguay," &c., &c. The population of Upper and Lower Canada, has increased from about one hundred thousand (less than the present inhabitants of Montreal) to more than three millions or an increase of thirty-fold. Our commerce has increased in a great proportion, the revenue amounting to twelve millions of dollars. It palls the imagination to conjure what we shall be in another fifty or a hundred years under a prosperous, peaceful and united Confederation.—*Montreal News*.

"THIRTY YEARS AGO" IN CANADA.—Mr. Hector Fabre states that thirty years ago, when Parliament sat during the summer, the gulf members came up to Quebec in schooners, and lodged in them all through the session. He also says that at about the same period a *traineau*, loaded with trunks and parcels, arrived at the Parliament House, one fine day, just previous to the opening of the session, and from it descended a stout countryman and his wife, who carefully examined the twenty-four windows of the building, and finally decided to rap at the door, which was immediately opened by one of the messengers. The countryman thereupon presented his compliments, stated that he was the member elect for the County of Berthier; that he had come with his wife to take his seat; and that he had brought his winter's provisions with him. He was consequently fully provided, but only wanted a cooking stove, and hoped there was one in his room. The messenger immediately saw through the primitive simplicity of his visitor, and gradually "drew him" out.

He ascertained that the member for Berthier expected to find a room already prepared for him in the Parliament House, in which he and his wife could live throughout the winter, and subsist on the provisions he had brought from his native village. The messenger grinned, you may be certain, and was finally forced to avow that there were no bedrooms in the Parliament House for members. "The member for Berthier" thereupon gave his horse a smart lash with the whip and indignantly and forever turned his back upon the legislative halls of the Province.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1760 IN CANADA.—Under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the *Gazette* of that city published recently, the first part of an interesting sketch of this campaign. The following introduction to the paper, from the pen of Mr. Lemoine, fully explains its character, and will be perused with pleasure by historical readers:—

"The original of this manuscript is deposited in the French war archives, in Paris: a copy was, with the leave of the French Government, taken by P. L. Morin, Esq., Draughtsman, of the Crown Lands Department of Canada, about 1855, and deposited in the Legislative Assembly of Canada. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, through the kindness of Mr. Todd, the Librarian, was permitted to have communication thereof. This document is supposed to have been written some years after the return to France from Canada of the writer, the Chevalier Johnstone, a Scotch Jacobite, who had fled to France after the defeat at Culloden, and had obtained from the French monarch, with several other Scotchmen, commissions in the French armies. In 1748, says *Francisque Michel*, he sailed from Rochefort as an Ensign with troops going to Cape Breton: he continued to serve in America until he returned to France, in December, 1760, having acted during the campaign of 1759, in Canada, as aide-de-camp to Chevalier De Levis. On De Levis being ordered to Montreal, Johnstone was detached and retained by General Montcalm on his staff, on account of his thorough knowledge of the environs of Quebec, and particularly of Beauport, where the principal works of defence stood, and where the whole army, some eleven thousand men, were entrenched, leaving in Quebec, merely a garrison of one thousand, five hundred. The journal is written in English, and is not remarkable for orthography or purity of diction: either Johnstone had forgotten, or had never thoroughly known, the language. The style is prolix, sententious, abounding in quotations from writers;—one would be inclined to think at times, that it had originally been written in

"French, and then literally translated into English."

"This document had first attracted the attention of one of the late historians of Canada, the Abbe Ferland, who attached much importance to it, as calculated to supply matters of details and incidents unrecorded elsewhere. Mr. Margry in charge of the French records, had permitted the venerable writer, then on a visit to Paris, to make extracts from it; some of which extracts the Abbe published at the time of the laying of the St. Foy Monument, in 1862. The Chevalier Johnstone differs, *in toto*, from the opinions expressed by several French officers of regulars, respecting the conduct of the Canadian Militia, in 1759, ascribing to their valour on the thirteenth of September, the salvation of a large portion of the French army."

#### XVIII.—NOTES.

**TOM PAINE.**—A recent publication in England says that this notorious person was an officer of excise at Lewes, in Sussex, where he resided with a tobacconist named Olive; that, after the decease of the latter, he succeeded him in business and soon after was married to his only daughter; that, in 1774, Paine was dismissed from office and, soon after, his goods were sold to pay his debts, his wife was separated from him, and he left for America.

We learn also that the deed of separation from his wife was signed "PAINE"—without the final *e*, as we are accustomed to see it;—that his wife subsequently lived with her brother, Thomas Olive, silversmith, Cranbrook, in the Weald of Kent, where she died in 1808, and was buried by his side, opposite the western door of the parish church, a stone marking the spot at the present day.

HACKENSACK, N. J.

DAY.

**COOKHOUSE.**—Few would suspect this to be an Indian name. It is a locality laid down in De Witt's *Map of the State of New York*, 1802, and is opposite Deposit, on the Erie Railroad, and in the town of Tompkins, Delaware County. Peter Helm, who "spoke the Indian language from 'being a boy,'" stated in an affidavit, on the fifteenth of September, 1785, in the controversy respecting the Great Hardenburgh Patent, "that the West branch of the Delaware river was called *Cookhurse Hacka Sepus*, that *Cookhurse* is in English, an owl; *Hacka*, land; and *Sepus* a river; and means in English, 'Owl Land River.'" —*Land Papers, Sec's Office, Albany*, xl. 128.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

**COOKQUAGO.**—This is the Iroquois name for the west branch of the Delaware river, and has the same meaning as the above, being derived from the Onondaga word, *Kekoa*, an Owl, which in Mohawk is *Ohosa*.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

**THE GULF OF MAINE.**—The deep bay comprised within Cape Sable and Cape Cod was first designated the "Gulf or Bay of Maine" by the projectors of the European and North American Railway Company, in 1850. The name has since been recognised by the Coast Survey, and is so given on a recent chart from that office.

BELFAST, Maine.

J. W.

**AN ANCIENT BUTTON.**—The Brunswick (Maine) *Telegraph* says that a metal button was recently ploughed up in that town bearing the inscription, "*Massachusetts Artillery*," in a circle round the rim. There is a very excellent representation of a gun with its rammer and sponger attached; and to the rear of the piece, stands the British flag. Upon the reverse of the button, is the inscription—"Gilt, London." It may have belonged to one of the soldiers of Major Church, who in 1690, at the head of three hundred men made an expedition from Massachusetts against the Eastern Indians, and destroyed a fort on the spot where Brunswick is situated.

BELFAST, Maine.

J. W.

#### INTERESTING AUTOGRAPH LETTERS OF JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Elliot Danforth, of Middleburgh, New York, recently found in his antiquarian researches, the following autograph letters of Jefferson and Adams, among the papers and documents of Isaac Hall Tiffany, Esq., deceased, who was a student of Aaron Burr, and a man of considerable learning. The letters were addressed to Mr. Tiffany while residing at what was then called Schoharie Bridge.

"MONTICELLO, April 4, 1819.

"SIR:—After thanking you for your comprehensive tabular chart of the governments of the United States, I must give you the answer which I am obliged to give to all who propose to me to replunge myself into political speculations, '*Senex sum, et levissimis curis impar.*' I abandon politics, and accomodate myself cheerfully to things as they go, confident in the wisdom of those who direct them, and that they will be better and better directed in the progressive course of knowledge and experience. Our successors start on our shoulders. They know all that we know, and will add to

"that stock the discoveries of the next fifty years; and what will be their amount we may estimate from what the last fifty years have added to the science of human concerns. The thoughts of others, as I find them on paper, are my amusement and delight; but the labors of the mind in abstruse investigations are irksome and writing itself is become a slow and painful operation, occasioned by a stiffened wrist, the consequence of a former dislocation. I will however, essay the two definitions which you say are more particularly interesting at present: I mean those of the terms Liberty and Republic, aware, however, that they have been so multifariously applied as to convey no precise idea to the mind.

"Of Liberty, then, I would say, that in the whole plenitude of its extent, it is unobstructed action according to our will; but rightful liberty is unobstructed action according to our will within the limits drawn around us by the equal rights of others. I do not add 'within the limits of the law,' because law is often but the tyrant's will, and always so when it violates the rights of an individual.

"I will add, secondly, that a pure Republic is a state of society in which every member of mature and sound mind, has an equal right of participation, personally, in the direction of the affairs of the Society. Such a regimen is obviously impracticable beyond the limits of an encampment, or of a very small village. When numbers, distance, or force, oblige them to act by deputy, then their government continues republican in proportion only as the functions they still exercise in person are more or fewer, and as in those exercised by deputy the right of appointing their deputy is *pro hac vice* only, or for more or fewer purposes, or for shorter or longer terms.

"If by the word *Government* you mean a classification of its forms, I must refer you for the soundest which has ever been given, to Tracy's *Review of Montesquieu*, the ablest political work which the last century of years has given us. It was translated from the original MS., and published by Duane, a few years ago, and is since published in the original French at Paris. With my thanks for your chart accept the assurance of my great respect.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"QUINCY, April 30th, 1819.

"DEAR SIR:—Of Republics the varieties are infinite, or at least as numerous as the tunes and changes that can be rung upon a complete set of bells. Of all the varieties, a Democracy is the most national, the most ancient, and the most fundamental and essential of all others. In some writing or other of mine I happened, 'conventualome,' to drop the phrase. 'The word

"Republic, as it is used, may signify anything, 'everything, or nothing.' For this escape I have been pelted for the last twenty or thirty years with as many stones as ever were thrown at St. Stephen when St. Paul held the clothes of the stoners; but the aphorism is literal, strict, solemn truth, to speak technically, or scientifically, if you will.

"There are Monarchical, Aristocratical, and Democratical Republics. The Government of Great Britain and that of Poland are as strictly Republics as that of Rhode Island, or Connecticut, under their old Charters. If mankind have a right to the voice of experience, they ought to furnish that experience with pen, ink, and paper to write it, and an amanuensis to copy it.

"I should have been extremely obliged to you if you had favored me with Mr. Jefferson's sentiments upon the subject. As I see you have an inquiring mind, I sincerely wish you much pleasure, profit, and success in your investigations. I have had some pleasure in them; but no profit, and very little, if any, success.

"In some of your letters you say that my *Defence* has become rare. This is strange. Mr. Dilly published an edition of it in London; an edition of it was published in Boston; another in New York; another in Philadelphia, before the adoption of the present Constitution of the National Government, and before one line of the *Federalist* was printed. Since that, Mr. Cobbet, alias Porcupine, printed a large edition of the whole work in Philadelphia, and Mr. Stackdale of Piccadilly, has published another large edition in London. It has been translated into the French and German languages; and what has become of all these copies?

"I am, Sir, with much esteem, your humble servant,

"JOHN ADAMS."

## XIX.—QUERIES.

THE AZTECS.—Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me, through its columns, where I may learn something of this ancient people? Also where I may learn something of the two Aztec children who were in New York, a few years since.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

COLUMBUS AND THE EGG.—What authority is there for the old story of Columbus making the egg stand on one of its ends?

Where did Columbus die?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WAAL BOGT.

JUNUS.—In a letter from London, dated May 12, 1862, Mr. Thurlow Weed promised that "before the present year expires, all doubt or question as to the authorship of the JUNUS letters will be removed." Allow me to enquire, in view of the promised disclosure of a long kept secret, who was JUNUS?

ITHACA, N. Y.

S. A. S.

## XX.—REPLIES.

METHODIST HYMN BOOK.—(*H. M. I. i. 42*) "A CLASSLEADER" is respectfully informed that Coke and Asbury's hymn-book was entitled *A Pocket Companion; designed as a companion to the Pious*; but when it was first printed is unknown to me. The twenty-first edition was issued in 1797.

DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

FIRST-BORN IN NEW NETHERLAND.—(*H. M. I. i. 42*). The first-born white male in this region was JAN VINGE (*Collections of Long Island Historical Society*, i. 114); the first-born white female was Sarah, daughter of George Rapelje and wife of Hans Hansen, a Norwegian carpenter, (*Dutch Manuscripts*—Secretary of State's Office—vi. 353.)

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WAAL BOGT.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, (*H. M. I. i. 42*). Doctor Shurtleff was evidently in error in the instance referred to by T. Mr. Hutchinson was not "banished" from Massachusetts, if I read history correctly, but removed to Rhode Island *voluntarily*, and was there an *Assistant*, not the *Governor* of that Colony.

FRANCISCO.

NEWPORT, R. I.

## XXI.—BOOKS.

### 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Speeches, Correspondence, etc., of the late Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York*. Including: Addresses on important public topics; Speeches in the State and United States Senate, and in support of the Government during the Rebellion; Correspondence, private and political, (collected and arranged by Mrs. Dickinson) Poems (collected and arranged by Mrs. Mygatt), etc. Edited with a Biography, by his brother, John R. Dickinson. In two volumes. New York: George P. Putnam & Son. 1867. Octavo, Pp. xl. 743; xvi. 719. Price \$10.

Daniel S. Dickenson was a well-known politician of this State, although a native of Connecticut. The son of a plain, working farmer, he was carried by his parents, when he was only six years old, to Chenango County, in this State—then a new country—and there he worked on the farm, and picked up a scanty fund of informa-

tion, which was added to, as he had opportunity, by subsequent reading.

He was not, by any means, even a well-read scholar on any branch of knowledge, at any period of his life; and but for his remarkable memory, which enabled him to command at will everything which he had garnered in his not over-burdened mind, his brother would have been spared the effort which, beyond the limits of propriety, on page 2 of the first volume, he has made to invest him with thoroughness of scholarship.

He learned the trade of a cloth-dresser, taught school, became a practical country land-surveyor, and studied law. He was a country politician from early life; and, as a reward for his fidelity, he became a country Postmaster. As a showy, but superficial, country lawyer, he gradually acquired a standing in the little country village, and among the country politicians, which, in the city he could never have secured; and his advent at Binghamton, thirty-six years ago, when Binghamton was not what it now is, was only an extension of the area of his arena and an increase of the number rather than an improvement of the quality of his auditors.

He was a lawyer, but not such an one as Ben Johnson or Charles Spencer, of Ithaca, Charles P. Kirkland, of Utica, or John A. Collier of Binghamton was; and he was indebted for his success more to the readiness of his resources, the glitter of his quotations from the Bible or the poets, and his perfect self-control, than to the quality of his argument, the authorities *in law* which he cited, or the dignified consciousness of his manner, which indicated his own respect for the Truth.

He was sent to the Senate, where he was known as a most faithful and unyielding partizan; and his aspirations for still higher rank were gratified in 1840, by a nomination for Lieutenant-governor, and chilled by a disastrous defeat. He was more successful in 1842; and in 1844, he was sent to the Federal Senate, by Governor Bouck.

He was one of the most ultra of the "Hunkers," during the great contest for freedom in the territories; and in every stage of the conflict of parties, he was found among the most violent of those who, concurring with the Southern sentiment, hoped by the assistance of that potential political power, to rise still further into office. Nothing was too extreme to receive his earnest support—if the South approved it;—and, although he appeared to reject the Presidency in 1852, when General Pierce received it, it is not quite certain that the Editor of this work with the greatest propriety has said all about it that he could have said.

He subsequently engaged in his profession with great diligence; and his practice was extensive and profitable.

When the South attempted to dissolve the Federal Union, Mr. Dickinson abandoned his loudly-proclaimed principles, his well-known and well-understood candidate for the Presidency, and those who had most earnestly maintained the doctrines of his creed and on whom he had never failed to depend for support; and he threw himself bodily into the hands of those whom, before, he had most earnestly resisted. As a reward for this change of base, he was made Attorney-general of the State; and, subsequently District Attorney of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

The volumes before us are filled, as will be seen by the title, with *every thing*, regardless of quality, which does not bear testimony against Mr. Dickinson—even unimportant remarks on the presentation of a watch to a railway superintendent, and those which were introductory of Edward Everett to a Binghampton auditory, are thrust among his "Speeches;" and letters to his wife and children, and family connections, possessing no earthly interest outside the family circle into which they were cast, serve to swell the covers of the work.

There has been no good judgment whatever exercised in preparing these volumes for the press; and what was never great has been made to appear still more insignificant by the parade in print of hundreds of pages of matter which, as it would have brought no credit to any intelligent adult in the country, ought to have remained, undisturbed, in the hands of those who had received them.

The volumes are neatly printed; and the first volume is illustrated with a shabby *photograph* of the deceased Senator.

2.—*Annual Report of the Metropolitan Board of Health.* 1866. Albany: Van Benthuysen & Sons, 1867. Octavo. pp. 800.

In this extended Report, the new Board of Health lays before the public its proceedings during the year 1866, as far as the public is supposed to have anything to do with them; and in an Appendix, it publishes a mass of statistics which are important principally to students of medicine.

We suppose all these are useful, although, to us, they possess no other interest than that which attaches to them as portions of the material relating to the History of the City of New York. As such they are very important to every collector of works concerning the City.

3.—*Memorial on Personal Representation*, addressed to the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, by the Personal Representation Society. New York: A. Simpson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 2.

"The right of Minorities" are often heard of, in theory, but never recognized in practice; and we have many doubts if any minority of the

body politic has any *right* to a voice in the expression of "the major will."

If the individual, when he becomes a member of a body politic, becomes subject for all the purposes of that body, to the expressed will of the majority of its membership, he possesses no such Right of special Representation in the councils of the Body, as this pamphlet seems to assume; and as we are decidedly of the opinion that no portion of the actually delegated authority with which the State is clothed by such of its members, can at the same time be reserved to the Constituent, for his *individual* employment, we are unable to find the remotest reason for the claim which is here set up of a *Right* in the minority to "*Personal Representation*."

4.—*Reform in Railroad Management, by securing Equal Rights and Cheap Transportation.* Statement of the views and objects of the National Anti-Monopoly, Cheap, Freight Railway League: New York, 1867. Octavo. pp. 24.

The object of this League—of which our valued friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., is the General Secretary—is for the purpose of diminishing the cost of travel and transportation by Railroad, and it proposes to do this by the construction of a grand Trunk road which "shall be open to "free Competition for all persons, Companies, "or other corporations who may desire to put "passenger, mail, or freight trains thereon, or "to engage in transporting on or over said railroad "way and branches;" the speed to be "moderate "rate and uniform;" and the Company owning the road-way to be paid for their use of its rails by those who shall travel or carry freight over them.

We see no objection to such a system; and if it can afford cheaper provisions than we now enjoy, it is to be hoped that the effort will be successful.

5.—*The Curate's Discipline.* A Novel. By Mrs. Elloart New York: Harper & Bros. 1867. Octavo, pp. 159. Price 50c.

This is No. 298 of the widely-circulated *Library of Select Novels*, which the Harpers have gathered from the various fields of fiction, and the neatness of style in which it is dressed, and its cheapness, will undoubtedly command for it an extended circulation.

6.—*Unification of North America.* A Law, a Business, a Duty. \* A plan of Continental Construction, presented through George Batchelor, Citizen of United America. N. Y., January 1, 1867. Small octavo, pp. 16.

The author of this tract is a Professor of French, in "the Free Evening High School," in New York, and an associate with Mr. Andrews in the authorship of some text-books of the French

language. He is, also, if we may credit this tract, a volunteer "re-constructor" of nations which need no re-construction and have asked for none of his advice, much less of his assistance, in such a work.

It is a Frenchman's plea for a consolidation of all the territories within *North America*, into one confederacy; and although it is urged with a great variety of words—some of which are not often seen outside of a dictionary—and with as ornate a display of ideas, many of which would have been ridiculed a twelvemonth since, we are not prepared to deny that Mr. Batchelor is a more accurate observer, a more influential adviser of the Government of the United States, than some others whom we know.

Thus, last January, he advised *the purchase of Russian America*, and it has been done: he advised *the acceptance of British Columbia as a compensation for depredations on our commerce*, and it is said to have been proposed by Mr. Seward: he "guessed" that Denmark would "*gladly exchange Danish America for dollars and cents*"; and who does not know how truly he thus "guessed"—may not we also reasonably "guess" that when, in the beginning he said "All ends in Unity," he knew what he was talking about? and when he told us "these firmaments [are] secured by starry nails"—to the floor-timbers of heaven, we suppose—he was equally well informed?

We do not think any less of the Author because of his thirst for "Unity," notwithstanding the evils which have ever attended consolidation of authority: we only regret that we have no more able statesman at the head of affairs at Washington, than those who are willing to follow the lead of a visionary foreigner, who knows nothing of our History nor of the temper of our countrymen; and whose chief ambition seems to be to secure what he calls a "Unification of North America."

As one of the Tracts of the Times, we commend it to collectors of such literature.

## XXII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

**NEW ENGLAND NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**—The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday evening, Mr. C. S. Fellows, Vice-President for Massachusetts, in the chair.

After the reading of the records of the last meeting, reports of committees were received, and other business relating to the welfare of the Society was transacted.

A number of silver pieces were exhibited by one of the members, including a very fine dollar

of 1795, nearly proof, a fine proof dollar of 1842, a fine half dollar of 1794, etc. Another lot was presented for inspection, including several rare types of the Connecticut Colonial cents (among them a rare variety of the "African head"); one of the "Castorland" pieces in copper, struck from the unbroken die; also a "Fugio," or Franklin cent, which was considered by the members a very rare variety, having a *raised*, eight-pointed star on the reverse, instead of the usual *depressed* star.

Donations of coins and medals were received and handed to the Curator.

The interest taken in the pursuit of this instructive science is steadily increasing among the members of this Society; and in studying the history and origin of the various coins and medals with which we meet, we learn how closely the subject of Numismatics is connected with the ancient and modern history of the world. This is the true object of the study. Let one, for instance, take up an ancient coin; to the casual observer it is but a lump of metal, but to the Numismatist it may unfold a volume—the history of past events which then made even nations tremble, or the character of men, the greatest of the age in which they lived.

The forthcoming sale of the well-known "Mickley" collection was spoken of with interest by the members, several of them expressing their intention to attend the sale when it takes place in New York.

After an informal discussion of various topics of interest, the meeting adjourned for one month. —*Boston Transcript*, Oct. 19.

**A CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.**—On Wednesday the twenty-eighth of September, the Reformed Dutch Church, at Claverack, New York, celebrated its centenary. One hundred years ago that day, the edifice was completed. A very large audience was present at the celebration. In the morning, Doctor Porter of the *Christian Intelligencer*, delivered an able historic address. In the afternoon, the former Pastors delivered addresses. At noon, in the adjoining oak grove, tables were spread free and in abundance for the crowds of visitors. The occasion will be long remembered in old Claverack, the Dutch region of the Van Burens, Van Rensselaers, Livingstons, Van Wycks, etc., etc., as it had much of the "olden time" about it.

**AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.**—The semi-annual meeting of this Society was held at their rooms, Worcester, yesterday morning, the President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, in the chair. The report of the Council, read by Samuel F. Haven, the Librarian of the Society, states that the present most imperative need is for more space; and the report congratulates the Society that its President has given to his continued

liberality that particular direction, he having purchased the land in the rear of the Society's building for two thousand, six hundred, and thirty-six dollars and twenty five cents, and donated it to the Society, thus allowing the extension of the present building, and also presented the sum of eight thousand dollars as the foundation of a building fund.

The Council acknowledges the donation of beautiful marble busts of Washington and Franklin, with marble pedestals for each, from the widow of the late Ira M. Barton, for many years an active member and a Councillor of the Society.

The children of the late Samuel Johnson, long the Treasurer and a Councillor of the Society, have, at the same time, made a large and most valuable donation of forty-one volumes of bound, and seventy-nine of unbound newspapers, eight hundred and ninety-three pamphlets and other articles. Some of the papers are very choice and rare.

The report included brief biographical notices of Hon. Ira M. Barton of Worcester, Hon. Charles G. Loring of Boston, and Caleb Atwater of Circleville, Ohio.

The Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., read his report, showing an aggregate of funds belonging to the Society of sixty thousand, five hundred, and thirty-four dollars and twenty-nine cents, which sum is securely invested in bank and railroad stocks and in bonds and United States securities.

The Librarian's report showed that eight hundred and sixty-three books have been received during the past six months, together with one hundred and four volumes of newspapers.

Remarks on various historical subjects were made by Rev. E. E. Hale, Charles Folsom of Cambridge, Dr. Green of Boston, Charles Deane of Cambridge and Rev. George Ellis of Charlestown. *Transcript*, October 22.

ANOTHER "RELIC" HUNTER.—A private note from the Pastor of the old church at Tarrytown, N. Y., informs us that on Saturday evening, the last of August, "some thief broke all the corners he could off the Andre monument and its base in this place. He must have secured ten or twelve pieces of the stone in all. Yesterday morning, on my way to church, I discovered the vandalism, the marks of which were yet fresh. The fellow even left a bit of candle still standing upon a ledge of the monument, which he used to light him in his robbery.

"I trust that any gentleman who may receive the offer of specimens of this monument, either by sale or exchange, whether soon or late, will make it known that justice may not be cheated of her due."

THE POPHAM CELEBRATION.—The twenty-

ninth of August, the anniversary of the founding of the first English Colony, under chartered occupation on the shores of New England, was a day of fog, clouds and constant rain. A goodly number of persons from the interior of the State, strengthened by a valued delegation from Massachusetts, assembled at Bath, to take steam transportation, for a dozen miles, down the Kennebec to the place of the ancient settlement. But the wise leaders on the Committee, and the practiced sagacity of the river-men, decided on the utter inexpediency of risking the navigation in such a storm, and the discomforts of its incessant cold and dampness. A correspondent of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* gives the following account of the day and its results.

"The people of Maine, with whom these Pop-ham celebrations have become very popular, awoke this morning to disappointment. Mammoth tents have been pitched near Fort Pop-ham, a huge oven constructed, and a stock of bivalves and a vegetables laid in for a big clam-bake. Extra trains from Portland, Augusta and Lewiston had been arranged, besides a steamboat excursion from Portland. Two steamers and a flotilla of barges covered with awnings lay at the railroad wharf at Bath, to take the guests and visitors to the Fort. Preparations have been made for transporting and feeding five thousand people, and this number would have been present if the weather had been favorable. But Pluvius rains supreme, and we, the guests of the Sagadahoc House, are metaphorically afloat on a sea of uncertainty as to the plans and issue of the day, with no compass nor member of the Committee to give us a word of information. In the meantime we gaze into the flooded streets, and wait for something to appear besides water.

"A gleam of intelligence arrives. The Committee in Bath are in consultation by telegraph with the Committee in Portland, as to whether the celebration shall be postponed till to-morrow, or for one year. Hon. B. C. Bailey, Chairman of the Committee, at length appears, and announces that the railroad arrangements are so complicated and the company expected so numerous, that it will not be possible so to readjust the plans as to have the celebration on the morrow. Therefore it is postponed till next year."

SCRAPS.—Mr. Ralph I. Ingersoll has presented the New Haven Historical Society with several papers of peculiar interest. Among them is an autograph letter from Benjamin Franklin to Jared Ingersoll, in which Franklin criticises the strictness of the Sunday law in Connecticut; an inventory of the property of Benedict Arnold, in his own writing, in 1767, acknowledged before Roger Sherman, etc.



—The Department of State has received the following communication from our Consul at Naples, dated August nineteenth:

On Saturday the seventeenth. Mrs. Caroline Gould Hildreth, relict of Richard Hildreth, late Consul at Trieste, historian, etc., accompanied by her son Arthur, aged nineteen years, arrived in this city from Rome. She was attacked by cholera about noon, and died about one o'clock, A. M. Sunday morning, the eighteenth instant, in one of the Neapolitan hospitals, whither she was sent by the landlord of the hotel where they stopped. The son was not allowed to remain in the hospital with his mother. I knew nothing of their being in the city until seven or eight hours after she died. I immediately sent my Secretary to see about having her remains properly interred, which was finally accomplished; and she was buried in a separate grave in one of the cemeteries, at half past seven o'clock this morning. I have the honor to be your obedient servant.

ALFRED D. GREEN, U. S. Vice-Consul.

—In the neighborhood of New Haven, a faithful and capable minister, who is in the decline of life, having preached more than a quarter of a century, has been obliged to leave his congregation and the work of the ministry, because his salary was so pitifully small, and to labor at the bench of a carpenter. He never learned the trade, yet his natural ingenuity enables him to obtain wages which amount to three hundred dollars more per annum than the total amount of his salary while a preacher. He graduated at a college by the most indomitable efforts, sawing wood and laboring out of study hours, to obtain means with which to support himself at the university.

—We learn that the Harvard College Library has recently received from Hon. Charles Sumner a collection of pamphlets and more than four hundred valuable volumes. For a long series of years Mr. Sumner has been a benefactor of the library; and within five years he has given to it more than seven thousand pamphlets and one thousand volumes, among which are many of great value, which could not have been otherwise procured. These include many sent to him from the authors in Europe, besides a large collection belonging, during his life, to his brother, the late George Sumner, and containing the autographs of the authors. Mr. Sumner's example is worthy of being followed.—*Advertiser*.

—The oldest couple in Ohio are Mr. and Mrs. Boyd, at Ironton. He is one hundred and ten, and she one hundred and seven. They get mad at each other every little while and threaten to obtain divorces. The other day the dame refused to sew on a shirt button for her spouse, when he

indignantly inquired "if he had got to live so all 'his life?'"

—The oldest person in the State of Connecticut is Mrs. Lord of East Lynne. She is one hundred and seven years old, and retains her mental faculties wonderfully. Her pet theme of conversation is of the Revolution, which she distinctly remembers. Her eyesight is somewhat faded, but she easily recognises friends, and accomplishes a wonderful amount of knitting.

—Ex-Governor Throop, celebrated his eighty-third birthday a few days ago. He is yet hale and hearty, and as sprightly, apparently, as he was ten years ago. He resides on his farm near the Owasco Lake, Cayuga County, and continues to take great interest in public affairs.

—Two veteran printers—Charles McDevitt and Thurlow Weed—met recently at New York, for the first time in fifty years. In 1816 they were journey-men together. Mr. McDevitt was a compositor and Mr. Weed a pressman upon the first tracts published by the American Tract Society.

—Mrs. Hill, of New York, has drawn in a raffle, the splendid snuff-box which Louis XVI. gave to Colonel Laurens, our first minister to France, and which destitution, caused by the war, had forced his descendant, a lady of South Carolina to part with.

—A Bust of Lamartine, by Adam Solomon, has been presented to the New York Historical Society by Doctor G. L. Ditson, formerly of Boston, in behalf of the family of the late Commander Washington Bartlett.

—Mr. James Farmer, a revolutionary veteran, died on Saturday last, in Campbell county. He was one hundred and seven years old, and served in the two last campaigns of the revolution. *Richmond Examiner*, August 21.

—The "Swamp Angel" is now lying at a Trenton (N. J.) machine shop awaiting its turn to be broken up and fashioned into more peaceful and useful implements. A large number of people daily visit the factory to see this historic cannon.

—A portrait of Washington, painted by Stuart, in 1788, inherited by a descendant of the first President of the United States, now living at Fredericksburgh, Va., in reduced circumstances, is on exhibition and sale in Baltimore.

—A lot on Lake street, Chicago, forty by one hundred and ten feet, sold last week for one hundred thousand dollars. This is the highest price ever paid in Chicago.

—Mr. Jackson Marr, of Fauquier, died a few days since. He was the brother of Captain J. Q. Marr, the first Confederate soldier who was killed during the war.

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[No. 5

L.—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD BROOKLYN."

READ BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 16, 1867, BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOE.

In accordance with the invitation of your Committee, I have the honor of presenting myself this evening, not merely as a voluntary contributor but as a debtor, anxious, as far as I can do so, to repay you for many favors which I have received and for many pleasant hours agreeably spent in your well-filled halls. I am sensible that you entertain no claim on me or my services in return for the honors which you have conferred on me or the facilities for study which you have afforded; but I consider it incumbent upon each and every one who makes use of such collections as yours to offer some return for the advantages for study which are so freely offered; and in accordance with that conviction, after my own style, I respectfully present myself to discharge a portion, at least, of my own obligation.

No one can witness your collections without becoming satisfied that the labor of gathering and arranging them for exhibition has been very great; yet few can understand the study which has been requisite to make them available to the student or useful to the casual observer.

The proper classification of such materials is a work which very few can properly perform: of the labor of gathering them together, from nooks and corners, from cellars and garrets, from at home and abroad, from the mountain-top and the depths of the sea, no one can give a faithful description or convey to you a correct idea of its extent or its burdens.

I may, with justice, say that the zealous labors of your officers and members have secured for you a most valuable apparatus for the student, in more than one branch of knowledge; that you are capable of offering rare opportunities, to all who shall seek information within your halls; and that the world is indebted to you, far more than it will probably recompense. For myself, I can do little more than recognise the debt which I owe to you and other similar Societies; and with my heartfelt thanks, for the friendly co-operation

which I have enjoyed, I turn to the duty which has been assigned to me.

In collecting the materials for a part of the second volume of *The Market Book*, Brooklyn, your rapidly growing city, demanded from me a place on the record, for a portion of her history, which I promised when I sent forth to the world the title page of the first volume of that work, now lying upon your shelves. When this promise was made, I had prepared only a short sketch of the subject, which I concluded would occupy the portion of the second volume assigned to it; but the great rebellion stopped its progress, and, now, instead of two volumes, I fear it will develop itself into a third. With these few remarks, let us glance back to the settlement of New Amsterdam, now New York.

The first Dutch settlers began at an early day, to trade with the Indians for their products, which were composed principally of peltries or furs, game, fish, and a few species of grain and vegetables. This trade brought many of the various tribes of Indians from different localities about the Island of Manhattan; and, no doubt, those from Long Island furnished a great deal of the food which was required, since around its shores were found wild fowl and fish, in abundance; while the prolific lands, back from the shores, were easily cultivated and brought forth a surplus, which, at that early period, was in demand by those early settlers, who had not yet made much progress in its cultivation.

These prolific and attractive lands, found so near the Town of Manhattan, engaged the attention of the Governor, who closed a purchase with the then friendly Indians; and thus, under his protection, a strong inducement was held out to some of the early traders and agriculturists, who became the first European settlers on Long Island.

In favorable localities, they erected their low wooden buildings, roofed with reeds and straw; and built their huge fire-places with stones and mud, on the tops of which they added wooden chimney-flues, which protruded several feet above the combustible roofs. Then, in consequence of the want of proper farming materials, but little and was at first cultivated; their chief depend-

ance for food being yet upon the abundance of game and fish.

Other settlers, however, soon followed with farm stock—Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hogs and implements of husbandry; these, with an increased trade and the necessary travel of crossing and recrossing the East River, led the Indians and others to enter into private ferrying. The Indians, no doubt, many years before this settlement had selected the shortest route or passage across, as well as the best landing place on each side of the river; and thus these original thoroughfares were early established.

The one on the eastern, or Long Island, shore, perhaps, was chosen as being the nearest to their main path which led from the river, through and over the rough or broken hills into their cultivated lands or hunting grounds, in the interior.

These broken hills, probably, originated the first name of BREUCKELEN by the Dutch settlers, unless it was thus called after an ancient Dutch village of that name, in the Province of Utrecht, in Holland.

This name, Breuckelen, continued with it many years, but with different ways of spelling; however, we find in 1683, when the several towns were organized, the name appears changed to BROOKLAND; afterwards, and during the Revolution, it was known as BROOKLYNE; and, finally, it ended in its present mode of spelling and pronunciation, BROOKLYN.

The Ferry-landing, on the Brooklyn shore, early became an attractive place for the erection of small trading stores and public houses, which were occasionally much patronised, especially when violent storms or very severe weather detained the private ferrymen as well as the anxious passengers, who were then obliged either to make the best bargain in a trade at the stores, or put up with such accommodations as were offered in these public houses.

These early ferrymen, being under no regulations or restrictions, were often found guilty of extortion or neglect; and it became so onerous to travellers, that they complained to the authorities, who, in 1654, established certain Rules and Regulations, which were thus proclaimed:

"Daily confusion occurring among the Ferrymen on Manhattan Island, so that the inhabitants are wasting whole days before they can obtain a passage, and then not without danger, and at an exorbitant price, it is ordered, That no person shall ferry from one side of the river to the other without a License from the Magistrates, under a penalty."

The Ferry charge for each person was three stuyvers, but double for an Indian; for a wagon, or cart, with horses or oxen, two florins, ten stuyvers; for a hog, sheep, buck, or goat, three stuyvers; for a horse, or four-footed horned beast, one

florin, ten stuyvers; and for a keg of butter, or any thing else, six stuyvers; and the Ferrymen were not obliged to ferry any thing over until they were paid; nor during a tempest; nor when they carried sail; nor after the regular hours; unless they was allowed double ferriage. But all persons invested with authority, were exempt from the toll.

The year following, 1655, the Ferry privilege came into the possession of Egbert Van Borsum, who, in the month of April, contracted to build a Ferry-house, which is thus described: "We, Carpenters, Jan Corneilssen, Abraham Jacobsen, and Jan Hendricksen, have contracted to construct a house over at the Ferry of Egbert Van Borsum, Ferryman, thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide, with an outlet of four feet, to place in it seven girders, with three transom windows and one door in the front, the front to be planed and grooved, and the rear front to have boards overlapped in order to be tight, with doof and windows therein; and a floor and garret grooved and planed beneath (on the under side); to saw the roof thereon; and, moreover, to set a window-frame with a glass light in the front side; to make chimney-mantel, and to wainscot the fore-room below, and divide it in the centre across with a door in the partition; to set a window-frame with two glass lights therein; further, to wainscot the east side the whole length of the house, and in the recess two bedsteads, one in the front room and one in the inside room, with a pantry at the end of the bedstead; a winding staircase in the fore-room."

"Furthermore, we, the Carpenters, are bound to deliver all the square timber—to wit—beams, posts, and frame timber, with the pillar for the winding staircase, spars, and worm, and girders, and foundation timber required for the work; also the spikes and nails for the interior work; also rails for the wainscot are to be delivered by us."

"For which work Egbert Van Borsum is to pay five hundred and fifty guilders" (*two hundred and twenty dollars*), "one third in Beavers, one third in good merchantable wampum, one third in good silver coin, and free passage over the Ferry, so long as the work continues, and small beer to be drunk during work."

There was also a cellar kitchen built under the house, which appears to have cost "One hundred guilders, together with one whole good otter skin."

This building was finished, and, soon afterwards became a Tavern of some importance, as well as a Ferry-house. The records of the Burgomasters and Schepens, show this fact in the following entry, made in 1658:—"EGBERT VAN BORSUM sues Captain Beaulieu, Nicholas Bout, Jacob

"Huger, and Simon Felle; demanding from Beaulieu three hundred and ten Florins, for an entertainment given by the Captain at Van Borsum's. To this complaint the Captain answers, that the other defendants should pay their share. Jacob Huger says, he was invited by the Captain. Felle declares the same. Beaulieu says, there were fourteen of them, and he was to pay one half, the others, the remaining portion of the expenses. Annetje Van Borsum says, the Captain alone made the agreement, and she looks to him. Whereupon the Court condemns him to "pay the same," or the whole amount.

After the death of old Van Borsum, his widow, Annetje, continued the business of Tavern-keeper and mistress of the Ferry, for several years—the latter being under the direction of her son *Hermanus*; which fact is further proved by a suit brought against her, in 1660, by Paulus van der Beeck, a sworn butcher, who complains of the *Ferry-mistress*, Mrs. Anneken Van Borsum, that "she took too much ferriage from him." In her answer, she says—"That her son, HERMANUS, who is without, has better knowledge thereof; and being called in, he says, that the Heer Fiscal told him, he may take six stuyvers ferriage from each person when ice is going."

The parties were recommended to settle their disputes among themselves.

Among the early residents at the ferry were two other butchers, named THOMAS WILLET and WILLIAM HARCK, who occasionally brought meat across the river to supply the *Manhattanese*; but in consequence of their not paying the lawful excise, Harck was called before the Court, in 1656, when he stated, "That he killed four cattle for Mr. Thomas Willet o'er at the ferry, and he is ignorant if he must pay excise for them." He was ordered to pay, "either himself or by Mr. Willet."

These Ferry residents were considered a part of Brooklyn, or so it would appear from Dominie Selyns letter, dated "4 October, 1660," in which he said—"To Breuckelen appartans also the *Ferry*, the *Walebocht* and *Gujanus*. I found at Breuckelen 1 Elder; 2 Deacons; 24 members; 31 Householders and 184 persons:—We do not preach in any Church, but in a barn and shall God willing erect a church in the winter, by the co-operation of the people."

Governor Nichols' Map of 1664, shows about a half-a-dozen houses near the Ferry; while on the hill, back, a short mile, were a few more buildings, which then constituted the principal settlement called BREUCKELEN.

These early settlers, and those more particularly who were agriculturists, found much of the land on Long Island excellent for grazing purposes, and many soon turned their attention to stock raising. The breed of cattle which they had

brought with them from Holland appeared to do very well, and those, as Vanderdonk says, "Which are kept in the highlands at Amersfoort, [*Flatlands*] "where they thrive as well as in Holland: the increase is not quite as large, but the stock give milk enough, thrive well in pasture, and yield much tallow." Thus it appears that the Dutch cattle answered very well for the early settlers; but, as soon as the English breeds were introduced, the difference between them was so marked, that the Dutch Cattle "were held in small esteem, and were not so valuable as they had heretofore been." The latter were generally coarse-boned, heavy figured, slow to work, and not hardy; while the English breeds were quick in movement, with a handsome figure, more easily acclimated, and, withal, required less care and provender.

The introduction of the English cattle by the New Englanders, was looked upon, by some of the Dutch authorities, in 1642, as being "near-sighted and destructive to the improvement of their own stock; and that the English should not be permitted hereafter to sell either Cows or Goats within the Dutch jurisdiction." The Governor thought so too, and acceded to their wishes; but this order was afterwards rescinded by Governor Stuyvesant; and soon after a great improvement was perceptible in the breed of cattle.

In 1675, the agricultural products, besides those of cattle, had so much increased that a Yearly Fair was "established in Breuckelen near the Ferry, for all Grayne, Cattle, or other produce of the Country, to be held the first Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in November, and in the City of New York, the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday following."

Near the Ferry-house, on the southerly side of the road, about where the present Elizabeth-street is located, a yard, or large pen, was enclosed to keep the fat and lean cattle, besides other live stock, which were brought to these exhibitions, usually for sale or barter; at other times, this enclosure was used for the yarding of cattle and other animals which had been purchased about the country by the butchers of New York and others, driven down to the Ferry, and if that was not ready for them to cross, placed in this pen, where they were sometimes kept there several days, or until suitable weather or opportunity offered for their passage to the city. In fact, a very large portion of the cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs consumed in New York, prior to 1750, were furnished by Long Island, or rather the *Island of Nassau*, as we find the latter name was officially given to it in the year 1692.

In the month of March, of that year, Governor Fletcher thus introduces the latter subject to the Council:

"Gentl. There is one small request to you which I hope will meet with noe opposition, and that is, that the *King's* name may live forever amongst you. I would have a Bill passe for the calling Long Island the Island of Nassau." The Bill was read three times when it was assented to by the Council, and the Governor acknowledged it as follows: "As for the Bill to call Long Island the Island of Nassau, it mett with some opposition amongst you: but I believe it proceeded merely from ignorance: for the calling of that Island by a new name for the time to come, can noe wayes hurt or injure any former grants or conveyances of lands: I had no other design in proposing it unto you, than that we might put some marke of respect upon the best of kings which you have granted."

In the proceedings of the General Assembly, on the sixth of September, following.—"The Bill for calling Long Island, the Island of Nassau, read the second time and ordered to be engrossed;" and by this name it was long after known, in the proceedings and other documents, but it never became otherwise popular.

The increase of population in the town appeared quite slow up to the year 1700; in the settlement on the hill, however, there were several buildings added to it, some of which were large enough to accommodate the Councils, who many years after, met in them; but the main increase was in the several residences, stores, and other erections for business purposes, which rapidly grew up near the ferry-landing, and on the main road between the two settlements. This rapid growth, no doubt, was caused by the increased business there, and travel on the ferry.

In 1699, a new brick ferry-house was ordered to be built at the ferry on Long Island side, the size to be—"Front, twenty-four feet; depth, forty feet; cellar of stone; two stories above ground; first story, eight and one half feet high; second story, seven and one half feet high; five chimnies, with jambs, and the whole to cost four hundred and thirty-five pounds." This building and the ferry were leased to Rip Van Dam, for seven years, at one hundred and sixty-five pounds per annum. The next lease was taken by a Butcher named James Harding, who, in the agreement, was authorized to keep a House of Entertainment.

In 1717, the ferry business had so much increased that two ferries were established, both however running from the old landing place on the Long Island side: the old route was known as "THE NASSAU FERRY;" and the new one, which landed at Burger's path, (*Old Slip, New York*), and also at the Great Dock, (*foot of the present Broad-street, New York*), was called "THE NEW YORK FERRY."

The main road leading from the Ferry at

Brookland, then known as the "*KING'S HIGHWAY*," was publicly laid out in 1704; but in the erection of new residences through the course of many years, some had trespassed upon the highway, and thus created much contention. The Records inform us that at the April term of the General Session of the Peace of King's County, in 1721, indictments were found for encroaching on the common highway of the King, leading from the Ferry to the Church, at Brookland, against John Rapelje, Hans Bergen, James Harding, and others. By this indictment it appears that the road should have been *four rods wide*; some of the old inhabitants, however, in giving their evidence, some three years after, said: "The said road, as it now is, has been so for at least these *sixty years past*, without any complaint, either of the inhabitants or travellers." A law was then passed, establishing the road *forever* as it then was, from the Ferry upward to the town of *Breuckland*, as far as the swinging gate of John Rapelje, just above the house and land belonging to James Harding.

These proceedings readily account for Fulton-street, being so narrow and crooked in many places. No doubt, when this highway was first opened, it was made to conform to the easiest mode of rising the hill, and so it continued on back, through its winding way, following either the Indian paths or seeking the most favorable surface of the original grounds throughout the country.

There must have been a good deal of wild and uncultivated country, even as lately as 1717; for we find in that year, an Act passed "to encourage the destroying of foxes and Wild Catts in King's" and Queens Counties.

Up to this period, several butchers have been noticed as living on Long Island, but there were many others who came afterwards, or rather were driven out, of the City of New York, by an onerous law, passed in the year 1676, which at various periods, had forced them into several unsuitable buildings, called "PUBLIC SLAUGHTER HOUSES." For a period of one hundred and thirteen years, into some five different wooden erections, located at as many different places, all the butchers of the city of New York, who lived within certain limits, were crowded; and there they found the honest and dishonest, the gentleman and ruffian, with the waiting and watching, the mixing of cattle and their products, the various kinds of imposition practiced, and the miserable regulations established in them, as well as the high rates charged by the various lessees, several of the descendants of whom now grace some of the first families of our ill-governed city across the river.

Many of these old butchers of New York, were among the best classes of her citizens, being not

only men of substance, but enterprising and intelligent, which no doubt, gave them an inward feeling that they were freemen, and wished to conduct their business as other good citizens and tradesmen were doing; and rather than submit to imposition they moved to Brooklyn, where many of them became prominent and among the most useful inhabitants in the place, and, without question, tended much to accelerate its early growth. Several of them for many years, were placed in the highest offices, both civil and religious, in the town, village, and city.

I beg leave to introduce to you several of the early Dutch butchers of Breuckelen, as well as some of those of a more modern type, at the time when they first became known in the records: although there is little doubt that some of them were engaged in business, many years before they were known in the various documents left to us.

In the year 1645, PAULUS VAN DER BEECK appears; in 1654, ROELF JANSEN; in 1656, WILLIAM HARCK and THOMAS WILLET; in 1660, PIETER JANSEN; in 1707, JAMES HARDING; in 1715, EVARDUS BROWER; in 1720, the brothers, ISRAEL and TIMOTHY HORSFIELD; followed by the sons of Israel; in 1735, SAMUEL HOPSON; in 1743, JOHN and BENJAMIN CARPENTER; in 1755, WHITEHEAD CORNALL and his sons, JOHN, WILLIAM, WHITEHEAD, Junior, and BENJAMIN; also the brothers SEDAM or SUYDAM; in 1756, THOMAS EVERIT and his sons, WILLIAM, THOMAS, Junior, and RICHARD; together with MATTHEW GLEAVES; in 1760, JOHN DOUGHTY and his son, JOHN, JUNIOR; in 1774, GEORGE POWERS and JOTHAM POST; in 1780, JOHN GARRISON and his three sons, JOHN F., JACOB, and THOMAS; together with GERSHAM LUDLOW; in 1790, BURDET STRYKER and his sons; after whom came ABIEL TITUS and his sons; DAVID SEAMAN, JACOB PATCHEN, RALPH PATCHEN, JESSE COOPE, ISRAEL REYNOLDS, JOHN RAYNOR, WILLIAM FOSTER, MICHAEL TRAPPET, and many others of whom no doubt, there are those present who yet remember some who were quite prominent and worthy men.

Perhaps a few incidents, or short sketches, of some of these old residents, will be acceptable to my hearers.

As early as 1645, we find PAULUS VAN DER BEECK, in a slander suit with Catalyn Trico, which appears was settled by a withdrawal of the complaint. In 1653, van der Beeck was selected one of the Delegates from Brooklyn, to meet in convention at New York, to advance the interests of the Town of Brooklyn; in 1657, he agreed to pay good stringed Wampum for the Excise rent; three years after, he was found in possession of some twenty morgens of land in the Town of Breuckelen; and, in the same year, was appointed a sworn butcher in the City in New York; in 1661, he farmed the Excise of Licenses for Tavern-keepers;

and was also ordered to collect one-tenth of all the farmers products in Breuckelen. In 1663, he is found the ferry-master; and two years after, he appealed from the judgment of the Court of Breuckelen, which was reversed; and in 1676, he was found possessed of property, consisting of live-stock, land, &c., valued at one hundred and forty pounds, and considered "*well-off*"—in fact, there were only six others in the entire town who returned more than that amount, and the most wealthy of the residents was found with a property valued at only three hundred and thirty-one pounds.

We now turn to ROELF JANSEN, who, in 1654, obtained a Patent for twenty-five morgens of Land at Maspeth, Long Island: four years after, he was appointed a sworn butcher, and began his business on Long Island, in or near the Town of Breuckelen.

The trading operations of that day were sometimes very curious; and Jansen appears to have been a troublesome one, especially with the farmers for their stock. In the Court proceedings of 1673, it is said that "Thomas Walton brings 'action against Roelf Jansen, butcher, for 'sheep sold him.' Walton claimed 'the quantity of three ankers of Rum.' The Court condemned Jansen to pay the same. Again, in the next year, Jansen was sued by David de Four, who demanded from him 'the sum of ff 200, (Florins) for an ox sold about two years ago, to 'the defendant, and offers to deliver to defendant 'a certain cow, which he bartered with defendant 'whenever he is paid.' Jansen says 'that *De Four* did not deliver him the cow according to 'agreement, notwithstanding he sent his children for her divers times.'" The Court ordered—"that Jansen shall pay *De Four* the demanded 'sum within eight days' time, provided the Cow 'be delivered to the plaintiff, at the time the 'same is paid, and that said cow shall mean- 'while run at defendant's risk."

In 1656, appeared WILLIAM HARCK and THOMAS WILLET, who were engaged in slaughtering cattle at Brooklyn, and when bringing their carcasses over to the city of New York, refused to pay the excise; these, no doubt, were the first brought over by them. Harck, however, was summoned to appear before the Court, where, in answer to the charge, he said—"That he killed four cattle 'for Mr. THOMAS WILLET, o'er at the Ferry—"and he is ignorant if he must pay excise for 'them." The Court, after due deliberation, and, no doubt, under the influence of their long wisdom-pipes, rendered the decision that he must pay, "either himself or by Mr. Willet."

Thomas Willet afterwards became a heavy contractor for furnishing meat to the Government, and he also held many high Civil and Military offices under the same.

In 1660, PIETER JANSEN, of Breuckelen, was appointed a sworn butcher, and at the same time owned some twenty-five morgens of land in that place, which he had obtained a Patent for, three years before. In 1676, the valuation of this property, including his live stock, was assessed at one hundred and forty-eight pounds, ten shillings; and seven years after, we find the price of live stock had somewhat increased in its valuation; but, at the same time, Jansen returned seven morgens of land less; after which we lose him from the Records.

JAMES HARDING, in 1707, is found a lessee of the ferry at Breuckelen, which he held many years. He had purchased property near the swinging or toll-gate, on which he had erected a house so near the King's highway, that it was complained of, in 1721.

At this period he attended the New York markets with meat, which he slaughtered at Brookland; and in 1725, he is again found in possession of the ferry, and residing in "Edward Willet's large well-finished brick house, near New York ferry, on Long Island, with a large barn, well covered with cedar, a large, handsome garden, and about ten acres of good land, in a fine young orchard, finely situated, either for a gentleman's country seat or a publichouse," which he vacated in 1732, and removed to his own premises, where, in 1738, he is found with eight in family. His name is occasionally found spelled HARDEN, and afterwards it was changed to ARDEN—the latter of which was adopted by some of the family, who removed to New York, where at least two were engaged in the profession of their forefather.

We turn next to EVARDUS BROWER, who, in 1715, is found attached to the Seventh Company of the Militia of King's County; in 1738, he was returned from the Town of Brookland, with eight in family—all white persons. Two years after, a Committee on Markets, in the City of New York, informed the authorities—"That one Evardus Brower, and many others living on Nassau Island, who make it their chief business to buy, kill, and sell cattle, do daily come and take up stalls or standings in the said Market house, without paying any thing for the same. These butchers were all ordered to pay the usual and proper fees."

In 1759, 60, and 61, Brower with several other prominent townsmen from Brookland, were found among the Grand Juries in the City of New York; and so particular and exacting was the Court in carrying out its stringent rules, that for the least delinquency among either its officers, jurors, or witnesses, the fines appear to have been enforced without fear or favor. Brower is shown to have thus suffered on several occasions.

By 1760, Brower made an assignment of his

property to Thomas Everit, butcher, on Long Island, and asks to be discharged, and thus we leave him.

The next in succession are the brothers, ISRAEL and TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, the sons of Timothy Horsfield of Liverpool, England, where they were born; Israel, on the fourth of January, 1696, and Timothy, on the nineteenth of April, 1706—old style—so they are found recorded in an old family Bible.

ISRAEL came to this country, in 1720; and on the thirteenth of December, of that year, he became a freeman of New York. About three years after, his brother Timothy arrived, and entered into business with him, as a butcher. In a few years their trade, which was principally with the shipping, had increased so much that proper accommodations could not be obtained in the City of New York, and consequently they were obliged to secure the next most convenient place for slaughtering as well as for their residences. Long Island had furnished them, principally, with all their live stock; and thus, with a favorable lease offered by the Corporation, in 1734, of a portion of its land, lying on the Brooklyn shore, near the ferry they were induced to remove there, where they built a wharf, large slaughtering place, and the necessary buildings for residences. The next year, they leased the two best stands (numbers One and Two) in the Old Slip Market, then located at the lower end of the present Hanover Square, in the City of New York, where, daily, their slaves brought over their dressed meats, in their row-boats, directly to the "Old Slip," where it was placed in wheelbarrows and conveyed to their stands.

In 1738, Israel Horsfield returned ten in family from the Township of Brookland; of which three were colored men—slaves. Three years after, the brothers, with several other butchers, were unfortunate in having some of their slaves put to death, for being engaged in the "Great Negro Plot" of 1741. The brothers, however, were very successful in business, and purchased a large plot of ground on the hill, on the South side of the present Fulton street, Brooklyn, where they erected fine residences, somewhat after the English style of building.

Timothy, afterwards, became a Moravian; and in the year 1750, he removed from Brooklyn: we shall, however, refer to him again.

Israel continued to extend his business after his brother left. His son, Israel, Junior, having arrived at manhood, took charge of his father's business, when the father erected a brew-house near the ferry, and engaged in brewing ale and beer. In 1755, Israel, Senior, returned but one slave, named Tight; and in 1767, he advertised—"Two negro men to be sold at the brew-house at Brookland Ferry;" and in the same year he had for

sale, "several lots of ground, bounding on the river, convenient for store-houses or slaughter-houses; also several dwelling houses, with their lots adjoining, and two slaughter houses; likewise several up-lots of very excellent ground, fit for pasture or garden, with a small, pleasant summer-house, commanding a most agreeable and extensive prospect." In 1772, we find the death of Israel Horsfield, Senior; and his real estate, consisting of a well built brew-house, malt-house, with a very convenient dwelling house, built and constructed after the English plan, with much other property, "to be sold by his son, Thomas Horsfield, near the premises."

ISRAEL HORSFIELD, Senior, left three sons, Israel, Junior, Thomas, and William. Israel, Junior, followed the footsteps of his father, as a butcher, but not with the same enterprise and success.

In 1755, he was returned as the owner of one slave, called CHALSEY; and, two years after, he supplied Jacob Brewerton, living at the ferry, with beef, to the amount of three pounds, eighteen shillings, and six pence, which was used for the French neutrals then staying at the house of Brewerton, at Brookland.

In 1769, the property of Israel, Junior, was advertised to be sold at the ferry, "which consisted of a house and lot of ground, slaughter-house and barn;" and two years after, there appeared for sale, "five lots or parcels of ground, at Brooklyn ferry, adjoining the house of Israel Horsfield, Junior, situated on a rising ground which commands a prospect of the City of New York, and very commodious for gentlemen to build small seats on, or for gardeners or butchers."

The next year, 1772, there appeared, "To let, The large, new brick house, in which Israel Horsfield, Junior, now lives, at the ferry; is very convenient for a butcher." Soon after, we find Israel, Junior, engaged in brewing, with his brother Thomas; but I think he discontinued business before or during the Revolution, as we do not find him until 1783, when he appeared among the inhabitants of Brooklyn. In 1790, he joined St. Ann's Church; and in the month of October, 1805, his death was noticed in the Records of that Church.

In 1764, his brother Thomas formed a partnership with JAMES LEADBETTER, when they advertised for Barley and Oak-bark. The next year, they have for sale at their brewery, English Ale, Table, and Ship Beer; but soon after they dissolved, when Thomas, again had "Excellent Ship and Table Beer, from the Long Island Brewery," which was kept at the store of his brother, William, opposite to Lot & Son's, in the City of New York; and, in 1778, Captain Thomas Horsfield had about three thousand weight of excellent fresh ship-

bread, for sale at Brooklyne ferry. The present Middagh-street was, at an early period, known as Horsfield-street.

Returning to TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, we find, during the French and Indian war, in 1745, he was appointed Colonel of the Brookland Militia; but this appointment causing much envy he resigned his commission. The next year, he advertised a horse lost, of a dark bay color, marked on the buttock, S. I.; and soon after, by the death of one of his friends, Thomas Noble, a merchant, and a zealous Moravian, Colonel Horsfield was left to settle his estate. The effects of Noble were sold at vendue; and one of the original receipts for goods bought at that sale, signed by Timothy Horsfield, is now in my possession; it will give you some idea of the man. In 1749, he announced, through the Press, a wish to settle his accounts, as "he designs, in a few weeks to leave the Province;" and the next year, he left Brooklyn for Pennsylvania.

William C. Reichel, Esq., a historian of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, has kindly furnished me with the following sketch of Colonel Timothy Horsfield's life, which is well worthy of record, as the example of a truly good man. He says of him: "In his seventeenth year, he came to America, to his brother Israel, where he learned his profession. His residence was at the Old York Ferry, Long Island. In 1781, he married Mary Doughty. In 1789, he was awakened by the preaching of Whitfield, who was then in America. In 1741, he became acquainted with the Brethren, (Moravians,) who came from Georgia with their Pastor, Peter Boehler, when he joined the Brethren's Church. In 1750, he removed to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with his family, and there occupied the stone house, built for him by the Brethren, which stood opposite the grave-yard, now (1860) owned by John Outer.

"A few years after Mr. Horsfield removed to Bethlehem, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, an office which he held for a period of twelve years.

"After leaving Long Island, in 1750, his house remained in the occupancy of the Brethren, who kept up a kind of housekeeping there for the accommodation of our ministers who labored in New England and in Long and Staten Islands, in their frequent journeys from place to place.

"Mr. Horsfield must have been a man of considerable property, living upon his means and educating all his children in our schools before he moved here. He never, while here, followed any business except his judicial office, which was then considered a high post of honor, but not of profit, to the incumbent. He stood deservedly high in this community; and was a



"man of unblemished character, and of great use to our Brethren in their intercourse with the Provincial Government, as well as with the wild Indian tribes then inhabiting that section of Pennsylvania.

"Being conversant with business matters, he became a kind of public character and legal adviser to the Brethren, who, in those days, were mostly colonists from Germany, unacquainted with the mode of transacting business here."

We next turn to Captain SAMUEL HOPSON, who became a freeman, in 1735. The same year he leased Stand Number Four, in the Old Slip Market, New York; and, about the same period, he moved to Brooklyn, near the ferry, from which place he attended the New York markets daily.

A house and lot of ground, facing the Old Market, was advertised for sale, in 1752, and the applicants were referred to "Samuel Hopson, Butcher, who may be spoke with every weekday morning, in said market."

Three years after, the Records show him as the Captain of the "West Company of Brookland;" and, at the same time, he returned the ownership of two negro men, named Dick and Prince, also one wench, called Dine. In the same year, he also advertised for sale, "a very good lot of land, with a well-finished, commodious brick house thereon, situated at the ferry on Long Island, opposite New York, fit for a merchant or tradesman; also a small timber house and lot. Like-wise a good, honest negro wench, about twenty-two years of age. Apply to Samuel Hopson, living at the said ferry. All persons who have any demands on Samuel Hopson, at the ferry, butcher, are desired to bring in their accounts."

Captain Hopson appears to have died soon after, as we find his estate ordered to be sold in 1757.

Back to the year 1743, we find JOHN CARPENTER, of New York City, butcher, had leased for one year all the stands and standings in the public markets, for the sum of Ninety-eight pounds.

Previous to this, he had been engaged in business with his mother, who was a very successful butcheress; but in the great Negro Plot of 1741, she lost two of her most valuable butcher slaves; one of whom was transported and the other burnt at the stake. In 1756, she lost another slave by running away; and another in 1759.

JOHN CARPENTER, (CARPENDER, it is sometimes found), continued the practice of his profession, and probably assisted his mother, in the purchase and slaughter of live stock, which were usually brought from Long Island; but the inconvenience and danger of crossing the river with cattle, added to the many objections found in the public slaughter-house, in the City of New York, induced Carpenter to move to Brooklyn, near the Ferry;

from which place he was several times returned as one of the Grand Jurors, in the year 1748, '50, and '51.

In 1755, he was noticed in the Brookland Records as the owner of three slaves; and, in the same year, he had to let "A house within half of a quarter of a mile of the Ferry, on Long Island." Two years after (1757), he had also for sale "A good dwelling house and lot of ground at the Ferry, opposite Mr. John Rapelje's."

A few years after, the Assize Law of 1763 came into existence, which created much feeling among all who supplied the New York markets. Several of the butchers defied the authorities; of these, Carpenter was one. A complaint was entered against him—"That John Carpenter, Butcher, hath openly and contemptuously declared, that he would sell his beef for four pence half-penny per pound, in spite of all the wise heads that made the law could do." The law assized the price of beef at four pence, that is, proportions of the prime and coarse parts. Carpenter was ordered to appear before the Board the next day; and the Mayor was requested to remove him out of the market, until he should have obtained the Freedom of the City. Carpenter appeared the next day, and claimed the Freedom of the City; the charge, however, was proven, when the Board "Ordered his License taken from him; turned out of the market, and also disfranchised." Two years after, 1765, "Jacob Brewerton had a convenient dwelling house, close by the river, on Long Island, at New York Ferry, joining Captain John Carpenter's." In 1769, Carpenter had also to let, "the house wherein Captain Francis Koffler now lives, suitable for a merchant or tradesman;" then, in 1770, he announced that the Jamaica stage would set out to and from Jamaica, every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, or oftener, if required. Passages one shilling and six pence each way. The next year, he wished the passengers from New York to apply at Mrs. Fish's, at the Ferry stairs, in New York.

In March, 1776, he advertised a run away negro, named Tom, "about twenty-two years of age, five feet eight inches high; had on when he went away, a blue jacket, buckskin breeches, blue and white spotted stockings, a tow shirt, an old beaver hat, cut small, a half-worn pair of shoes, with odd buckles. Understands butchering very well; and speaks Dutch and English tolerably well."

In the month of June following, we find John Carpenter, Senior, supplying the Continental Troops; and in consequence of the scarcity of live stock, which the preparation for the Revolution had caused, from coming to the City, he was obliged to send a drover to Dutchess County to purchase and bring from there several cattle, which were

driven to the Bull's Head, in the Bowery Lane.

Unknown to Carpenter, these cattle were taken by another butcher, who would not give them up; so Carpenter appealed to the Continental Congress, who ordered them to be restored to him.

During the Revolution, I think Carpenter remained on Long Island, being then about sixty years old, though occasionally he attended the New York Markets, when he could obtain stock. We find, however, the Sheriff of Dutchess county, through the press, notified "John Carpenter, late "of Brooklyn Township, in King's County, "Butcher, of his being indicted for adhering to "the enemies of the People of this State." When the trial was ordered, no witnesses appeared against him, and so it ended.

In 1785, an Independent Meeting House was incorporated in the Town of Brooklyn; and among its officers, we find John Carpenter, Treasurer; and, in 1788, '90, and '91, he was a lay delegate from what afterwards became St. Ann's Church. At this period he, with others, petitioned to raise two hundred pounds to repair the highway; and, in 1795, when the summer residence of Alexander Colden was ordered to be sold, it appears as lying "south of the land of "John Carpenter." I think about that period he died.

We now take up BENJAMIN CARPENTER, who seems to have removed to Brooklyn with his brother, John, or a short period after him, as we find a house to let, in 1755. "Wherein Benjamin "Carpenter now lives, on Long Island, within a "quarter of a mile of the Ferry, and a very good "situation for a schoolmaster." However, he could not have remained a great while in Brooklyn, as his name appears in 1761, among other members and professors of the Church of England, who petitioned for a Charter, as they wished to repair their church, in Jamaica.

This change of residence carried him a greater distance from the New York markets, yet he attended them at least once or twice a week, or whenever he found such animals as were suitable for his purpose, around the neighboring country; and occasionally some were found worthy of notice. In 1770, "A cow raised by John Aspin-"wall, of Flushing, weighing one thousand eight "hundred and eighteen pounds, was killed at "Jamaica, by Benjamin Carpenter, Butcher."

Seven years after, he was found placed in such a position, that he was obliged to promise to perform—"What he will pay into the hands of the "Church Wardens, the sum of five pounds for violently assaulting one of the loyal Justices of the Peace.

After the Revolution, Carpenter again removed to Brooklyn, where he continued his profession, but changed it somewhat by dealing altogether in the smaller animals, which were invariably

dressed with much taste and cleanliness; and these, some two or three times a week, he carried to the Fly market.

He appears to have retained considerable interest in the town affairs of Jamaica, as, in 1792, we find he subscribed three pounds, four shillings to assist in the erection of a school house in that place.

Mr. Carpenter continued in business until quite an old man; and although obliged to walk with a crutch from youth, I am told he was an active and most driving business man.

As lately as 1808, a document, dated "September, 28," reads: "I, Benjamin Carpenter, of "Brooklyn, in the County of Kings, Butcher, "do hereby manumit and set free a certain negro "woman named *Isabella Dimand*, held by me as "a slave, and do hereby release all claim or demand which I have to her person or her services.

"BENJN. CARPENTER.

"Witnessed by John Doughty."

John and Benjamin Carpenter, I think, were the sons of George and Elizabeth Carpenter, who came from Long Island, about the year 1718, when the father became a freeman, and entered into business as a butcher, which he continued until his death, about 1730. His widow, Elizabeth Carpenter, then appeared to have stepped into his professional shoes; and with the assistance of her sons, conducted the business profitably for many years. She died in April, 1776, aged eighty-five years; and the press says: "she had been a very "respectable inhabitant."

In the year 1755, we introduce WHITEHEAD CORNELL, SENIOR, of Brookland, who was returned as the owner of two slaves—one negro man called TOBEY, and a wench called FLORA.

About this period, he was found an attendant at the Old Fly Market, as a Butcher; and, no doubt, a very successful one, early in life. At a later period, he became much interested in the raising of fine stock, and more particularly in racing horses. In 1770, he advertised, "A water "lot, with slaughter house thereon, situate at the "Brooklyn Ferry, lying below and opposite to "the said premises of Israel Horsfield, Junior. "Apply to Whitehead Cornell, Butcher, near the "said Ferry."

The next year, at the Powles Hook Races, "nine horses started for a purse of Fifty pounds, "when Mr. Whitehead Cornell's black horse, "BOOBY, won the purse." In less than one month after, another great race took place at Flatbush, when it was stated—"There was good running "for the purse of fifty pounds, which was won by "Mr. Whitehead Cornell's black horse, STEADY, "got by OLD ENGLAND,) beating William Cornell's mare, DOVE, Mr. Waters' horse, VITRIOL, "Mr. Armstrong's horse, HERO, and Mr. El-"worth's horse, QUICKSILVER."

In November, 1776, Mr. Whitehead Cornell's name is found among the signers who swore allegiance to King George; and it is again found, in December, 1782, with many others, in an Address, lamenting the departure for England of Captain David Scott, Commissary of Artillery-horses, who was previously posted at Brooklyn. With the King's troops, went one of the sons of Cornell, while he and his family left for Nova Scotia; or so it would appear from his petition, dated "November 6, 1784," which states that "Whitehead Cornell, formerly of Brooklyn, in Kings County, Butcher, and John Cornell and William Cornell, two of his sons; that the said Whitehead and William have lately returned from Nova Scotia to New Jersey; and that the said John has lately returned from England, praying a law to receive them as subjects of this State." They appear to have obtained their wishes, as we find Whitehead Cornell, Senior, a Representative from Queens County, in the House of Assembly of this State, for the years 1788, '89, '92 and '93, and again in '98 and '99.

John, the eldest son, in 1764, advertised a "Run away from John Cornell of Long Island, Butcher, an Irish servant man, named John Smith, 20 years old, five feet six inches high, short black hair, and stutters. Had on a red coat and a pair of old red velvet breeches."

John Cornell, however, appeared to have but little taste for his father's profession, and consequently was not a successful Butcher. In 1770, he advertised for sale, "The house of John Cornell's at Brooklyn Ferry, near Philip Livingston's, Esquire," which appears, however, was not then sold. Perhaps with the expectation of a new Ferry landing-place being located near his property, his price was not acceptable.

The subject of a new landing place had been before the authorities, in various petitions, from time to time, but was not decided until the early part of the year 1774, when the Corporation of New York resolved to have "A Ferry from Coenties Market to the landing place of Philip Livingston, Esquire."

Three months later, "John Cornell gives notice that he has opened a Tavern at his house on Tower Hill, Long Island, near the new Ferry, called *St. George's Ferry*," where all kinds of liquors, entertainment, tea and coffee of the most excellent qualities included, will be provided for such gentlemen and ladies as may favor him with their company. Companies will be entertained if they bring their own liquor, and may dress turtle at said house, on the very lowest terms."

Cornell's tastes for these kind of entertainments, were changed soon after, for those of a more brutal character, for in less than three months, we find announced—"John Cornell, near St. George's

"Ferry, gives public notice that there will be a Bull baited on Tower Hill, at three o'clock in the afternoon, every Thursday, during the season. Said Cornell also attends the Fly Market with sweet milk every night and morning, and it is to be found on his stall near Alderman Lefferts's." At the head of this advertisement appears the figure of a ferocious looking bull in the act of whirling through the air a dog, while another is rushing on the enraged beast, who stands prepared to favor him with a similar aerial flight.

During the Revolution, the St. George's Ferry stopped; and at its close, Cornell sold out and left with the British troops, but returned in 1784, when with his father, he petitioned the State to receive them back as citizens. Furman said of John Cornell, that he returned "as strong a King and Churchman as ever;" and that the supposition is that he again returned to the King's dominions.

WHITEHEAD, JUNIOR, and BENJAMIN, two younger sons of WHITEHEAD CORNELL, SENIOR, began business with their father, and served a full apprenticeship; but not being able to obtain a regular stall, they attended the markets with small meats, until the year 1796, when some fourteen stands were placed in the lower Fly Market, and sold at public auction. Whitehead, Junior, purchased Number Sixty-seven, for which he paid One hundred and seventy pounds; and Benjamin paid one hundred and sixty-five pounds for Number Sixty-five.

In this market they continued business, while both resided at Brooklyn. Benjamin had some of his property destroyed by a fire which took place in Brooklyn, in 1806; when two boys were taken up as the supposed incendiaries.

Before the war of 1812 began, both sold out their stands and discontinued business.

WILLIAM, another son, became a successful merchant in New York; purchased the old Sebring Mill, at Red Hook, which he converted into a distillery; and erected a long dock in front of it where grain and other material were landed. He afterwards sold this property to RALPH PATCHEN, another old Fly Market Butcher, who had previously been engaged in keeping a large number of cows at or near this distillery, from which place he daily supplied the citizens with the purest milk, that could positively be made at such a place. He however made money, which greatly assisted in the purchase of this distillery.

Into this business PATCHEN entered, and became very wealthy. He was an honest man, but rough in conversation, and at times very severe and personal; he, however, had the confidence of his fellow citizens who several times placed him in public office. The large dock near his distillery, was long known as *Patchen's Dock*: and at this

late day, we find two Avenues in the eastern part of Brooklyn, one of which is called "*Ralph Avenue*," and the other, adjoining, is known as "*Futchen Avenue*."

TO BE CONTINUED.

II.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMA-MENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONTINUED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE  
"HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE INDIAS,"  
BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VAL-  
DEZ.

CHAPTER IV.

At last the natives, weary of finding food for their guests, turned away five of them that should go to some Indians that they said were to be found in another bay, six leagues farther on. Alonso del Castillo, went there with Pedro de Valdivieso, cousin of Andres Dorantes, and another, by name Diego de Huelva, where they remained a long time; the two others went down nearer the coast, where, seeking relief, they died, as Dorantes states, who found the bodies, one of whom, Diego Dorantes, was his cousin. The two hidalgos and a negro remaining in that rancho sufficed for the use of the natives, to bring back-loads of wood and water, serving as slaves. After three or four days, however, these likewise were turned away, when for some time they wandered about, lost, without hope of relief; and going naked among swamps, having been previously despoiled at night of their clothing, they came upon those dead.

They continued on from there until they found some Indians, with whom Andres Dorantes remained; a cousin, one of the three who had gone on to the bay where they stopped, came over from the opposite side, and told him how the two swimmers who went from them had passed in that direction, their clothes taken from them, and they much beaten over the head with sticks because they would not remain, still, though bruised and stripped, they had gone on for the oath they had performed never to stop, even should death stand in the way, before coming to a country of Christians. Dorantes states that he saw in that rancho where he was, the clothes belonging to the clergyman, one of the swimmers, with a breviary or prayer book. Valdivieso then returned, and a couple days afterwards was killed, because he wished to flee, and likewise, in a little time, Diego

de Huelva, because he forsook one dwelling-house for another.

The Christians were there made slaves, forced with more cruelty to serve than would have the Moor. Besides going stark naked and bare footed, over that coast which burns like fire in summer, their continual occupation was bringing wood and water on their backs, or whatever else the Indians needed, or dragging canoes through marshes in hot weather.

These natives eat nothing but fish the year round, and not a great deal. They experience much less hunger, however, than the inhabitants inland, among whom the Spanish were afterwards. The food often failed, which was the cause of frequent removal, otherwise they must have starved. Besides this want, there is still another greater, that of fresh water, which is very scarce in that country; for as they are ever wandering about, among marshes and salt-water, the drink is poor, brought from a distance and in small quantity. This imposed the greater labor on the Christians, who, while they endured the thirst equally with the rest, toted water for their masters, and even for their neighbors, since every one ordered them, and they feared every one; none but treated them badly, both by word and deed. Boys daily pulled their beards for pastime, and discovering them careless, any truant would jerk their hair, which was ever a source of laughter and unfailing delight. At times, they scratched them, so as to make the blood flow; they have nails that for any ordinary purpose are knives, and the principal arms among themselves, not however for war. Such and so numerous were these vexations, that the youth even on meeting them away from the houses, would pelt them with stones or whatever else came convenient to hand. This was for them a play, a novel hunt and joy; and as these were hidalgos and men of position, new in such experience of living, it was necessary that their patience should be great, equal to the labor and suffering they sustained to bear up under so many and such provoking annoyances. Thus Dorantes has affirmed, that he believed God gave them strength to be patient in discount of their sins, which deserved worse. Even though they had attempted to flee the sufferance of these torments, there was no escape, unless through desperation: they were surrounded by water; the country about where they went was islets; and, had they a choice, better would it have been for them could they have found death among the wilds, in solitude, as men whose fate was utterly hopeless, asking pardon for their transgressions, than live among a people bestial and wicked like this.

The Spaniards lived here fourteen months, from May to the May ensuing, of the year 1530, and to the middle of the month of August, when

Andres Dorantes, being at a point that appeared most favorable for going, commended himself to God, and went off at midday from among all the Indians, He being pleased that this sinner should go unobserved. Having crossed a large body of water, in great fear, he made all the haste possible, and, the next day, came upon some Indians, who gladly received him, having heard that the Christians served well. The negro followed him at the end of three months, when they met, though they were never together.

Castillo tarried among that bad people a year and a half later, until an opportunity was presented for starting; but, on arrival, he found only the negro, for, Dorantes discovering these Indians insufferably cruel, had gone back more than twenty leagues, to a river near the bay of Esperitu Sancto, among those who had killed Esquivel, the solitary one that had escaped from the boats of the Governor and Alonso Enriquez, slain, as they were told, because a woman had dreamed some absurdity. The people of this country have belief in dreams, which is their only superstition. On account of them, they will kill even their children; and this hidalgo, Dorantes, states that, in the course of four years, he has been a witness to the killing or burial alive of eleven or twelve young, and those males, for rarely do they let a girl live. Near by, were other Indians, who had killed his cousin, Diego Dorantes, after having lived among them and served for two years; so that there was no greater security one day than another. At this time, the only survivors were Andres Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo, and the negro, and likewise Cabeza de Vaca, who was not, to the others, known to be alive.

Andres Dorantes passed ten months among this people, enduring much privation, and continual labor, with such fear that he should be killed some day, that he never met an Indian, nor did one ever come where he was at work digging roots, that he did not fear he was about to be killed for some dream, and never felt safe until he saw him leave. Oftentimes, when meeting that poor man, they would feign to be very fierce, and come running up to him, as the Indians would do in like manner to the others, where they were, put an arrow to his breast, and drawing to the ear the cord of the bow, would afterwards laughing say to him: "Had you 'fear?'"

The greater part of winter, these people eat roots, dug under water, that are scarce and got out with much hard work. The larger portion of the year they suffer extreme want, seeking food all the day long. They likewise eat snakes, lizards, rats, crickets, grasshoppers, frogs, and all manner of reptiles and insects that can be picked up. Sometimes they kill deer, by setting

fire to the lands and savannahs, driving them out. There are many rats about these rivers, but the number killed is small; for, as the natives go up and down that stream the winter long, ever in quest of food, they frighten and keep down the game. At times, they eat fish killed in that river; the quantity, however, is small, except during freshets which come yearly in April; when they occur oftener a second time is in May. Large numbers then are killed of good quality, which are dried in abundance on flakes, although the larger part is lost for want of salt, in the preparation, nor can that be got any where.

Many walnut trees grow on the margins of that river, the fruit of which is consumed in its season. Usually, they bear every other year, though sometimes not until the third; but, when they do yield, the crop is in profusion. The Indians are greedy of these nuts, going to eat them twenty or thirty leagues, the country about, when they suffer much privation; for, as the people who seek them are numerous, they kill or frighten away all the game the first day, and are confined exclusively to the fruit for the month it lasts. These nuts are much smaller than those of Spain, and the kernel troublesome to pick from the shell.

The inhabitants, in the end of March, when the winter is gone, eat the fish, if any remain of what they dry, taken from the rivers in their flood, and begin to travel for prickly pears, which are abundant in that country. They go, in the direction of Panuco, more than forty leagues, to eat them, esteeming them so highly that they will leave them for nothing else, and it is the best food they have in the whole year. The fruit lasts a month and a half or two months, they wandering and eating the while, occasionally killing a deer. Sometimes it happens that a few persons will kill two or three hundred of this animal; and Andres Dorantes says that in eight days' time he has known sixty Indians to kill that many, and sometimes that five hundred are slain, though oftener than otherwise they get none.

The manner of hunting them is this: as the animal strays towards the coast, the Indians run inland, where, as no people ever live, many deer collect, and these are driven before them into the sea, where they are kept the day long, until drowned, when the rise of tide, with the wind, cast them on shore. They are not chased when the wind is off the land, as at such times they will return immediately: the animal will only run against the wind.

After this exercise, the Indians take up their journey, leaving the salt water, and go inland to eat prickly pears, which they begin upon as they ripen, about August, and last fifty or sixty days.

It is the best part of the twelvemonth for this people, when, excepting some snails they get, they live upon nothing else but prickly pears, making merry over them, day and night, so happy are they in that season, while all the rest of the year they are suffering severe privation.

There, amongst those prickly pears, Castillo, the negro, and Dorantes again met and concerted about going; but, as the natives are never at rest, nor were they together, each soon went his way, so that of necessity these Christian sinners, having to follow their masters, were unable to carry out their plan and wish, they going to eat nuts, which were in plenty that year; and, having come to the place where they were, Cabeca de Vaca arrived, whom, five years before, they had left behind where the boats had been lost, never since having seen him.

After Cabeca de Vaca joined the others, they consulted together as they ate in the desert; for, being separated, they could only communicate in the season of prickly pears. Having been many times ready to flee, seemingly their sins fettered them, and again they were taken each a different way.

Six years had now passed, and in the seventh approached the season of prickly pears. These men were all apart, and each secretly directed his course inland to a place they were accustomed to get the fruit, where the Indians were not going, there being none. Dorantes arrived first, and finding some people, by accident, who came that day, the enemies of those among whom he had lived, they received him kindly. At the end of three or four days, the negro arrived in pursuit of him, with Alonso del Castillo, and they planned to go after Cabeca de Vaca, who was then tarrying in advance of them. Observing some smokes afar off, they agreed that while Dorantes and the negro should go to them, Castillo would remain to assure the natives, that they might not think the Christians were about to depart, telling them that they were looking for a companion, and should they find him there, as they hoped, would return with him. The Indians were well satisfied.

The two went their way and traveled well into the night. Coming upon an Indian, he took them where Cabeca de Vaca was, whom they informed that they had come for him. Fortunately, the next day, these Indians moved nearer to where Castillo was, where the three hidalgos, as all of them were, uniting, commended themselves to God as became their religion, and, with good resolution, like men of genuine blood and firm purpose, they set forward, determined to quit this savage life, wide of the service of God and all rational existence. Thus the Saviour guided them, laboring of His infinite mercy in their behalf, opening to them ways in a country where

there are none, and into the hearts of men, savage and indomitable, whom God was moved to make humble and obedient, as farther on shall be told.

So that day they set out without being noticed, or having any idea of where they were going, solely confiding in divine mercy, looking about for the prickly pears that grow over the face of the country, which were ending, as it was then in October: and, praise be to the Mother of God, on that day, at sunset, as they much desired, they came upon Indians. These were very gentle, and had some information of the Christians, though fortunately small, and knew not how badly they had been treated. The Spaniards were without covering, the winter had come, and, as the prickly pears on which they should have to live were about gone, they were obliged to pause, for that year, to get some skins for clothing, which, they were told, could be had farther on. They were now on the way, and in such position, that, in the succeeding year, when the prickly pears should come, they might carry out their purpose. They rested the season, from the first of October to August of the year ensuing: but in that interval they underwent, with these Indians, great hunger, more, rather than less, than they had in the preceding seven years. The reason was, they were not near the sea, where they might have killed fish, and, consequently, they subsisted solely on roots, the natives there having greater difficulties to contend with than any of the others, as they can go to some fishing ground. The whole year round, the appetite of the inhabitants is not once satisfied, and the boys are so swollen and thin that they look like toads. Nevertheless, the Christians were well treated among them, were permitted to live in freedom, and to do whatever they pleased.

#### CHAPTER V.

At a favorable opportunity, when the month of August arrived, these three hidalgos, having brought together some deerskins, fled, with the requisite circumspection and privacy, from that people. They traveled thence seven leagues that day, until coming to some friends of those they had left, who received them kindly, and gave them of what they had. The next day, the Indians moved farther on, taking the Christians with them, to join others, who were likewise going to eat a certain little grain then about ripening, the product of trees in extensive groves.

Having united, the Christians went over to those Indians, because they belonged farther on, and were better adapted to their intent and the direction they would take. They stopped among them eight days, eating only the boiled leaves of the prickly pear, the seed which the

natives waited for being still unripe. In the gaunt condition that they were, they dared not attempt to go a league farther. In exchange for a portion of the deer skins, they got a couple of dogs, which, having eaten, they took their leave. At this the Indians were very sorry, but did not hinder their going.

The Spaniards traveled five or six leagues without finding any thing to eat, or any one to show the way, and, at dark arrived at a wood, where they slept. In the morning, having eaten some leaves of the prickly pear, buried over night, which thereby are made better to boil and easier of digestion, they pursued their journey until midday, when they came to two or three ranchos with some inhabitants, who told them they had nothing to eat; but to keep on and at dark they would come to houses where food would be given them.

Accordingly, the Spaniards proceeded and came to some forty or fifty ranchos. There it was the Indians, for the first time, began to fear and reverence those few men, holding them in great esteem. Approaching near, they rubbed them, and then rubbed themselves, bidding them, by signs, to rub and stroke them that they might be well. The sick were brought to be cured, and the *hidalgos* did as they were told, though more accustomed to labor than the performance of miracles. By virtue of their trust in God, blessing and breathing upon them after the manner of the *Saludadores* in Castillo, the Indians in a moment felt themselves better, and presented what there was to eat, which consisted of the buried leaf of the prickly pear and some of the fruit yet green, prepared in like manner.

The Spaniards were so thin they dared not travel, and remained fifteen days for repose. By eating the leaves and early fruit beginning to ripen, they became better, getting some strength. The natives generously gave of what they possessed, and with such good feeling as the Christians had not before known, either from those they had been among or from any they had intercourse with, having received only wrong and injury. These went on two leagues, where others proffered many articles that they might have cure, making very festive, presenting wholesome food of prickly pears with meat, and going out to hunt for them. Here the Spaniards recovered somewhat more; and God was pleased to command that they should in ten months travel a distance they did not expect to pass over in eight years, could they live so long. None could believe the extent of the journey, its wants and inconveniences, but they who were witnesses.

After those men started, the people were grieved, and, following on, entreated their return, saying that the Christians could go the next day with some women who had come to

carry their things; but finding that they could not prevail with them, they went back very sorrowfully. The Spaniards mistook the track, traveling two or three leagues, and stopped to rest on the bank of a rivulet, where they were overtaken by the women, who, that the men might not be lost, had hastened on, as for their lives, and came up breathless and tired. They continued on together, doing their utmost that day, and walked eight or nine long leagues. Coming, at sunset, to a river that appeared broader than the Guadalquivir at Sevilla, they passed over it without accident, the water reaching about the knee and thigh, and at one place, for twice the length of a lance, to the breasts. Keeping on their course, at dusk they arrived at a town of a hundred ranchos or more, very populous, who came out to receive them with loud cries and great vociferation, bringing the large gourds filled with pebbles employed for making music in their dances. Although they believed that the Christians had the virtue of healing, the fear and trembling was great in coming forward to rub them, showing the respect and devotion there would be to touch a saint. In this manner, some pressing forward to be first, and many over each other's backs, loosing their fear, they lifted the Christians, running with them to the houses, where they offered them what there was, and the sick were directly brought to be cured. To an Indian who had accompanied the Christians, were given many arrows, with other things, in recompense for having brought and guided them to that place. The next day, the Christians were taken off a league and a half to another town of seventy or eighty ranchos, where they met such reception as the others had given; and they ate plentifully of prickly pears. Among other things, twenty-eight loaves of bread were presented, made from the flour of an article there eaten, called mesquite, the natives holding great festivity in *areytos*, according to custom.

At that place, began a novel manner of procedure on the journey, which was that of the many persons who came to accompany the Christians. Those who brought sick as to Saints, that they might rub themselves and receive cure, they would despoil, taking whatever they possessed, going even through their houses, pillaging at their pleasure, which conduct the owners appeared to be glad of, believing this new ordinance to be of heaven, whence those men came. The Spaniards, having rested there that and the following day, were taken to as many other ranchos, six leagues farther, a multitude of men and women going with them to rob all they could, and did so; for, having come to the town, the Christians were well received, and even better than before. They were borne down by the numbers crowding to have them stroke and heal their infirm, which i-

rectly was accomplished; when they and others were plundered to the extent of leaving them destitute, they being given to understand that the procedure was requisite. Among them there were many blind, and many clouded of one, and some of both eyes. These people are well featured, and symmetrical; equally so the female as the male. The blind and the many other infirmities were administered to, and if there was not healing for all, at least they believed that these men could cure them. Near by were mountains that appeared to be a chain traversing the country, directly towards the north. The Christians were taken five leagues onward, to a river, at the foot of a point at which the range begins, where were forty or fifty ranchos. These, like the rest, were pillaged, and the owners gave the little that remained to the Christians, making great festivity for them, and receiving the aid that was customary. The same night, they sent to call people from below, towards the sea, many men and women with gifts arriving the next day, to see the Christians and witness their miracles.

These Indians, to take from others, strove hard to lead the Christians to the sea-side, expecting there to make good their losses. They stated that many people were there who would give them a great deal; but the Spaniards would only go upward and inland, having been schooled in a knowledge of the population of the coast where they had ever been told that they could go out on sea at the sunset; and, until now, they were constantly fearing that when least expecting it they might come back on this shore. For these reasons, their desire was to ascend farther up, from which the Indians strove to dissuade them, telling them that only at a great distance did food and people exist; but when the natives found that they could not prevail with them they sent off to bring inhabitants.

The next day, they set out, followed by a large number of persons. The weather being very hot, many women carried water and the food for them, with articles that had been given. Two leagues on the way, they met the messengers, who said they had found no people in a long distance. All were greatly disheartened at this, and the natives besought the Christians to go the way they pointed out, but being unable to persuade them, they left the burdens and went away weeping. The Spaniards took the loads upon their backs, and went following up the course of the river all that day, until night, when they came upon eight or ten ranchos in a thicket or scrub. The inhabitants, in devotional feeling, received them weeping, giving what there was to eat, as others had done.

In the morning, the Indians who had left the Christians arrived. They had heard of this other people, and followed on their trail to plunder in

satisfaction for what others had taken. They seized the little they could, telling these how they should manage. The next day, the Christians were taken from there, and slept at night on the road. The day following, they arrived at many ranchos, where they were received as customary; and to their conductors was made good what they had lost and more, taking as much as they could carry away. In this manner, they traveled along the skirt of the mountains, about the distance of eighty leagues, entering the country directly north; and, at the base of the ridge, they found four ranchos of another nation and tongue, who said they belonged beyond the interior and were journeying back. These presented some blankets of cotton and a hawkbell, which, they stated, came from the north across the country from the South sea. The next day, they struck in westward towards the mountains, taking the Spaniards to some ranchos on the banks of a beautiful river, and they gave them marquisite and pyrites of iron, stating that they who gave them the hawkbell, which was of brass, had much of that material, and kept it: thence it was conjectured that whence those things were cast brought, if the inhabitants had not gold, they metal, at least, were in settled residences, and, probably enough, on the South sea. Three hundred and fifty leagues, little more or less, had been traversed by them from where the journey commenced.

Many hare and deer were killed, for the Christians, on the way, and every thing taken was brought to them, not a rat being kept back. They ordered that the game should not be buried, but all be placed before them; and then, after they had taken out what they wished, the rest they sanctified for the use of the natives. The women and children brought the worms and crickets they gathered, choosing to starve rather than take anything before it had been blessed and given to them. as, otherwise, they believed they should all die. These regulations were observed on the whole length of the march, until coming out to the land of Christians.

The Spaniards were next taken to five collections of ranchos, the occupants of which were numerous and good looking. They were presented with the seed of the pine tree in large quantity, as good as that of Castilla or better, the shell being of such quality it could be eaten with the rest. The burr is very small: the trees grow all over the mountains. From that time forth, the Christians did not permit themselves to be followed by more than two thousand souls at a time. They were taken from there onward a long time, traveling in this manner without coming upon any one. Finding that there were no people, they sent in all directions to find some, causing ranchos to come to the road,



the distance of more than fifteen or twenty leagues to wait for them on the road, and take them along. From that place, another new order of travel was established, which was that those who led those Christians robbed whatever there was and could find in the ranchos wheresoever they newly came, now they took nothing, but as each of the Christians had his hut made for him apart, it was got ready and in order, every thing being brought near it that the Christians should do as they might please with it, no one daring to touch an article. They would take the whole, or such part as they chose, leaving their hosts despoiled that they might be obliged to take them on to retrieve themselves in like manner. These took them forward, by desperate travel, through some mountains, more than fifty leagues farther, sustaining much hunger for the poor condition of the land, where were no prickly pears nor other thing, and near the close of the journey they began to grow sick, when there was great labor in blessing and breathing upon them, for there was scarce one that was well. Thus were they taken to over a hundred ranchos on a plain awaiting the Spaniards who had caused them to come there from a great distance; and the people were numerous over all that region. They one and all presented seed of the pine in large quantity, which was received as aforetime, giving whatsoever they had, keeping nothing for themselves. The next day they took them onward, some things which were old and had been left them, they abandoned on those fields, not being willing to take them, and their straw boxes which they used for trunks as well. These told the Spaniards that there were no people except at a great distance, and were their enemies. The Christians told them to send an Indian to proclaim their approach; for it was the custom on the journey, when drawing nigh the ranchos of a new people to send four Indians in advance, in the name of each, that houses should be prepared for them, and whatever was to be given should be together and in readiness. The people resolved to send two women, one a captive among the people whence they had come; for they dared not send a man because of the war that existed between them, and they could not understand each other. Behind them the Spaniards moved forward with all the assemblage, moving every day, awaiting the response that should come in a certain direction; but, at the first setting out, the people began to sicken, in such way that the Christians felt great pity for them, since these had been the best people they had found. They had arranged to wait the women with their answer three days, and were unwilling to take the Spaniards in other direction on account of their feud. Then it was that Andres Dorantes said to one of his Indians that he should tell them that they

should die for that they would do: and such was the fright and apprehension that came upon them, above what they had before, that next day they went out to hunt, and at noon returned unwell, and every day that increased, so that in two days many died, and more than three hundred became sick. They were seized with so great fear, believing that the Christians in their displeasure had caused it, that they dared not look them in the face, nor lift their eyes from the ground while standing before them. And it was a marvelous thing to observe that only in the fifteen days they were among those Indians they saw not one of them laugh, nor weep, nor show any other emotion, although the parents of some of them were dying, some their wives and children, and others their husbands: thus did they suppress their feelings and bear themselves as though no trouble weighed them. A thing still stranger: the babes at the breast nor the children of more age were never seen either to laugh or weep in all the time the Christians were among them, like the aged of a century. This people dared not eat, nor drink, nor do any thing, without asking leave of the Christians; believing they had the power either to take or give them life; and that as they were angry with them they died. At the end of two or three days that they were there, the women came and brought them very discouraging news, stating that the people whom they had gone to look after had gone after cattle, and that no one was to be found any where there. At this the Indians said that they were all ill, as the Christians saw, and were come from a long way off; that the Christians should go after the cattle, upward, towards the north, and they would find people: that they desired to remain and go elsewhere; were suffering great hunger; that the prickly pears were ending. The Christians said, "No; that they must be taken in that direction" which was toward the sunsets, since that was "their direct course: that the sick should remain, and twenty or thirty of those in health" should accompany them, and one of the Christians would go with those women to discover "the people and bring them on the road." The Indians appeared glad to hear this.

The next they departed and traveled three days consecutively. Alonso del Castillo being in better condition than the others, set out with the negro and the women who took him to a river where they found people, houses, and a settlement. They ate of beans and pumpkins, though in small quantity. At the close of the third day, Castillo returned to the Christians, and the negro remained to bring the people out upon the road.

### III.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INDIAN WAR OF 1776.\*

By HON. D. L. SWAIN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

VERY few persons in the western portion of our good old State are even aware that an army, with its concomitant train of good and evil, ever entered the region beyond the Blue Ridge. And yet it may well be doubted whether there ever was an expedition more beneficial to any people, than the one of 1776, commanded by General Griffith Rutherford. Important as it was in its results, and difficult in its accomplishment, the event lives only in the memory of some of the descendants of the men who fought and won the victory, and in a very few manuscripts of the men of other days. But such is the destiny of laudable achievements and unparalleled heroism; and we may expect to know that even the great struggle for Independence, by "the old thirteen," has perished with the brave ones who achieved our freedom.

In the summer of 1776, the news of the terrible depredations of the "Over Hill Cherokees," who then owned all the territory west of the Blue Ridge, and much that is now the domain of Georgia and Tennessee, was spread over the country. Men were killed by the secret foe in the most brutal way; women and children were butchered without remorse; and the scattered possessions of the frontier settlements were laid waste by the savage hordes of hostile Indians. The country was almost a smoking ruin, and the reeking scalps, with here and there an enslaved boy and the little property the Indians could not carry away, were almost all that remained of our pioneer settlements. Forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, since the treachery of savage character had become proverbial. The long confined vengeance of the whites could be restrained no longer by the professions of peace, which the Indians entered into only to destroy the more readily. And the determination to submit no longer could only be cancelled by the utter destruction of the Cherokee towns, and the infliction of such punishment as the retaliatory spirit of the times would justify. This chastisement it is our present purpose to sketch, relying for the truth of our statements, on facts collected by Hon. Archibald D. Murphy and from those communicated to us by the contemporaries of those men who lingered among us long after the war was closed, and have now nearly all disappeared from the land their valor gained.

There were three armies simultaneously fitted out by Virginia, North Carolina and South Caro-

lina, and destined to the same place, for like purpose. The army of the first named State was commanded by Colonel Christain; the North Carolina troops by General Griffith Rutherford, and consisted of two thousand four hundred men, (some say of three thousand;) and the South Carolina troops by General Williamson, consisting of about two thousand men. General R.'s army encamped near Pleasant Gardens, in McDowell county, at what is known as "Old Fort," (probably built by him,) about the last of August, 1776. Before them were forests and interminable wilds, high mountains and a deadly foe whose cunning and treachery were ominous of the difficulties and dangers to which they were to be exposed. And, however imperturbable soldiers may be when entering upon an engagement with honorable enemies and "foemen worthy of their steel," we may well suppose that "fear and trembling," of no ordinary kind, seized upon this small army, when their fancy was permitted to precede them into this trackless wilderness, where one single yell from a warlike chief would suffice to people the mountains and valleys with a denser, deadlier enemy than that which the clarion notes of Roderic Dhu summoned before the disturbed eye of the brave Fitz James.

They took up the line of march, crossed the Ridge at the Swananoa Gap, pursued the meanderings of that bright stream as it gurgled towards the French Broad river, at which place they forded the river; and there is, to this day, a "War Ford," which derives its name from General Rutherford's having here crossed, in this expedition. They then pursued Homony creek to its source, passed over to Pigeon river, and pursued pretty much the direction of the upper road; which, at this time, goes by Colonel Joseph Cathey's. At the spot where the meeting house now stands, a few miles above the present ford, they buried one of their companions, whose hopes of again returning to his friends were here so suddenly and so sadly blighted, and the remains of whom were discovered a few years ago, when digging a grave for a departed friend. In this place, we will mention, that when Judge Samuel Lowry, who was a private in this expedition, visited Haywood county, he told some of the legal fraternity that he had noticed a beech tree, on which was rudely carved, "1706," which he again visited and pointed out. It is on the left of the road going from Colonel Cathey's to Waynesville, a few hundred yards above where the road crosses a small stream, as one descends the little gap, four or five miles northeast of the village. And when we remember that this date was anterior to the settlement of any portion of the State, except some few counties on the sea shore, we may well be excited to know who cut it. From this place, the army advanced up Rich-

\* From *The North Carolina University Magazine*, for May, 1862. Vol. I., pp. 182-86.

land creek to its source, crossed the mountain near McLure's, and followed Scott's creek to its mouth. This latter stream obtains its name from John Scott, a trader among the Cherokees, a negro of whom was shot by the Reverend James Hall, the Chaplain, as he ran, mistaking him for an Indian. Crossing the Tuckaseige, they came to the Cowee mountain, probably by pursuing Savannah creek to its source; and near its top, their advance guard were fired upon by the Indians, who immediately fled. The soldiers, without any further molestation, arrived at the little Tennessee river, passed down Watauga creek, and encamped on the west side of said river, near a large Indian mound, at a town called Nequassee, now rejoicing in the revered title—Franklin. They remained here a day, and then marched down the river to a town called Cowee, some three or four miles below the present village, where they encamped and awaited the arrival of the Southern Division, under General Williamson. These, however, did not arrive for two or three days after the appointed time, the fourteenth of September; and General R.'s troops had ample time to reconnoitre the country and survey the awful grandeur which so commends this lovely valley to the admiration of the stranger and the affection of the inhabitants. Hostile Indians were in all directions; towering mountains would smile a welcome in their rich autumnal verdure and frown upon them in their lofty and imposing majesty; the lovely Tennessee, here but a rivulet compared to the flood of waters it teems into the Ohio, with its crystal water and variegated banks, slaked their burning thirst and laved their weary bodies; forests of gnarled oak and unsurpassed native gardens of richest wild flowers, and meadows of tall, waving grass, added to the beauty of the place, and compensated somewhat for the loss of those pleasures which cluster, peculiarly and appropriately, around home.

It is related upon the authority of Major Daniel Bryson, a revolutionary patriot, who also served in this expedition, that, whilst General Rutherford was waiting for General Williamson's arrival, and for whom small parties had been sent, but returned without any tidings, some detachments were sent out and destroyed some Indian towns. Sugar town, situated between Tennessee and Sugar-town rivers, (the Indian name of the latter is Cul-la-sat-chee,) was flanked on two sides by the river, and was fronted by a strong breastwork of logs and brush. The soldiers, finding it unoccupied, entered, and were immediately surprised by the savage war-whoop, muskets, and tomahawks, wielded as only savages can wield them; and were forced into the huts, from which confinement they were long released by a party on a similar undertaking with themselves. A prisoner whom they had taken, promised, upon his life be-

ing spared, to lead them to a town about seven miles from Nequassee, on the Sugartown, where their wives, children and property were concealed. They followed this enchanting stream, shut in by mountains so much that scarcely room is left for a foot path. This town was located in a narrow valley, completely enclosed by mountains, which seemed almost to overhang the huts, and was tenantless, save by a few very old women and children of a very tender age. Indian men were seen menacingly pacing to and fro upon the overhanging precipices, and leaping from crag to crag, with the agility of the panther, and somewhat of his ferocious disposition. But they only destroyed the town, and drove off some cattle. This most delightful place is now owned by an enterprising gentleman of Macon county, to whom we are indebted for these facts, and by whom we may expect the site of the old Indian town to be converted into a paradise.

After having waited for General Williamson some time, without any tidings from him, General Rutherford left one thousand eight hundred men at Cowee, and resolved, with the remainder, to proceed to the "Valley Towns" on the Hiwassee, and destroy them. Soon after, leaving the main army, he mistook the path; and, having no pilots, he wandered in the mountains for three days, but going too much to the left to gain Hiwassee. General W. reached Cowee, two days after the other General left, and sent men to hunt for him, who found him about three miles from where he started. Rutherford was put upon the right track; and, in crossing the Nantahala mountain, by pursuing the *Wah-zah*, was met by a large party of Indians, who had placed themselves on the top of two ridges, which made an acute angle through which the troops were compelled to pass. From this position, the savages were able to fire and conceal themselves by the ridge, so that few of them were killed, while a considerable number of whites lost their lives. The Indians, however, fled; and the troops of General R. proceeded, unmolested, to the Hiwassee towns, burned them, cut down their corn, destroyed their beans, potatoes, &c., killed twelve Indians in one town, and took six prisoners. General Williamson arrived soon after; but, as the work was accomplished, took his route for home up the Hiwassee, while General R. crossed the Nantahala, and reached Cowee after an absence of eight days.

To this short war may be properly attributed all the kind feelings and fidelity to treaty stipulations manifested by the Cherokees ever afterwards. General Rutherford had destroyed the "Under-hill Towns," or those on the Tennessee River, ruined the prospects of an abundant crop, and instilled into the Indians so great a fear of the whites, that never afterwards were they disposed to engage in any cruelty, or destroy any of the

property of our frontier men. The predatory disposition of the "Over-hill," or Hiwassee, Indians, was also quelled; and their chiefs, in company with chiefs from all portions of the tribe, were soon found at the Long Islands, on the Holston river, for the purpose of making a perpetual treaty. This was done—Waighstill, Avery, and others acting as Commissioners. The blessings of peace followed; traders were permitted to exchange merchantable goods for skins, venison and whatever else was of value; savage ferocity and bloodthirstiness disappeared, and the valley of Tennessee "heard of war no more."

General Williamson came with his two thousand South Carolinians through the Rabun gap, and in descending Tennessee river, about nine miles South of where Franklin now stands, in the neighborhood of Smith's bridge, fell into an ambuscade prepared by the wily foe. The contest was of considerable duration, of determined bravery on both sides, and somewhat destructive to both parties. The ambush must have ended in the defeat of Williamson's undertaking, had not Edward Hampton, in command of only thirty regulars, attacked the foe unexpectedly in the rear, and thus deprived them of the only chance they had of escape, without crossing the mountain, which jutted into the river, leaving only space enough for a trail, in the very fairest reach of the General and Hampton's shot. Hampton had just learned that his brother's wife and children had been cruelly butchered, and this no doubt fired him with renewed zeal to punish the Indians. He is said to have rammed a bullet down his gun without having charged it with powder. Nothing daunted, he sat down in the very hottest of the fight, uncased his gun, "unbreached her" (to use a huntsman's word,) drew the load, and then, having rearranged the machinery, proceeded to the slaughter of as many Cherokees as he could. This was an exhibition of calm, undaunted courage, seldom equalled. But there was one, Harry Wolf, "a great bully at fist and skull," whose cowardice was so extreme as to frighten him out of his wits.—When the Indians had beaten the whites back across the little stream that here makes into the river, Wolf was so terribly frightened, that he crawled under a shelving bank of the stream.—Whilst here, one William Hammon was shot through the thigh, but he ran from the Indians some distance before the bone broke, and fell near where Wolf was. One Indian scalped him, and gave him some severe blows in the head with a tomahawk, and left him for dead. Another Indian came up, took another scalp, and went his way, without a single fire from the base coward who was safely concealed in full view of the transaction. He said afterwards, that, if the battle had lasted one half hour longer, he should have died from fright. The battle was

gained to General W., and he proceeded to the towns where General Rutherford was encamped, without farther opposition.

Reverend James Hall, a Presbyterian minister of Iredell county, was Chaplain to the North Carolina troops, but oftener used a soldier's musket than the sword of peace. However, when the two armies met at Cowee, it is said that Mr. Hall, on a calm and beautiful Sabbath day, with an Indian mound for his pulpit, and hardy soldiers for his audience, preached a most affecting and thrilling sermon; inasmuch that, as the good man's voice echoed through the surrounding woods, there was scarcely a dry eye to be seen. This was undoubtedly the first sermon ever preached in that country, and one from which may be dated a change for the better in the lives of many.

Whilst encamped on the Tennessee, General Rutherford sent a detachment of his men to Burning Town, from which the present stream, Burnington, gets its name, in order to get provisions.—While they were away, General R., leaving a sufficient force at the camp, set out with his army to the Hiwassee towns. The detachment happened to see his army approaching, and, shouting *The Indians! The Indians!*, made a precipitate retreat. The officer in command, finding his men more alert than himself, when likely to be left behind, would call a halt; but whenever in front he was for no delay whilst the Indians were so near.

And now that the officers, and privates of this expedition are all sleeping the sleep of death, save old Hogbite, who was noticed in our April Magazine, and the "sober second thought" has resumed its sway, we can but feel that such an enterprise was necessary, to check the dreadful havoc inflicted by the Indians. Yet that question will arise—"Had we a right to force the poor occupants from their possessions and appropriate 'them to ourselves?'" Human nature may ever be too cowardly to interpose an objection to the titles acquired by our fathers; but the time will come, when retributive justice will plead the Indian's cause with more than an angel's eloquence, and with far greater success than is ever witnessed in earthly tribunals.

#### IV.—THE PURITANS AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[The following articles will speak for themselves. They treat of a subject which has already been very ably discussed in our pages; and we offer no apology for continuing to present it to our readers.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

##### I.

[From *The Morning Cleveland Herald*, April 8, 1867.]

#### THE PILGRIM FATHERS AND THE PURITANS.

Under the title of *A Memorial to the Pilgrim*

*Fathers*, the Reverend S. G. Buckingham, Pastor of the South Church of Springfield, Massachusetts, has published in pamphlet form an address delivered by him on "Forefathers Day." Well written the discourse is, but it is open to criticism of a graver character than belongs to a discussion of its style. A New England minister, preaching in a New England Church, on the subject of the founders of New England, and on the New England anniversary, would naturally be expected to speak intelligently on the subject he had chosen; and yet, at the outset, we find him tripping in history, and perpetuating a popular error which has been so clearly exposed that no person, claiming any knowledge of New England history, can be excused for ignorance on the subject. That the "Pilgrim Fathers" were not "Puritans" has become an established fact, though the Reverend Mr. Buckingham does not seem to be aware of it.

On the first page of his pamphlet he says, "The Puritans went over to Holland, and established themselves for a few years in Leyden." Neal, to whom he frequently refers, tells us they were "rigid Separatists—Messrs. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith and Robinson were the leaders." Neal, in his account of the adventurers from Delft-Haven, speaks of Robinson at the "Father of the Independents." (Separatists and Independents are synonymous terms.) According to Baylis, in his *History of Plymouth*, Robinson and his associates, as early as 1602, "entered into a covenant to conform to the doctrines of the Primitive Church, and totally separated themselves from the Established Church;" that he adopted the creed of Calvin; was a "rigid and unyielding Separatist;" and the final arrangement before the sailing of the *Speedwell* was, that they would "be an absolute Church by themselves," and Brewster its ruling Elder. Palfrey places Brewster and Robinson among the early Separatists at Scrooby—the former the most prominent member and the latter as Teacher.

Allen, in his biography of Brewster and Robinson, drawn from the best historical sources, fully confirms the statements of Baylis and Palfrey, yet Mr. Buckingham calls Plymouth "a Puritan colony;" and enumerates Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Brewster, of "Puritan faith," all of whom were "unyielding Separatists." Our author says the Puritans "held to certain superstitious notions like witchcraft," but comforts himself with the reflection that only a score of witches perished. The Separatists held no such "superstitious notions;" and among the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, the law against witchcraft was a dead letter, and no punishment was inflicted under it; and if we may credit Fuller, the belief in the existence of witchcraft among the intelligent people of England was exploded before the beginning of the seventeenth Century.

Reference is made to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, who came over in 1629, and as the shores of England were fading from view, indulged in the following apostrophe: "We will not say as the Separatists are wont to say at their leaving England—'Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome!' but we will say 'Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England.'—We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Churches of England."—Who were those Separatists alluded to by Mr. Higginson? Surely none other but the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower*.

The first organized Puritan community in New England was composed of fishermen at Cape Ann, in 1626, under charge of Roger Conant, who had lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of rigid Separation" (See PALFREY.) These adventurers, the next year, removed to Naumkeag, (now Salem) and were finally under the charge of "John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester."

Small additions were made to the Puritans, up to 1629, when six vessels were dispatched from England with settlers, among whom were Skelton, Higginson, Wright and Smith. From this time Puritan supremacy may be dated. "Greenwood and Penry were put to death," but not as Puritan martyrs, as Mr. Buckingham would infer. They were Separatists (PALFREY).—"Two thousand of the ablest and best ministers of the Established Church were driven out of the ministry and silenced \* \* \* because they could not with truth subscribe to the requirements of such a church." These were Puritans. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jesus, and some other objects of aversion, they thought smelt of Popery and could not tolerate; yet the fat livings of the Church induced the Puritan clergy to hold on to their benefices, while they refused to conform to the established forms of the Church. It has been pertinently said by Lingard. "It will remain a difficult task to show on what just ground men could expect to retain their livings, while they refused to submit to the discipline of that Church by which they were employed." How long would the Reverend Mr. Buckingham remain Pastor of the South Church of Springfield if he held to the doctrines of Arminius?

As Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin and Huss separated from the corrupt Church of Rome, so Barrowe, Greenwood, Brewster, Robinson, and their coadjutors, separated from the hardly less corrupt hierarchy of Henry VIIIth. They did not allow their longing for the flesh-pots of the Church to prevent a total separation. The distinction between the Puritans and Separatists was marked, broad, and clear.

We owe much to the Puritans for free institutions; we venerate their virtues, and their descend

ants look back with pride to so noble an ancestry; but the vindication of the truth of history demands that the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* be not confounded with another religious sect that settled at Salem and Boston some years after, "which was carried away by a superstitious "frenzy" in whipping women and cutting off the ears of men, to convince them of the errors of their religious tenets; persecuting Baptists for opinion's sake; and hanging witches and Quakers for disturbing the public peace.

However excusable these "delusions of the "times" may have been, justice to those noble *Mayflower* Pilgrims and their descendants demands that they bear not the odium of these "delusions."

## II

[From *The Springfield Daily Republican*, May 2, 1867.]

### WERE THE PILGRIMS PURITANS?

*The Cleveland Herald* criticises Reverend Mr. Buckingham, in his *Memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers*, for calling these men "Puritans." The editor says they were not "Puritans," but "Separatists;" that Plymouth was not a Puritan Colony, but one of unyielding Separatists; that "the "first organized Puritan community in New England," was the one that removed from Plymouth, in 1626, "out of dislike of their principles of "rigid separation," and settled first at Cape Ann, and afterwards at Salem; that those who joined this Colony from England, and the settlers at Boston, were mostly Non-conformists in the Established Church at home, and so were "Puritans," but not "Separatists;" and thus the Puritan supremacy in New England was established. And as the persecution of Roger Williams and the hanging of the witches took place in the Massachusetts Colony, the editor refuses to admit that the Plymouth Pilgrims were at all responsible for such intolerance, or that they were Puritans.

We think the Massachusetts Colony must bear its own sins, and this one is not to be laid to the charge of either the Plymouth, or the Connecticut, or the New Haven Colony. And it is noticeable that while the West is holding us to such individual responsibility, instead of allowing us to hide under the virtues of our neighbors, there are those in England also who are calling us to the same strict account. The Lord Chamberlain of London, Edward Scott, has lately delivered and published a valuable address upon this very subject, entitled, *The Pilgrim Fathers neither Puritans nor Persecutors*. He is a thorough Independent and hearty admirer of the Plymouth Pilgrims; but he will not admit that they were guilty of religious intolerance, nor even admit that they were Puritans.

And now the question, in respect to him as well as the *Cleveland Herald*, is, whether the name "Puritan" is properly applied to the Plymouth settlers? Hume says that the appellation "Puritan" stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were political Puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the Puritans of discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal Puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers (iii., 52.) Mr. Scott and the editor of the *Herald* use the term in its most restricted sense, to denote nonconforming members of the Established Church; those who belonged to that Church, but advocated a purer faith and purer form of worship. In this sense, the Pilgrims were not Puritans; they were not members of the Established Church, though they were political Puritans, and doctrinal Puritans, and Puritans of discipline, or averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the Church. But they were already Separatists, and had come out from that Church before they went over to Holland; while the Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and New Haven Colonists, never separated from the Church until they came over here. Still they all became Separatists then. They all held, when they were once over here, substantially the same ideas of religious doctrine, and church government, and civil government. And what is the use of running such a nice distinction, where there is so little difference, and where so little is to be gained by it? If the Plymouth Colony showed more of toleration and less of superstition than the Massachusetts Colony, as we certainly think they did, nobody need object to admitting it. But to say that the former was not Puritan, because it had not lately belonged to the Established Church like the latter, or that the latter was not Separatist, because it had lately separated itself from that Church, as the former had done years before, is a distinction with too little difference. Besides, usage is generally against such a nice distinction. Hume's formal definition, we have noticed, and he speaks of New England as "having been "planted entirely by the Puritans." Macaulay, in his celebrated review of Milton, pays his tribute to the Puritan, as including under that term, Cromwell and all the Independents, who were Separatists from the Established Church. Bancroft styles all the New England Colonies, "Puritan Colonies;" and Palfrey speaks of England under the Commonwealth, as "Puritan England," and of the settlements of New England, as "communities of Puritans." None of them make any such distinction between the Pilgrims and the Puritans, as this writer proposes.

## III

[From *The Daily Cleveland Herald*, May 13, 1887.]

## THE PURITANS AND SEPARATISTS.

*The Springfield Republican* comes to the rescue of the Reverend Mr. Buckingham, whose *Memorial of the Pilgrim Fathers* we criticised on the sixth of April last.

The *Republican* quotes Hume to prove that the appellation—"Puritan," stood for three parties, "which though commonly united were yet 'actuated by very different views and motives'"—intimating that the Separatists, or Independents, were one of those parties; and after discussing the faith and practice of the early Puritans, adds "Hume's formal definition we have noticed, and 'he speaks of New England as having been 'planted entirely by the Puritans.'"

Now the facts in regard to Hume are these: In the first place, he was discussing the state of parties in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles I. The Independents had no party in the Commons at that time, under any name. Their first meeting house in England was founded in 1616. Macaulay says, "In the sixteenth Century 'there was not in the whole realm a single congregation of Independents or Baptists.'" The first emigration to New England, spoken of by Hume, was that of a party of three hundred or more that came to the Massachusetts Colony, about 1629. Neither Hume nor Macaulay mention the Plymouth Colony, the *Mayflower*, nor her emigrants. Hume, in his history of the reign of James I., says: "Puritans were never punished 'for frequenting Separate congregations, because 'there was none such in the kingdom.'" James I. reigned from 1603 to 1625. During that time, John Robinson had gathered his congregation at Leyden, which came to Plymouth in 1620; and Neal says, "Robinson was the father of the Independentists." Up to about this period all Non-conformists were, in derision, called Puritans; but, in the beginning of the seventeenth Century, the Independents and Baptists came into notice and thereafter have been known by those appellations. Hume says; "The Independents were the first 'Christian sect that admitted of toleration, rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and 'would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among Pastors, no interposition of the 'magistrate in religious concerns.'" Hume is a witness the *Republican* has introduced, and it is presumed it will take no exception to his testimony.

It is worthy of remark that Bancroft alludes to the congregation of Robinson and Brewster, when about to leave for Holland, as *Separatists*, and afterwards invariably calls them Pilgrims. The

first Puritans he notices in New England was White, the minister of Dorchester, and Roger Conant, who organized the first Puritan Church in New England, at Cape Ann, mentioned by Palfrey. Bancroft distinctly says White was not a *Separatist*.

*The Springfield Republican* says of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims: "But they were already Separatists, and had come out of the Church before 'they went over to Holland; while the Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven colonists, 'never separated from that Church until they 'came over here; still they all became Separatists 'then.'" They were involuntary Separatists, by compulsion. The world will fail to see any merit in a separation effected by the strong arm of power which was resisted till the last by its victims. The *Republican* continues; "They all held 'when they were once over here, substantially 'the same ideas of religious doctrine, and of 'church government, and civil government. 'And what is the use of running such a nice 'distinction, where there is so little difference, 'and where so little is to be gained.'" Let us examine the subject and see how favorably "the 'acts, and the religious doctrine, and church government" of the Massachusetts Colony compared with the acts and deeds of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony; bearing in mind that we run the parallel no further than the union of the two Colonies; for after that period "like kindred drops 'they mingled into one." The fundamental principles of the Independents are thus laid down by Sir James Macintosh: "They disclaimed the 'qualification of National, as repugnant to the nature of a Church. The religion of the Independents could not, without destroying its nature, be 'Established.—They never could aspire to more 'than Religious liberty; and they, accordingly, 'have the honor to be, first and long, the only 'Christian community who collectively adopted 'that sacred principle."

Lord Brougham pronounced this eulogium upon them: "The Independents, that body much to be respected for their numbers, but far more to be 'held in lasting veneration for the unshaken fortitude with which, in all times, they have maintained their attachment to civil and religious liberty, and holding fast by their own principles, have carried to its uttermost pitch the great 'doctrine of absolute toleration; men to whose 'ancestors this country will ever acknowledge 'a boundless debt of gratitude, as long as freedom 'is prized among us; for they—I fearlessly proclaim it—with the zeal of martyrs, had the 'purity of the early Christians. True to their 'generous principles in Church and State, their 'descendants are pre-eminent in toleration; so 'that although, in the progress of knowledge, 'other classes of Dissenters may be approaching

"fast to overtake them, they still are foremost in "their proud distinction."

The Independents adopted the creed of Calvin, with perfect toleration to all, and practiced what they professed. They rejected not only the forms and ceremonies, but the government, of the Established Church. They ignored all Bishops, Presbyteries, Synods, or Assemblies. Macaulay says: "The Puritans had no quarrel with the Established Church, except that it retained too much that "was Popish." They not only remained in the Church and clung to it with great pertinacity until driven out, but in some cases the Puritan Clergy most discreditably acted as spies, visited the Separatists in prison, and under the guise of sympathy and religious conference, noted down their conversations, testified against them on their trial, and aided in their conviction.

This persecuting spirit they brought over and transplanted in the Massachusetts Colony. It was this spirit of the Massachusetts Puritans that drove Roger Williams into the wilderness, where he found more favor with savages than with Christians, simply for asserting that "Civil magistrates "had no authority from God to regulate or control the affairs of religion." Their intolerant spirit led them to denounce Anne Hutchinson, the most remarkable woman of the age, simply for holding to a "Covenant of Grace" and perfect toleration, of whom a late writer says:

"A woman whose life was as spotless as her "doctrines; who watched with the sick, aided the "poor, breathed hope to the dying:—an example "of the purity she taught—yet the bitter Welde "called her an American Jezebel; whom even the "cautious Winthrop believed to be a minister, if "not a familiar, of Satan; whom the grave Puritans resolved to destroy; and whom they treated "with a persevering barbarity, not surpassed by "a Spanish Inquisition. Their hate pursued her to "her lonely grave; and they sought to hold her "up for the execration of posterity as the heaven-detested enemy of the Church—but whose doctrines of universal toleration are now applauded."

The persecution of the Quakers, as recorded by Bishop, in his *New England judged by the Spirit of the Lord*, is shocking to humanity. The fact of imprisonment, starving, whipping and hanging of Quakers, both male and female, is too notorious to render detail necessary. Isaac Robinson, son of John Robinson, the Leyden Pastor, was disfranchised, together with Cudworth, Hatherley, and many others, for their opposition to the laws against Quakers and harboring Quakers. But it is needless to accumulate evidence to show that the difference between the early Puritans of Massachusetts Colony and the Pilgrim fathers of the *Musflower* was not superficial, but wide, funda-

mental, and irreconcilable. Yet the *Springfield Republican* asks, "What is the use of running "such a nice distinction when there is so little "difference, and where so little is to be gained "by it?" What we propose to gain by it is the "vindication of the truth of history." He who corrects false history, like the person "who causes "two blades of grass to grow where but one "grew before," is a public benefactor. False history, unchallenged, will in time be referred to as evidence to prove events that never happened. We can afford to tolerate the poetical licence of Longfellow's "Puritan Maiden," without a drop of Puritan blood in her veins, or Macaulay's review of Milton, while in his *History of England* he advances no idea that militates against our position. Wereby on History to sustain our view; we leave Poetry and Fiction for the *Springfield Republican*.

#### V.—NEW YORK, IN 1786.

[MR. EDITOR.—I send for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE a letter from Captain-Simeon Covell, a loyal man of the American Revolution, written three years after the peace of 1783, to his friend the Rev. Dr. Harry Munro, another loyal man of that period.

It is, as you will see, only a private letter, but contains such a graphic account of the internal condition of the United States, in 1786, that it may prove interesting to your readers. It shows that the state of things at the North *then*, was nearly that of the South *now*. History has only once more repeated itself.

Dr. Munro, I may add, was the Rector of St. Peter's church, Albany, and was driven from that city for his loyalty. His wife was the elder sister of Chief-justice John Jay. He went to England, and subsequently resided at Edinburgh, where he died a few years after the date of the letter. E. F. D. L.]

DUTCHES COUNTY 1<sup>st</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1786

REVEREND. SIR.

by the mercy of God I arived in Good helth in New Y after a passage of sixty seven days & amediately proceeded to Quakerhill wheir I had the pleasure to find My children well! I find the sperrit of People in general cool towards men of my discription, yet, there remains sufisiant of the more violent, to rendure my Cituation unsafe ware I to be Public, and I beleave the more so from the distress which the People in general feel (Viz) their trade ruined, by various means, which are obvious, to the smallest capassity, by many captures & depredations committed by the Alge-reans, England france and Spain & likewis the dutch Restricting their Navigation so as to rendure it unprofitable Nothing but anarchy & Confution through out, Boston State at present prevented of the exercise of thier own laws, by the mob, Vermont the same, New York State in distress for Bread, by means of a vernuon not much unlike a lows, which for two years past has destroyed all the wheat, so that, the inhabitation buy at New York at 8s 6d <sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> busid to smploy the County of Dutches with bread, formerley such a



wheat Country—however, this calamitey is not considered by any means to be the act of Providence, but rather the Cruil mallace of Great Britian & their adhearance, by Sending jarmain troops whom they Say brought over this insec to distress the land, however Strange it may seem, true it is the People Generally call it the jirmin lows and flatter themselves that they shall sune be rid of them as they had ben of the vile Propegaters—I am preparing & in a few days shall be on the Rout for Canada—with my fameley but I shall take cair to find out the Peticulars Respecting the confiscation of your Lands, tho I cannot myself be known on that or any other buisness, yet I shall imploy others that it may be done—Permit me sir, to acknowledge your favours & attention to me in my buisness when Preparing to leave London I am further to request the favour, that if Doct<sup>r</sup> Munro Should leave England he will be so good as to lodg all the Papers belonging to me in the hands of my frind Colonel Ebenezer Jessup & take his Receipt for them, the receipt Please to Leave with Philip Skeen, Esq<sup>r</sup> at No. five field Row Chelsea—and let me know of the matter by a line Directed to the Cair of Mr Dobry Marchant in Montreal & if anything New or important respecting the loyalists I had forgot to mention that among other Calameties hear in the States, the Indians are dayly Scalping & destroying the back Settlements where Ever it is Said war is declaired & a large force Sent against them my Eyes never saw nor my Ears hear, such complicated Scens of distress—Nothing but complaints and murmerings among all orders & ranks of People, the Congress it seams fault the legislature of the Separate States for not adopting their recommendation, the legislature complains of the public for not holding to & fulley comply with the laws, the vaux popular Clammer that the tax is unsepporable, that if Justice had been done the Sales of the tory Estates would have lessened the burthen in a word Every man seems to incline to do what Ever Suits his turn, theaveing & other crimes of the like Nature, are so Pravailant, that hous nor barn, man or beast, is not Safe Nite nor day, & it seems to be a grooving evil—I consider however that I have already trasposed on time & may on your Patience to read such disagreeable truths—

I am

Sir your Most Divoted  
and obediant Humble  
Servant

SIMEON COVELL

Reverend Doctor HENRY MUNRO

[Addressed.]

REVEREND DOCTOR HENRY MUNRO  
No. 66 Castle St } favoured p  
near Oxford road } the Ship betsey  
LONDON } Watson Master

## VI.—GOVERNOR PHILIP SKENE.

READ BY HENRY HALL, Esq., OF RUTLAND,  
BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
AT WINDSOR, JULY 2<sup>d</sup>. 1863.\*

Philip Skene was never a citizen of our State, but his history for several years is so intimately interwoven with that of South-western Vermont, as a co-colonist, neighboring manufacturer, friend, Yorker, tory, would-be Governor, that our local history would be defective unless furnished with a sketch of his life.

The grandson of John Skene, of Halyards, in Fifeshire, Scotland, he enters the British army in 1739; is in the expedition against Portobello, that year; at the taking of Carthage, in 1741; in the battle of Fonteroy, in 1744; in the battle of Culloden, in 1746; a spectator of the battle of Lafield, in 1737, and arrives in America, in 1756.

On the second of February, 1757, he is promoted to the command of a company in the Twenty-seventh, or Inniskillen, Regiment of Foot, under Lord Loudon; in July, 1758, is wounded in the unfortunate attack by Lord Howe upon Ticonderoga; on the thirty-first of July, 1759, is appointed Major of a Brigade, by General Amherst; and in October of that year, he is left in charge of Crown Point, with orders to strengthen the military fortifications there.

It is in this last station that his adventures first seem blended with those of our predecessors, for now ceasing to be a mere soldier, his active habits, quick observation, and strong judgment familiarize him with the valuable timber, fertile soil, and numerous water privileges of the surrounding territory—he sees, in fancy, the narrow, placid lake vexed with the keels and whitened with the sails of a coming commerce; hears the sounds of the saw and anvil, and the busy hum of industry along its banks. Encouraged by General Amherst, he exerts himself, and lo! he sees the reality before him, in a hamlet of thirty families, numbering perhaps one hundred and fifty persons, at the head of Lake Champlain, near the site of the present village of Whitehall.

But an European soldier, stationed in America during the fierce struggles for colonial aggrandisement, by the rival houses of Hanover and Bourbon, could not always indulge in the halcyon pursuits of the "piping times of peace." In 1762, Skene is ordered to join the expedition against Martinico and Havana; and in the storming of the Castle Moro, he signalizes himself by being the first to enter the "imminent deadly breach." He returns to New York, in 1763; looks after the interests of his infant settlement; goes to England; and, in 1765, obtains a Patent for a large tract of land, under the name of

\* From *The Vermont Record*.

Skenesborough. But, ere long, his regiment is ordered to Ireland. To avoid leaving America, in May, 1768, he exchanges into the Xth Foot; but another order may come, ordering that regiment away, and to escape all future trouble of the kind, he sells out of the army, in 1769; and, in 1770, establishes his residence as a citizen of Skenesborough. The next five years constitute the palmy days of his colonial community—peace prevails, industry flourishes, rude plenty abounds; the population increased to several hundreds. Skene's foresight and executive ability develop themselves in substantial and useful improvements. He opens a road to Salem and Bennington, afterwards known as "Skene's Road;" builds mills for sawing timber and forges for smelting iron, and it was said, a grist mill, a stone barn, one hundred feet long, and an extensive dwelling house.

In the collisions between the Yorkers and the Green Mountain Boys, he does not seem to have been conspicuous; yet, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1774, Governor Tyrone, by advice of his Majesty's Council, directs Philip Skene, J. Munro, Patrick Smith and John McComb, Justices of the Peace for the county of Albany, to try Cockran and fourteen other armed men, for violently assaulting and dispossessing Donald McIntyre and other complainants, of lands granted by New York and improved by them, near Argyle.

Soon comes a contest about the location of the county buildings, in the new county of Charlotte, that included what had been the northern part of the old county of Albany, and extended from the Green Mountains far west of the lake. On the eighth of April, 1772, a petition in favor of Socialburgh, or Rutland, having been read before the New York Council, on the second of February, 1779, petitions were read in favor of Skenesborough, with signers all over the territory, from Crown Point and Middlebury to Bennington; and among them one from Skenesborough, signed by Skene and seventy-one other persons, all tenants of Skene, and therein it was stated that of the three hundred and seventy-nine inhabitants of Skenesborough, forty-four were members of Skene's own family—a state of society suggestive of feudal baronies and southern plantations, rather than of embryo republics.

But a storm is now looming up in the horizon, between the colonists and the mother country, over-riding all domestic questions of jurisdiction or internal improvement. Where will Skene be found in this hour of need and peril to his American neighbors and associates? He, a British soldier for thirty years, for almost a score of years a resident of America, for more than a dozen years a dweller upon the lake, the builder of roads and mills, the political and social "monarch of "all he surveys:" will he who forsook the profes-

sions of his youth and of his pride, for this favorite home in a new world; will he, the descendant of Scotland's great champion, the world-renowned William Wallace, prove recreant to his lineage, and strike with hirelings against liberty? Alas! for his sympathy with humanity. He who fought against his countrymen at Culloden, will be found among America's foes at Bennington and Saratoga.

According to the letter of Edward Mott, Chairman of the Council of War, held at Castleton, on Monday, the eighth of May, 1775, by Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, James Eaton, and others, it was then arranged that Captain Herrick, with thirty men, published account of Herrick's doings, I do not should capture Major Andrew P. Skene, son of Philip, with the party, boats, &c., at Skenesborough—Philip Skene being then absent. Any remember to have seen.

Elias Hall, of Castleton, related the following incidents as having occurred:

Captain North Lee argued with the Council above named, that as Major Skene had been recently appointed Governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, his capture would technically be the capture of those military posts—an argument of course not quite so satisfactory to Allen and the others as their actual capture—but Lee was sent, with about a dozen men to seize the Major, the buildings, &c., at Skenesborough. Arrived at Skene's house, Lee is informed by the family that young Skene is out with two or three gentlemen, hunting. He goes to the place of hunting indicated and finds the gentlemen; but although he is well acquainted with Philip Skene, he does not recognize his son, and inquires for him. Young Skene promptly announced himself; and after hearing Lee's story, submits to be taken prisoner, without resistance. He and his two sisters were sent prisoners into Connecticut.

In June, 1775, Philip Skene is arrested in Philadelphia, sent to New York, thence to Hartford, and paroled in Middletown, Connecticut.

On the fifth of November, 1775, Andrew P. Skene, from on board the British ship-of-war *Asia*, writes to Hugh Gainé, denying that he broke his parole, in his escape from Connecticut, as was published in Gainé's newspaper, a fortnight before, and appealing to the Hartford Convention to corroborate his statement.

Andrew P. Skene reached Quebec in April, 1775.

Philip Skene's parole expired in May, 1776. Towards its expiration, various rumors unfavorable to the propriety of his conduct being in circulation, the Governor and Council of Connecticut appointed a Committee to investigate the matter.

The Committee waits upon Skene, and finds some circumstances indicating secret clandestine transactions, not sufficiently patent to convict him of

actual overt offense, but suggestive of the danger of leaving so capable and hostile a man at liberty, to plot against the country.

Among other and more serious and dangerous things, it appears that Skene's negro man, John Anderson, had heard of the elections of Governors; and the idea having been suggested to him by another negro, that he might be elected Governor of the negroes in Connecticut, he promised to pay twenty dollars in treating, if elected. The story circulates; and at Skene's, the day before election, Skene promises half a joe, and his guests two dollars each, to pay Jack's election and expenses; but the whig negroes refuse to elect a tory Governor. Yet the treat and the fun must be had, and therefore Jack must be Governor somehow; and so his Excellency, Mr. CURT, of Hartford, claiming to have been Governor of his State's negroes for the last ten years, issues a commission in writing, drafted by an illiterate white soldier, duly appointing John Anderson his gubernatorial successor, with a sufficient array of interesting darkey witnesses; and thereupon—election day being over—the *colored persons* have a good time, an evening dance and treat—John Anderson pays the bill; and what seems magnified by rumor, a sinister tory conspiracy, exploded in smoke.

But the Governor and Council of Connecticut, alarmed at the possible injury Skene may do, very wisely require him, in his new parole, to agree, not only to stay in Middletown, the place of his choice, but also not to do anything, directly, by correspondence, or otherwise, to injure the common cause of the United Colonies. This he positively refuses to do, and therefore on the twenty third of May, 1776, he is imprisoned.

On the eighteenth of July, 1775, William Pitkins, of Hartford, writes Governor Trumbull that for ten days he has kept a night watch at his powder mill, at an expense of seven shillings per night, because, he said, "threats have leaked out from Skene and other inimical monsters, that it should be destroyed if art or money could effect it."

During the summer, arrangements are made for the exchange of Skene for James Lovell: during the delay in Lovell's arrival from Halifax, it is as late as the sixth of October, when Washington writes to Sir William Howe, that on the following day, he should send Skene on board of one of the ships-of-war in the North River.

In the resolution of Congress, and in the correspondence of Washington and Howe, upon the subject of his exchange, Skene is always called "Governor Skene;" and in an obituary notice in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, he is called "formerly Lieutenant governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and Surveyor of His Majesty's woods and forests bordering on Lake Champlain."

On the twelfth of August, 1776, Richard Varick writes from Albany to General Gates, that he has procured "three new-sails, which were ordered to be made for the schooner *Liberty*, on Lake Champlain, by Governor Skene, before the commencement of his misfortunes."

On the twenty eighth of December, 1779, Skene writes from New York to Governor Trumbull, for the release of his two servants, Litchfield and Ludlow, alleging as reasons therefor that they had not and would not bear arms; and saying, among other things, that "the inhabitants of Skenesborough are all my tenants under rent."

In the beginning of the year 1777, he returns to England; volunteers to join the army of Burgoyne; and we next find him, after the evacuation of Ticonderoga and the battle of Hubbardton, at Skenesborough, under Burgoyne, with the rank of Colonel, and for seventeen days, Skenesborough House is Burgoyne's headquarters.

And what may we imagine his sensations to be, after two years exasperating absence, returning as a conquering enemy among his old tenants and neighbors, the beloved scene of his former labors and successes? Is he flushed with the insolence of triumph? Does he see himself, in prospect, reinstalled lord of a wild realm? his wealth and power increased in reward for persistent loyalty and signal services for the Crown?

A hundred days later, his dreams will vanish; but now, the present county of Rutland and all North of it lie at the mercy of the British army, and Burgoyne may almost work his will therein.

The extent of his ambition and hopes is indicated by the following, to wit:

The Legislature of Vermont being in session at Windsor, the fourteenth of February, 1781, the House, in Committee of the whole, Honorable Joseph Bowker, Chairman, made a report in which these memorable words occur, viz:

"And, whereas, it appears by the best accounts hitherto obtained, that there was a government established by the Crown of Great Britain, before the era of America Independence, including all the lands this State at present exercises jurisdiction over, as also a much greater western extent, over which Governor Philip Skene was to have presided," etc., etc.

The report of the Committee was no bold assertion or idle dream, ingeniously urged as argument. Evidence exists, already published, that Skene had been at work, founding this new empire, assisted by William Gilliland; and the work upon Gilliland, now in course of preparation, by Mr. Joel Munsell, of Albany, will probably more fully disclose the particulars thereof. In view of this chapter of our early history, what becomes of New York's claim to exclusive jurisdiction over Vermont?

The Vermont delegation at the Chicago Presi-

dential Convention did not support Mr. Seward. When a delegation from our State waited upon the new Secretary of State, in March, 1861, they were tauntingly told that Vermont was founded in secession. The good taste of this is patent to all—its utter falsehood may be made more apparent by a full knowledge of Skene's history.\*

To return from this digression, Skene is the man of all others in the British army, regular or provincial, upon whom reliance is placed for council and guidance in all matters relative to the conquest and government of the people inhabiting the present counties of Rutland and Bennington, from his knowledge, both of the people and the territory.

On the tenth of July, 1777, Burgoyne issues a Proclamation, commanding the inhabitants of Castleton, Rutland, Hubbardton, Tinnmouth, Wells, Pawlet, Granville, &c., to send ten or more delegates from each town "to meet Colonel Skene at Castleton, on Wednesday, the fifteenth of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, who will have instructions not only to give further encouragement to those who complied with the terms of my late manifesto but also to communicate conditions upon which the persons and properties of the disobedient may yet be spared." Two days later, Burgoyne's order reads, "Governor Skene is appointed to act as Commissary, to administer the oath of allegiance and to grant certificates of protection to such male inhabitants as sue properly for the same, and to regulate all other matters relative to the supplies and assistance that shall be required from the country, or voluntarily brought in."

On the sixth of October, the order reads: "The department allotted to Colonel Skene, by the order of the twelfth of July, becoming too extensive and complicated to be executed by one person, Mr. Daniel Jones and others are appointed to act as his assistants, and among them to constitute a board or office, a quorum of which is to be three, to sit every morning at headquarters, when the army is not marching, to receive, discuss and regulate the applications of inhabitants and other persons coming in from the enemy, respecting protections, sale of cattle, enlistments, and other purposes, taking care to form distinct reports to be laid before the Lieutenant-general, of such cases as do not come within the limits of their instructions to determine."

\* We rather fancy that it would not have been very difficult for the distinguished Secretary of State to have proved what he is said to have "tauntingly told" the Vermont delegation on that occasion; and if he had added still more severe words to the catalogue of Vermont's early transgressions, he would have been entirely within the limits of the Truth. *Vermont needs prudence while discussing her early history; and less arrogance on the part of her sons, while thus engaged, would add vastly to their credit before an intelligent and impartial world.* ED. HIS. MAG.

On the eleventh of August, Reverend Mr. Brudenel and Major Skene are added as assistants. But a famous expedition under Lieutenant-colonel Baum, is about to invade Vermont; and the German commander needs a guide and counselor, and perhaps a quicker brain than his own, to accompany him. Burgoyne thus instructs him: "Colonel Skene will be with you as much as possible, in order to assist you with his advice, to help you to distinguish the good subjects from the bad, to procure you the best intelligence of the enemy, and to choose those people who are to bring me the accounts of your progress and success."

To Skene he issues instructions, from which we extract the following viz.: "Sir, I request a favor of you, to proceed with Lieutenant-colonel Baum, upon an expedition of which he has the command, and which will march this evening or to-morrow morning.

"Lieutenant-colonel Baum is directed to communicate to you the rest of his instructions, and to consult with you upon all matters of intelligence, negotiation with the inhabitants, roads and other means, depending upon a knowledge of the country for carrying his instructions into execution. I rely upon your zeal and activity for the fullest assistance, &c., &c."

During the campaign under Burgoyne, Colonel Skene had his horse twice shot under him—he shared the fate of all the survivors of that once terror-inspiring army, being made a prisoner at Saratoga.

Of the remainder of his life little can be gathered. He was attainted and his estate confiscated by the Legislature of New York, in 1779. It is said that once after the war was over, and while George Clinton was Governor of New York, he revisited this country and endeavored to regain his property. Failing in this, he returned to England, and there lived in retirement until he died, on the ninth of October, 1810, at Addersy Lodge, near Stoke Goldington, in the county of Buckingham, at how patriarchal an age we do not know; but we do know that his death occurred three score and eleven years after he first began the life of a soldier.

## VII.—THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.

*General Wool on General Scott's Autobiography.*

TROY, NOV. 30, 1865.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

In the Autobiography of Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, in reference to the capture of Queenstown heights and its battery, on the thirtieth of October, 1812, the following statement will be found:—

The General says, pages fifty-eight and fifty-nine:—"And now it was that Lieutenant-colonel Scott—whose light batteries, commanded by Captains Towson and Barker, had partially diverted the enemy's fire from our boats—was permitted, at his repeated solicitation, to cross over and take command of our forces in conflict with the enemy. Fortunately, he made the passage, accompanied only by Adjutant Roach, of his battalion, with but little hurt or damage. The heights and battery had been previously carried by detachments of the Sixth Infantry, under Captain Machesney; of the Thirteenth, under Captains Wool, Armstrong, Ogilvie and Malcomb; one of the Twenty-third, under Major Mullany; a company of light artillery, under Captain James Gibson, supported by Lieutenant Thomas B. Randolph, with one six pounder and some New York militia. Captain Wool had been disabled by a wound in ascending the heights. Captain J. G. Totten, of the Engineers, was also with the troops, qualified and ready for any duty that might fall to him. It was a little before this time that Major-general Brock, Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and the Secretary of the Province, Colonel McDonald, fell at the foot of the heights, while gallantly leading up from the mouth of the river, a body of York volunteers, with a number of additional Indians."

Lest the statement of the illustrious autobiographer, he being one of the few survivors of the period to which it refers, may be received by many as the truth of history, justice requires that the authenticated reports of the affair of Queens-town should not be overlooked.

The following history of the first detachment that crossed the Niagara river, at the time referred to by Lieutenant-general Scott, with the Report of Major-general Stephen Van Rensselaer to Brigadier-general Smyth, his letter to Captain Wool, and the Report of Lieutenant-colonel John Chrystie to the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, will show under what circumstances and by whom the heights of Queenstown and the battery were "carried." Also, when and where "Major-general Brock and Colonel McDonald fell."

On the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1812, two detachments, a part of the forces designated as "a forlorn hope," to "storm the heights of Queenstown," landed before daylight, on the Canada shore, a short distance above Queenstown village. One detachment, one hundred strong, as officially reported, was under Lieutenant-colonel Van Rensselaer, and the other, of three companies of the Thirteenth Infantry, one hundred and eighty rank and file, under Captains Wool, Malcomb and Armstrong. Both detachments landed at the same time, under fire from the enemy, who immediately fled towards the village.

Soon after, Colonel Van Rensselaer ordered the troops to move forward preparatory to "storming the heights," but halted them at the base. While waiting further orders, the Thirteenth Infantry was attacked, as Tupper, the historian of Major-general Brock, says, by "sixty of the Forty-ninth Grenadiers and Captain Hall's company of militia, under Captain Dennis, of the Forty-ninth, with a three pounder." Captain Wool, the senior in rank and the commanding officer in the absence of Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, wheeled his detachment and confronted the enemy, who, after a short but severe contest, fled in the direction of Queenstown. In this contest, the Thirteenth lost two meritorious and gallant officers, killed, Lieutenants Valteau and Morris, and four severely wounded, Captains Wool, Armstrong, and Malcomb and Lieutenant Lent, and forty-five of the rank and file, killed and wounded. Of the militia, Lieutenant-colonel Van Rensselaer received four wounds, supposed at the time to be mortal, in consequence of which he ordered the troops to the shore of the Niagara. At daylight or soon after, the troops being exposed to the fire from the heights of "Captains Williams's and Chisholm's companies," Captain Wool sought Van Rensselaer to ascertain if something could not be done to relieve the troops from the fire, from which several of his men had been killed and wounded. Van Rensselaer replied he knew of nothing but the capture of the heights. Captain Wool, although severely wounded—having been shot through both thighs—volunteered to undertake the enterprise. Van Rensselaer was unwilling to accept the offer, because of the "inexperience and youthful appearance of the officers, and the highest in rank only a Captain;" yet he consented, and Wool received his instructions. Accordingly, with two hundred and forty men, including officers, and a small detachment of artillery, under Lieutenant Randolph, and Captain Ogilvie, with his company, who had just joined, he ascended the heights; surprised Captains Williams's and Chisholm's companies, who ran down the heights; and captured the battery. Major-general Brock and his two aides-de-camp (as Tupper says in his history) were in the battery when the Thirteenth fired into it, and barely escaped capture. "They had not even time to mount their horses, but precipitately ran down the heights." On arriving at the village, General Brock organized a force under Captain Williams, and again ascended the heights, and drove back Captain Wool's forces to the edge of the precipice, which they had a short time before ascended, where they were rallied, and in turn repelled Brock, and again drove him and his forces part way down the heights, where he rallied his favorite corps, the Forty-ninth, and again advanced to regain his lost position. At that moment,

he was joined by Colonel McDonald, with two companies of York volunteers from Brown's Point; and at the instant when he ordered McDonald to "Push on the York volunteers," he fell. The Colonel, obeyed the orders of his beloved chief, and "with the hereditary courage of his race, charged "up the hill," but he was repelled by the Thirteenth Infantry, when he and the Attorney-general of Upper Canada fell, mortally wounded. "The flank companies of the Forty-ninth having "suffered severely, and both the Captains being "wounded, the troops retreated in front of Vromont's battery," some distance below Queenstown and the crossings of the river, leaving eleven prisoners, including an Indian Chief, in the possession of Captain Wool. Soon after, Captain Wool was joined by Captain Lawrence, of the Thirteenth, and Captain Machesney, of the Sixth Infantry, who was introduced to Captain Wool by Lawrence. At no time previous to this, had Captain Machesney been with the troops that carried the "heights and battery." Also Lieutenant Smith joined with thirty Rochester Rifles. The latter, while passing through Queenstown, released Lieutenant-colonel Fenwick, Major Mullany, and one or two other officers, who had been captured while crossing the river. Mullany crossed to Lewiston; but Fenwick was too severely wounded to be moved. About the same time, a number of officers arrived on the heights, with a detachment of militia—among others Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, who took command of his detachment the first time after it left Lewiston. Captain Wool, being nearly exhausted with the loss of blood and the fatigues of the morning, after getting his wounds dressed by Assistant-surgeon John McCall, by order of Colonel Chrystie, crossed to Lewiston.

Thus a condensed, but, as is believed, true and faithful history is presented of the gallant services rendered by the first two detachments which crossed the Niagara Strait, on the morning of the thirteenth of October, 1812, and of the officers and men of the Thirteenth Infantry, two hundred and forty strong, who "carried the heights and "battery," and afterwards defeated Major-general Brock, when he and Colonel McDonald fell, not at the foot of the heights nor previous to the capture of the battery, as stated by Lieutenant-general Scott. The officers who participated in these gallant achievements will be discovered in what follows from Reports of Major-general Van Rensselaer and Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie. Major-general Van Rensselaer, in his Report to Brigadier-general Smyth, dated the twenty-fourth of October, 1812, says:—"I conceive it a duty I "owe to myself, to merit, and to the service, to re- "commend to your particular notice and favor, "and through you, Sir, to Major-general Dearborn, "the following brave officers who distinguished "themselves in the first detachment of troops who

"were engaged in storming the redoubt on the "heights of Queenstown, on the thirteenth instant:—Captains Wool and Ogilvie; Lieutenants "Kearney, Carr, Huganin and Sammons, of the "Thirteenth Infantry; Lieutenants Randolph and "Gansevoort, of the Artillery."

The name of Lieutenant Reab and Assistant-surgeon John McCall should have been added.

General Van Rensselaer addressed to Captain Wool the following letter, dated the twenty-fourth of December, 1812:—

"SIR—In my official despatch to General Dearborn, I was not sufficiently informed to do justice to your bravery and good conduct in the "attack of the enemy on the heights of Queenstown. The manner in which you meet and repulsed the troops of General Brock, with the "party under your command, merits the notice of "Government, and I hope your promotion will "stimulate others to emulate your example."

Lieutenant-colonel John Chrystie, in his Report, dated the twenty-second of February, 1813, on his return as prisoner of war, to the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, made the following statement, in a detailed report of the affair of Queenstown. Referring to the first engagement, the capture of the heights, and the defeat of General Brock, he says—"In this affair, Captain Wool, of the "Thirteenth, a gallant officer, commanded, and "displayed a firmness and activity in the highest "degree honorable to him. Captain Ogilvie and "Lieutenant Kearney, Second-lieutenant Randolph, of the Light Artillery, and Carr and "Huganin, of the Thirteenth, and Ensign Reab "were also highly distinguished. On the part of "the British, General Brock and his aid, Colonel "McDonald, fell; both of the officers of the "Forty-ninth were wounded; and they lost about "twenty or thirty prisoners, mostly wounded."

By all which it will be perceived that only three of the officers named by Lieutenant-general Scott, in his *Autobiography*, page fifty-eight, ascended the heights and carried the battery. These were Captains Wool and Ogilvie, and Lieutenant Thomas B. Randolph; and no other officers named by the General appeared on the heights, until after the defeat of General Brock and his troops had retreated to Vromont's battery. It will also be perceived that Major-general Brock and Colonel McDonald did not fall "a little before," but *after* the heights and battery had been carried. See page fifty-nine of the *Autobiography*,

JOHN E. WOOL.

## VI.—"NEAR FORT POPHAM"

MR. EDITOR,

Your correspondent H., in the September number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, appears to

have taken much pains to make the geography of the region in which Fort Popham is situated, contribute a little support to his conjecture—for his assertion amounts to no more—about the first English occupants on the shores of Maine. It is perhaps well for him to do this for his own pleasure: but as he brings no proof to maintain his positions, there need be no great alarm occasioned by the repetition of the calumny upon the memory of the colonists at Sagadahoc. How much value is to be attributed to his degree of respect for this ancient enterprise, may be seen from his readiness to take up “traditions that the water ‘formerly flowed between Bath and Topsham ‘and New Brunswick;’” which description of what has been handed down from ancient days exhibits a singular confusion of imagination, reality, and geography.

There is no need of a tradition to show that Bath and Topsham were once separated by water, when everybody in the region knows that *they are now* separated by the broad sheet known as “Merry-meeting Bay;” and all who know this fact believe that the respective territories have been so disjoined ever since the Androscoggin began to carry its many waters through this bay, to the Kennebec and the ocean. And as to Bath being “formerly” separated from “New Brunswick” by water, as the tradition states, if the writer means the British Province of that name, there certainly needs no tradition to sustain the fact, as all know that the half of Maine and more, with many a river, lie between them.\* But, if he means Brunswick, then the New Meadows runs between them, as it has done since the time when that arm of the sea was first formed. The “sandy marsh, once doubtless the bed of the ‘sea,’ of which he speaks, divides only one part of Bath from another part. When local geography is brought in as an aid to show Popham’s settlement to have been a “penal colony,” it would have been better if the testimony had been made to bear correspondence with well-known facts. But the theory is a lame one, and the geography adduced is just its equal.

The allegation about “the advent of a penal colony to the shores of Maine,” is neither new nor terrible. When it has the shade of a shadow of evidence to support its “*obiter dictum*,” or whatever else it may be named, excepting truth, it will be time to examine it. But, until then, no citizen of Maine need sleep any the less soundly because of words that have been the commencement of a fictitious history, but no proof of a true one.

\* It is proper for us to say, in this place, that when “H.” received a review of this article, he attempted to correct what in this case was evidently a clerical error in his manuscript; but his letter containing the correction did not reach us until after the sheet had been printed. *ED. HIST. MAG.*

Your correspondent speaks of “The Popham” claims, to whose support the Maine Historical Society has had the misfortune to be committed by a portion of its members.” Now this Society is quite capable of taking care of its own reputation, and needs not the help of any correspondent from the Allequippa House, at Small Point Harbor. Annually has this Society given its countenance to “the claims” that this Colony was the first English Colony in the New England of John Smith’s Map, and has bestowed its generous aid for publications in vindication of these “claims,” from certain charges, issued from a neighboring State, against the character of the colonists. The Society is by no means frightened yet, especially as these claims are gaining friends every year.

As to the legal opinion connected with the statement of Judge Bourne, relative to “shore” and “island,” very little need be said; inasmuch as the formal occupancy of the territory of North Virginia took place on solid land, on a peninsula called a demi-island, by one of the old writers, and “*presque-isle*” by this last. This solid foundation is enough for the purpose of the settlement. Judge B. can take care of the legal question.

He says we magnify “the laws to be observed ‘and kept’ into ‘a Proclamation of the Laws ‘of England.’” Well, what were they if not the Laws of England? Surely they were neither Indian nor French: not the Statutes of the Realm, but Laws to regulate the Colony—English Laws, in harmony with the Law of the Mother land, and appropriate to the action which a subsequent Patent refers to as an “actual possession of the ‘Continent.’”

There are several remarks made as if disparaging to the persons who have taken part in the commemorations. Richard Seymour must not be called by them “Reverend,” because “little ‘more than a boy,’” as though all persons who have just passed into manhood were not always little more than boys.

“The cabin where they met for religious services becomes a *Church*”—the very name which Strachey gives it. “Every hut is of course ‘a ‘house’”—“of course,” because Strachey says “they built fifty howses and a store-howse;” and why should not others adopt his words?

Of the imaginations about a Cathedral, an Episcopal Palace, and a Market house, there is no need to say more than that they have the same degree of credibility as is due to the “penal ‘colony,’” and no more. All alike want proof which no well-appointed Library has ever yet supplied, to sustain any one of them, nor the additional charge that “a historical crime” has been committed by the “inscription attached to the ‘walls’ of Fort Popham.”

If the language of the writers in defence of the Colony seems "to swell beyond a legitimate idealization," as your correspondent represents, we are consoled in the belief that our descriptions are warranted by the facts; and when he refers to "the more modest and rational views" of Doctor Willis, the former President of the Historical Society, we can reply that he has never asserted the penal character of the Colony, and never will do what others have done; and that is, to make an allegation unsustained by proof.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

B.

VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

77.—FROM HON. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT TO HON. JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN.\*

BOSTON, March 21, 1843.

DEAR SIR.

I received yesterday a letter from your Publishers on the subject of the account of the Engravers for my portrait. It would seem from the tenor of the letter that the Publishers ordered the work in my name. This was, perhaps, a little irregular, as the person who is made the subject of a portrait and biography is supposed, I presume, *pro forma*, not to know anything about the matter. This, however, makes no difference in regard to the substance of the transaction. I have always wished and intended, as I wrote to you at the time, to pay for the engraving. At the present moment I regret to say, that it is not in my power to do this. I do not mean merely that it would be inconvenient to me, but that I have not at my disposal the amount required for the purpose, and have no means of procuring it immediately. The payment of my salary at the College ceased, in consequence of the embarrassments of the institution, about the time when this transaction took place. I have received nothing of any consequence from that or any other quarter. I am now living without expence with my family connexions until the result is known in regard to the future condition of the College: and am, of course, in no condition to pay debts of any kind.

I trouble you as a personal friend with these details, and will thank you to speak to your Publishers on the subject and request them not to press the matter at this moment. I suggested to them in a late letter that they might consider the amount due from me a lent account or balanced by that due to me from the establishment for contributions. I see no reasonable objection to this as a temporary settlement: but without regard to

any such arrangement, I shall most cheerfully pay them the amount in cash, as soon as I have it at my disposition. In the mean time I am perfectly willing to furnish an equivalent in contributions at any rate of compensation, which you or they may think reasonable.

I remain, dear Sir, very truly yours,

A. H. EVERETT.

[Addressed]

J. L. O'SULLIVAN, Esq.,  
NEW YORK.

78.—MAJOR HENRY LEE TO ROBERT GILMORE.\*

ALEXA June 15th

SIR.

I called the other day at Baltimore on my way from Annapolis to see you & to place in your hands funds to meet my draft in case the note remitted to you was unproductive—But your absence prevented your son's finding the note. I shall be here again in a few days when I hope to meet your answer that I may save you farther trouble from your polite attention to my accommodation—

I am &c

Very resply

Your ob. S<sup>t</sup>

HENRY LEE.

[Addressed]

ROBERT GILMORE Esq,  
Merchant  
BALTIMORE.

79.—AARON BURR TO CH. BIDDLE.†

N YORK 12 Dec 1802.

MY DEAR SIR

I thank you for your politeness to Irving—on his return he will renew the acquaintance and bring you the news from Washington.

He is really an amiable young man and possesses honor, spirit and intelligence—Motives of interest had very little influence in making him an Editor—

Seeing very often in your newspapers ground rents advertized for Sale, it has occurred to me that a property of that kind which I have might find a market with you—I never knew such a thing bought or sold in this city: Having rented a number of my lots for long terms, generally sixty years, I now find it convenient to sell 1000 or 1200 dolls per ann—of these rents—They are all payable quarterly,

\* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.  
† From the original belonging to John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, New York.

\* From the Collection of the Long Island Historical Society.



the lots lay contiguous to each other and houses are built on the greater part—The rents are at an average 30 dolls per lot. If you should be disposed to purchase, name your price and direct Hamilton, who knows the title, to see that all is right. If required, I would guarantee the punctual payment of the rents for 3, 4 or 5 years—Tell me if Jas<sup>s</sup> Greenleaf has come to town or be yet up at Allentown.

I have a claim on him in which I shall probably have occasion for the aid of your son Wm I wrote to J. G two or three weeks ago, but have received no answer

Your affec Svt  
A BURR

CH BIDDLE ESQ

80.—FROM JAMES MONROE TO GEORGE GRAHAM.\*

OAKHILL, Oct<sup>r</sup> 8. 1825.

DEAR SIR,

Some months since at the request of Mr Bayly of this county, a neighbour whom I esteem requested me to make known to the Dep<sup>t</sup> of War, his desire that his son Richard P. Bayly, should be considered a candidate for a place at the academy at W. Point, when the next vacancies are supplied. I wrote immediately to Mr Clay, who was then in the city, & requested him to have his name enrolled, with the assurance on my part that the youth had every fair & just pretention, founded on his previous studies & good qualities. I give this letter to the young man, to be presented to you by him, knowing that you are acquainted with his father, with a request that you will be so kind as to call with him on Colonel Barbour, & in case his name has not been enter'd, that you will have it done, with such representation, in his favor, in addition to what I have stated, as you may deem proper. I am

Dear Sir sincerely yours  
JAMES MONROE.

[Addressed]

GEORGE GRAHAM ESQ<sup>s</sup>  
WASHINGTON.

81.—HENRY CLAY TO JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.†

WASHINGTON 9th Feb 1837.

DEAR SIR

I received your favor of the 6th inst. and feel obliged by the suggestions with which you have

avored me, on the subject of Copyright. I fear that it will hardly be practicable to do anything at this Session, or, if any thing, more than to provide prospectively for the security of literary property in such works as may *hereafter* be published by foreign authors. Perhaps that is as far, in regard to them, as we ought to go at any time.

As to Dramatic works, there will be more difficulty. There is much equity in exacting from the Managers of Theatres a fair compensation for that publication of a play which takes place in its public exhibition; but, then, suppose they have purchased some half a dozen copies, charged with the Copy right, for recitation, preparation, &c. Can the law rightfully restrain the oral use which they may make of the property which they have acquired in those Copies?

I have not yet seen Mr. Bulwer's law, and will endeavor to get a sight of it. Perhaps it has justly reconciled the interests of Authors and the rights of the Theatre.

In great haste, but with high respect  
I am Your ob Seryt  
H. CLAY.

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE, ESQ.

## IX.—THE FIGURE HEAD OF THE *GENERAL ARMSTRONG*, PRIVATEER.

[SIR.—Last year, the Naval Library and Institute, at the Navy Yard, Boston, Mass., had added to its Museum the veritable Figure Head of the famous Privateer, *General Armstrong*. It was accompanied by the following letter from our worthy and much respected Consul at Fayal, C. W. Dabney, Esq., which I think has sufficient Historical interest to find a place in the columns of your Magazine. P.  
CHARLESTOWN, MASS.]

FAYAL, April 10, 1867,

DEAR SIR :

On the 6th inst., I had the gratification of receiving your letter of the 3rd January ult., informing me that I had been unanimously elected an honorary member of the Boston Naval Library and Institute. The nature of the Institute, and the members that have hitherto and now compose it, are a warrant of my high appreciation of the honor thus conferred, and I pray you to convey to all those who have in any way cooperated in promoting this agreeable event, the expression of my grateful sense thereof.

Having in my possession an object of historic interest, connected with an event that shed so much lustre on our country, it affords me great pleasure to place it in the custody of the Faculty of the Boston Naval Library and Institute. It is a bust—the figure-head of the *General Armstrong*.

The morning after the extraordinary victory of Capt. Reid, officers and men, over the thirteen boats manned from the *Pantagenet*, *Rata* and

\* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the original in the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

*Carnation*, having had their baggage and stores landed, a nine-pounder was discharged down her main hatchway, and she was abandoned. The water was so shallow that all above deck was out of water. The *Carnation*, brig-of-war, had been brought close in, and was firing grape-shot at the *A.*, when the boatswain of that vessel deliberately walked down with his mate, to the beach, oppositè to where the vessel was stranded, and declared that they (the then enemies) "shouldn't have the figure-head!" He came provided with a hatchet, swam off to the vessel, (about fifteen feet) got on board, cut off the head, and brought it on shore! While he was doing it the mate waited on the beach, somewhat screened from the shot by the hull of the vessel. On their return, when running along the beach to where I was—protected by an angle of the fort, with many others who had been watching them—the mate was seen to fall, as if mortally wounded. I immediately sent two men to convey him to the hospital, where it was ascertained that a grape shot had cut the muscular part of one of his arms, and another had taken off part of the calf of one of his legs. Both were severe wounds, but not dangerous.

The bust was placed over one of my father's gates, and on all subsequent Fourths of July it has been decorated with flowers. The religious sentiment predominates here: after the installation of the bust, the lower class inferred that as we had but one great holiday, it must be the representation of the corresponding saint; and our domestics intuitively assumed the demonstrations of our regard. Actuated by a vainglorious feeling, the object has been left out in the cold too long. It has been subjected to some severe surgical operations, evidently performed by "charlatans" unworthy of their profession.

Confession and repentance are great extenuators; may they screen me from the censure I deserve, and may those on whom will devolve the future care not have occasion to make such mortifying avowals! I offer sincere wishes for the prosperity of the Institute, and assure you that I am,

Respectfully and truly,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES W. DABNEY.

HENRY C. KEENE, Esq., &c. &c.

Secretary of the Boston Naval Library  
and Institute,

CHARLESTOWN.

## X.—HATFIELD BRIDGE.

[We have received from our friend, Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College, North Carolina, the following extract from a sermon preached on the occasion of the opening of this bridge, on the twentieth of October, 1897.

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This sermon was preached by Rev. JOSEPH LYMAN, D.D., Pastor of the church at Hatfield, from the following text: "Go through, go through the gates; prepare you the way of the people: cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people." ISAIAH, lixi, 10.

A copy of this sermon was requested by the Proprietors of the Bridge,\* and on their order it was subsequently printed by William Butler of Northampton. It forms a pamphlet of sixteen pages; and from a copy which has found its way into the library of Davidson College, this extract has been taken.

Professor Rockwell very aptly inquires concerning this Sermon, "Where but in New England would a minister of the Gospel be found to make the erection of a bridge, at 'most a few hundred feet in length, a theme for a religious 'discourse?'"

ES. HIST. MAG.]

An intelligent friend† speaking of the uncommon zeal and activity of the people in opening canals, making roads, and establishing stages, said: "*This labor will not be lost; we are at work for those who will live in the Millenium.*" Could we all be persuaded to make our discoveries, exertions, and enterprises useful to others; did we calculate on a large scale for the comfort and preservation of life, and for the interest of future generations, we would have the satisfaction of an approving conscience as working for Christ and his kingdom; and then we might be assured that our labor would not be in vain in the Lord.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

While we contemplate the wisdom and goodness of our admirable Savior in directing the dispensations of Providence and the inventions and labors of men to the benevolent purposes of his moral government, and in preparing the world for the full participation of his promised grace, let us not pass unnoticed those wonderful improvements and extensive enterprises which the present age has witnessed in the construction of numerous magnificent Bridges over our most rapid and dangerous rivers. The number, the strength, and security of these structures exceed the most sanguine hopes and calculations of our fathers. Half a century passed, credulity itself would not have meditated these enterprises nor dreamed of their success. The throwing of Bridges across the *Connecticut* would, a few years since, have been treated as an ideal and romantic projection. But we are this day convened to acknowledge the goodness of Providence in the finishing and opening of the

\* At a legal meeting of the Proprietors of Hatfield Bridge, holden by adjournment, at the house of Dr. Daniel White, in Hatfield, on the 20th Oct., 1897.

Voted, That Samuel Dickinson, Esq., Mr. Nathaniel Smith, and Major Caleb Hubbard, be a Committee to return the thanks of this Corporation to the Rev. Dr. Lyman, for his elegant and appropriate sermon this day delivered, and to request a copy thereof for the press.

Attest:

CALVIN MEERILL, Clerk.

† The late pious and venerable Timothy Stone, of Lebanon Conn.

fifteenth Bridge\* erected over that magnificent and potent stream.

This is the happy event which has brought us into this house of God, to make our humble acknowledgements to him for succeeding this expensive and beneficial work; to indulge our friendly feelings towards one another; to testify our cordial approbation of this laborious effort of human skill, perseverance and public spirit; and to unite our sincere wishes and cordial prayers, *that the benefits of this work may be permanent and coextensive with the most sanguine expectations of the proprietors, patrons, and exectors of this laudable enterprise.*

It is a good work—may the good Lord add his blessing to it, and preserve it, as one among his innumerable instruments of promoting the enjoyments, of exciting the thankfulness, and increasing the filial dependence of his creatures upon his unerring wisdom and fatherly kindness.

In recollecting the progress of this labor, we should notice with submissive resignation, the many delays, embarrassments, and losses which have attended the execution of it. But all these embarrassments and losses we should hold in small account, had not the inscrutable counsels of our Father in Heaven made this work the occasion of the sudden and disastrous death of our valuable friend, Mr. SOLOMON BOLTWOOD. This active patron and principal of the design, precious to his family and connexions, and a valuable member of society, was here called to finish his earthly toils and go into the immediate presence of his God and Judge. Thus is the life of man endangered in his most useful employments; thus our pleasures are interspersed with griefs; thus would God teach us all that we have a work to do, infinitely more important and interesting than any worldly project.

It would be neither pious nor reasonable, that our grief at the losses and bereavements which have accompanied this labor of love, should stifle and suppress our temperate joys on the completion of a design of such public utility.

We gratefully approve that constant perseverance, active zeal, and expensive liberality which inspired the *Proprietors* of this structure to encounter and surmount those various embarrassments and difficulties which threatened the abortion of their enterprise; and that enduring patience which enabled them to bring to maturity the object of their wishes.

*The Directors* to whom the management of this concern was entrusted are for their fidelity entitled to the esteem and approbation of the public, and of their immediate constituents.

*The Contractors, Artificers, and Laborers* who have finished this work, have given lively spec-

men of mechanical skill, of diligence, and of punctual honor and honesty in executing their trust, and have merited and obtained the confidence of those who had committed to them their important interests and their property.

I am warranted to tender the sincere thanks of the Directors and Corporation to *those numerous individuals*, in this and the neighboring towns, who have gratuitously aided this weighty enterprise by pecuniary contributions and personal labors. To these pecuniary aids and personal labors are the public much indebted for their useful accommodation.

We, in particular and with gratitude, acknowledge the generous and paternal interposition of the *Legislature of this Commonwealth*, by granting to the Corporation a Lottery for raising ten thousand dollars to relieve the Proprietors, oppressed with their losses, and to ensure to the Community a most important benefit which was in hazard of being lost.

May the *liberal benefactors* of this design, enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of seeing all their benevolent wishes completely realized in the most durable and extensive advantages to society and individuals.

HATFIELD-BRIDGE, this day opened for public use, may be viewed as a specimen of human art and skill, of what great and noble projects may be accomplished by liberal zeal and a constant, pertinacious perseverance. It is an ornamental monument of the public spirit of the projectors and of the talents and ingenuity of those who have executed the work.

This is not a monument to perpetuate the name of some imperial butcher who has founded his fame and his greatness on the bones of his subjects and slaves; who claims rank in the page of history for having trampled down authorities, sacked cities, impoverished and made desolate countries and kingdoms, once flourishing in peace, and joy, and plenty. This is not a monument raised at the expense of the freedom and independence of nations and cemented with the tears and blood of men; a standing memento of past sufferings and of the present servitude and degradation of God's rational creatures.

No. *This Bridge*, erected under the fostering care of Providence, is devoted to those benevolent purposes which accord with and promote the designs of God's love to men. It is erected to be a bond of friendly union to the citizens of neighboring towns; to facilitate and render safe and expeditious social intercourse; to preserve valuable property from peril and loss; to relieve from solicitude, and apprehensions, and torturing fears, the minds of travellers and their friends; and to be the useful instrument of saving the lives of men and animals.

Under these views, we may justly consider this

\* Can any one tell where the other fourteen were? E. F. R

structure, *an essential public benefit*. It is coincident with the goodness of God to men. It is not a futile, vain effort of human pride. It is not the progeny of avarice. It is not an instrument of loss and suffering. It is to be reckoned among those useful labors of men, and those kind events of Providence, by which the aggregate sum of human felicity is increased and the subsistence and numbers of mankind are multiplied.

May the God of Heaven and the Redeemer of men own, accept, and bless the labor of our hands and make this, one link of that golden chain which is suspended from his throne and reaches down to this footstool. May this be one of those numberless, effectual preparatory steps which shall lead on the auspicious day of man's renovation and blessedness, of that day in, which all the inventions and employments of men, all their faculties and property, shall be *Holiness to the Lord*.

And, now, my friends and fellow Christians, permit me to conclude this address with my fervent prayers to the God of all grace, that all you of this assembly may be as a city, compact together which cannot be broken down; that you may be builded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner Stone: in whom all the building, being fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord.

And when the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved, may you have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Amen.

#### XI.—OLD NEW YORK REVIVED.—CONTINUED.

##### 21.—THE "BOZ" BALL.—CONTINUED.

###### 4.—*The Reception.\**

A few weeks ago the following editorial paragraph appeared in the LEADER:

"When Charles Dickens visited this city, his 'Reception Committee (with a red badge)' were Messrs. Philip Hone, Robert H. Morris, Charles A. Davis, D. C. Colden, William Kent, Thomas J. Oakley, Wm. H. Maxwell, Valentine Mott, John W. Francis, John C. Cheesman, and Prosper M. Wetmore. When he arrives he will be greeted by only one of them: all but General 'Wetmore are dead. The General is like 'kind 'words' which 'never die' (as the Sunday 'scholars sing), and the General bestows kind 'words alike on friend and foe."—*N. Y. Leader*.

[MR. WETMORE'S REPLY.]

Thank you, Mr. Editor, for the pleasant words with which you have awakened some sleeping thoughts of five and twenty years ago.

May not the last survivor of the little band who wore the "red badge" be excused for calling up the living memories of an event which has scarcely yet lost its interest?

The censors of public taste in these later times must not be too severe on the enthusiastic crowds which welcomed Boz, in 'Forty-two. A live celebrity then had other proportions than are worn in 'Sixty-seven.

Mr. Dickens came to us in all the freshness and vigor of his great genius. Every household had become familiar with the creations of his wondrous power. The opulence of his mind was beyond all former example in walks of fiction. The productions which he poured upon the reading world, with the lavish hand of a master of his art, were of exhaustless interest and marvellous truth to nature. The generation of our people which had grown up with the progress of a severer and less exciting literature, opened its heart at once to an author in whose train followed Pickwick, and Nickleby, and sweet little Nell. Was it strange or unbecoming that such a writer, coming from a distant land, should receive a cordial welcome at the hands of those whose minds he had filled with delight, whose hearts he had warmed with the touching pathos of natural affection, and whose moral sense he had stimulated and enlarged by his faithful and instructive teachings?

Mr. Dickens at that period had not long passed the verge of early manhood; and the lapse of five and twenty years has neither diminished the powers of his mind nor weakened the attractions of his pen. Each successive year of our lives has been made populous with new creations that have sprung from his teeming brain. Surely, then, the enthusiasm of his former reception has been vindicated by his subsequent career in a branch of literature where he has no superior.

Can it reasonably be doubted that, when he comes to illustrate a new feature of his talents, he will be welcomed with equal cordiality by a new generation, which has learned to love truth and nature and instinctively admires and honors genius?

I put aside altogether the question whether we can, as a people, afford to build a personal quarrel on the words which an author may choose to utter in regard to our national peculiarities. I think we are a good deal above that weakness.

There are other thoughts belonging to this subject on which perhaps you will suffer me for a moment to dwell. Those who were designated to receive and welcome Mr. Dickens, and who have since departed from our midst, were among the most eminent and esteemed of our citizens of that day. In looking over the list reproduced by you, Mr. Editor, each one of the number seems to start up vividly before my mind, with all the freshness

\* From *The New York Leader*.

of life and the deep interest of a strong friendship for I knew them well. Will you permit me to pass in review, as briefly as possible, the names on that record?

Philip Hone was remarkable in many aspects of his character. A life devoted to the active pursuits of business as a merchant had yet afforded him leisure and inclination for the cultivation of a taste in letters and a love for art. Generous and hospitable by nature, he delighted to welcome at his home all who had become distinguished in literature or other intellectual accomplishments. The struggling artist whose pencil needed encouragement; the sculptor without a patron; the author whose manuscript had found no publisher; each was ever certain of a kind word of judicious advice, and frequently something more substantial, from Mr. Hone.

He rose, also, above the prejudices which sometimes restrain the courtesies of society within very narrow limits. The actor who had adorned his profession by his genius without staining his personal character, and the actress whose walk of life had not sullied the purity of her womanhood, had always a cordial appreciation in his considerate hospitality. Many a delightful entertainment has been enjoyed at his table in company with those who, having worn the honors of the green-room, could happily bring the charms of intellect, manners and conversation to embellish the circles of private life.

Chief magistrate of the city for one short term, Mr. Hone left upon the duties of that office the impress of his integrity, intelligence and delicate sense of the proprieties of official station. It was his good fortune to hold office at the period of General Lafayette's triumphal visit to our city. The superb hospitality extended by the Mayor of New York to the guest of the nation will not easily be forgotten by those who were permitted to witness its graceful completeness, and to hear the faltering accents of thankfulness which added an enduring charm to the occasion.

Robert H. Morris, one of a family closely connected with the events of the Revolutionary era, was better known while mingling with the stirring political events of his day than in any other relation to the public. A member of the legal profession, he was Mayor of the city at the time of Mr. Dickens's visit, and had previously filled the office of Recorder with ability and credit. He was prompt and efficient in public business, impulsive in manner, warm in his attachments, and possessed in an eminent degree that rare power of extemporaneous eloquence which successfully holds an audience and goes far to sway a party. Few men have ever enjoyed more fully the confidence of his associates and friends, in public and private life, than did Robert H. Morris. He died in the maturity of his powers and usefulness.

Charles Augustus Davis was a merchant extensively engaged in foreign commerce. His standing on 'Change was among the first, but he had a soul above and beyond the boundaries of trade. Early in life, he discovered that his pen was adapted to other uses than to frame invoices or to sign bills of exchange. The letters of Major Jack Downing at once attained a wide celebrity, and secured literary distinction for their author. Sharp and pungent criticism on public men and measures, written in a quaint style of orthography and expression, made up the substance of these semi-anonymous publications; and their effect was frequently felt in the warm discussions of their day. It is not known that Mr. Davis extended his writings beyond the range of these letters. He was prominent for many years in most of the active movements of the business community, during which his public spirit was frequently evinced. His polished deportment and genial manner made him an especial favorite in the business and social circles of the city.

Grandson of the old Colonial Lieutenant-governor, son of one of the most respected and honored of our elder citizens of a past era, David C. Colden was a man to be loved and remembered for qualities that adorn human nature. It would be difficult to call to mind a more perfect gentleman—modest, accomplished, generous, and honorable. Mr. Colden mingled rarely in the mere business concerns of life, but, with the advantages of fortune and position, he was alive to the active influences which spring from a graceful recognition of what the community owes to talent, and genius, and personal distinction. Always ready and earnest in movements that called forth public spirit and awakened public appreciation, his influence was widely felt and acknowledged. It would be a difficult task to find another qualified and worthy to fill the place left void by the death of David C. Colden.

But how shall I presume to speak of Thomas J. Oakley and William Kent? The one filling the highest place in public estimation as an upright and learned jurist: the other by his gentle demeanor, polished manners, and large erudition, worthy to accept the mantle dropped by his venerated ancestor. I must leave to your skilful and more appropriate handling, Mr. Editor, the duty of depicting the characters of Judges Oakley and Kent.

Who that remembers the person of William H. Maxwell, does not recall with pleasure the joyous nature of that soul of wit? How he filled a company with irrepressible hilarity! While in the practice of the more serious duties of his profession at the bar, he was a staid and grave counsellor; but in the companionship he loved, his exuberant humor was such that the preservation of all power of face in his listeners was at an end.

We have rarely known so effective a story-teller; certainly not one who could so completely merge his identity in the narrative he was giving of the thoughts, words, and actions of another. This peculiar gift rendered Colonel Maxwell a much-courted favorite in the society with which he lived. His loss was deeply felt, and has not been supplied. "Alas, poor Yorick!"

Valentine Mott and John C. Cheesman, though not, strictly speaking, cotemporaries, yet both filled a high position, side by side, in the ranks of science. Doctor Mott was by many years the elder, and was, beyond question, regarded, at home and abroad, as the most skillful operative surgeon of his time. But lately departed, at an advanced age, he left the example of a long life earnestly and steadily devoted to the best interests of humanity. Attached to the Society of Friends in his early youth, he was noted for the scrupulous and staid demeanor which distinctly marks its members. Doctor Mott, on his return from a tour in Europe, published an interesting account of his travels, which attracted a good deal of attention.

Doctor Cheesman, at an early age, became prominent as a skillful and popular surgeon, and during his not protracted life maintained a high reputation as an upright and useful citizen.

The last of these notable men was so widely known, admired, and loved, that any effort of mine would vainly seek to add to the lustre of his name. John W. Francis was among the most distinguished of the physicians of our city, and held his place at the head of his profession to the end of his long and brilliant career. He had followed in the footsteps of that grand old class of doctors which comprised Hosack, Post, Kissam, and a few others of the same stamp, the reputation of whose practice had come down to us through the traditions of almost a century. But it was in other relations that Francis enjoyed an almost unequalled repute. He was the custodian of our local history, and his veneration for antiquity was largely developed. His Sunday evening reunions collected together all that could interest and instruct those in search of knowledge or pursuing the studies of science. The town has not yet recovered its sober reason since Francis told us, at the Historical Society, all the musty legends and antiquarian stories of the last fifty years of its imposing career. The city and the country were alike ransacked for scrap prints and autograph letters to illustrate the pages of that marvellous work. The illustrating disease had, in fact, become an epidemic, which has scarcely yet abated of its virulence. Pictures of the men, and engravings of the places, mentioned by the good Doctor, have been sold at fabulous prices, and the demand remains unchecked.

But, while we thus not irreverently applaud the labor of our city's historiographer, we must not

in our lighter phrases undervalue the beneficent generosity of his nature or the expansive benevolence which marked his character through life.

There were numerous episodes in the agreeable duty of welcoming Mr. Dickens. The ceremonies of reception were conducted at the Park Theatre, under the benign auspices of that most estimable of managers, Edmund Simpson. Peace to his manes and a kind word to his memory.

Following the reception came the elaborate dinner at the City Hotel; and then ensued numerous private entertainments at the houses of prominent citizens. One of these latter, given at a mansion on University-place, chiefly lives in my memory from the excitement produced by a superb address from James T. Brady, in which he brought vividly before the company several of the most prominent characters portrayed by Mr. Dickens. We all know that Mr. Brady never fails to arrest the attention of his auditors, but it may be doubted whether even he has ever excelled the wondrous effect of that brilliant effort.

But this tedious detail would still be incomplete without an allusion to something quite remarkable in its way. As soon as it became known that Mr. Dickens would visit us, a club was organized by the gentlemen who shone in that day as the representatives of the Press—in other words, the reporters. With these were mingled several well-known men about town, a sprinkling of popular actors, and a few others with no special claim to such a distinction. The club numbered nearly or quite fifty members, and it bore the rather incongruous name of "*The Novelties*." Why, whence, or wherefore that became its designation, I never knew or succeeded in finding any person who did know. The ostensible object of the organization was to render due honor to Mr. Dickens; and this was accomplished by giving him a pleasant entertainment in Park-row. I recall vividly the wonders of that society. After the first formation (and it was always amazing to me by what unmerited stoop of good fortune I was permitted to join its ranks) the principal duty of each successive meeting was to blackball every candidate presented for admission. Scores were rejected ignominiously every night, comprising among their number many who would have conferred credit on the concern. The prevalent idea in the minds of the larger portion of the members seemed to be that the existing organization, though without special limitation as to numbers, was complete in itself, and contained all who could by any possibility be considered worthy of such an exalted association. These rigid notions became somewhat ameliorated after the departure of Mr. Dickens, and the club survived that event for a considerable time. When it expired or whether it lives to this day I am sadly ignorant, and would gladly repair the fault.

And thus ends my story of the reception. If you can, amidst all your more serious avocations, find time to wade through this interminable recital, you certainly must be a man capable of bearing very trying inflictions. And with affectionate solicitude, therefore, in your behalf, I remain,  
P. M. W.

## XII.—NARRATIVE OF A FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEE IN BOSTON, IN 1687.

[The following interesting paper was published, during last November, in *The Liberal Christian*, the widely known organ of the Unitarians in New York.

From the fact that the Rev. Doctor Bellows, one of the editors of *The Liberal Christian*, was then on the Continent of Europe, it is not improbable that the paper reached the United States through that gentleman; but of that we cannot speak with certainty since no other editorial notice accompanied it than the following:

"The following narrative is to be found in the collection of documents in the library of Geneva, and was first published last February, by the French Protestant Historical Society, in their department of hitherto unpublished papers relating to the Reformation. The name of the author is unknown. A phrase or two seem to indicate that he was a native of Languebec. Having set out for America two years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when already numbers of emigrants were turning in the same direction, he was commissioned to collect on the spot such advices as might serve to guide his comrades in the faith, and facilitate their establishment in the land of exile. His narrative, divided into three parts, one of which is unfortunately lost, is nevertheless of the liveliest interest. It consists of the simple, honest impressions of an intelligent observer, who notes everything in his passage, omitting no useful hint, the route to be taken, the price of land, the relative value of money, soil, climate, the various productions, institutions already established, complete statistics, both material and moral, of a dawning community."

By the grace of God, I have been in these blessed regions, in perfect health, since the seventeenth of the last month, after a passage of fifty-three days, reckoning from the Downs, which are twenty leagues from London, to Boston, and I may say there are few vessels which make the passage in so short a time. Our voyaging was most fortunate, and I can say that, excepting three days and three nights when we had a great storm, the entire remainder was only agreeable and delicious weather; for one and each brought joy to our bark. Wives, daughters, and children came almost every day to enjoy themselves on the poop-deck. We had not the pleasure of fishing on the Banks, because we did not come upon them; we passed them fifty leagues to the South; our course was almost always from East to West. We passed in the latitude of the Fejalles, distant about sixty leagues; these are islands belonging to the Portuguese, and are four hundred leagues from England. If there were no fear of the corsairs of Sales (*sic*), who often cruise about these islands, vessels would often come to anchor in these harbors; but these pirates are the cause of vessels holding a course at a distance from the North shore. We met a number of ships at sea, some coming from the Banks fishing, others from

the islands of America; among others we met a ship belonging in La Rochelle, which was coming from Martinique, laden with sugar, and which had previously made a voyage to Guinea, whence it had brought one hundred and fifty negroes, and two Capuchin fathers who had been obliged to abandon their post in Guinea, in view of the little progress they there made. Almost the entire crew and the Captain are Protestant. They came to our vessel in their launch, and promised us they would soon come to see us in Boston, in order to make reparation for having unluckily succumbed [at their post.] They told us, moreover, that almost all the Protestant inhabitants of the French islands have gone; we have several here in Boston, with their whole families. By a ship arrived from the islands we have news that the greater part of our poor brethren who had been conveyed to St. Martin island, have found refuge in St. Eustace island, which belongs to the Dutch, and there is hope that the rest will soon be there. You will have learned, no doubt, that one of the three ships that transported these poor brethren, was lost, and from her only the crew were saved. May God pardon these cruel men, who are the cause of these sorrows, and convert them!

By another ship arrived from New York, we have letters notifying us that the Governor [of *Quebec*] had written a highly indignant letter to the Governor of New York, the grievance being that he had supplied munitions to the Iroquois who are at war with the French, saying that, if he maintained his assistance of them, he should come and see them this winter. The Governor of New York made him such reply as he deserved; and at the same time ordered a levy of three to four thousand men, all English (not being willing to draw off the French from their new settlements where they have need of great assiduity in their work), to go into camp this winter on the frontier and observe the movements of the French. The Governor of Virginia has orders to hold himself ready with as many men as he could raise, to come to his assistance, in case there should be need. I believe the same orders are here; Boston alone can furnish fifteen thousand fighting men, and if what is told me is reliable, she can furnish twenty thousand. If any other news transpires, I shall not fail to communicate it. I reply now concerning the matters with which you were pleased to charge me on my departure, at least, those about which I have already received information.

Firstly, to come into this country, you should embark at London, whence a ship sails every alternate month. The fittest season to embark is the end of March; or, the end of August and the beginning of September are the true seasons, more especially because it is neither too warm nor too cold, and you are then no longer in the season of

calms, which are frequent in summer, and which cause vessels to spend four months passing thence. Beyond the fact that the heats often occasion sickness on board, there are no fatigues to undergo, when one has by him good stores of refreshments, and of all kinds. It is well, too, to have a surgeon on the ship on which you take passage, as we had on ours. In regard to the dangers, care must be taken to embark on a good vessel, equipped with an ample crew and with cannon, and well provided with victual, above all, that bread and water are not lacking. As for the route, I have said sufficient above; there is no danger except in nearing the land, and on the banks of sand found on the way. We took soundings in two places, off Cape Sable, which is on the coast of Port-Royal or Acadia, where we found ninety fathom. At that time we were only twenty leagues from land; we stood off, and came upon St. George's Bank, which is eighty leagues from Boston, and there found one hundred fathom. From that point, we took no more soundings, for three days after we sighted Cape Cod, which is twenty leagues from Boston, on the southern shore; and the morrow, we arrived at Boston, after having fallen in with a number of very pretty islands that lie in front of Boston, most of them cultivated and inhabited, which form a very fine view. Boston is situated at the head of a bay, possibly three or four leagues in circumference, shut in by the islands of which I have told you. Whatever may be the weather, vessels lie there in safety. The town is built on the slope of a little hill, and is as large as La Rochelle. The town and the land outside are not more than three miles in circuit, for it is almost an island; it would only be necessary to cut through a width of three hundred paces, all sand, which, in less than twice twenty-four hours would make Boston an island washed on all sides by the sea. The town is almost wholly built of wooden houses: but since there have been some ravages by fire, building of wood is no longer allowed, so that at this present writing very handsome houses of brick are going up. I ought to have told you, at the beginning of this article, that you pay in London for passage here twenty crowns, (2s. 6d.) and twenty-four if you prefer to pay in Boston, so that it is better to pay here than at London; you have one crown over, since one hundred pounds at London, are equal to one hundred and twenty-five here, so that the twenty crowns one must pay at London are twenty-five here, by reason of the twenty-five per cent., and twenty-four is all one has to pay here; this increase in the value of money is a great help to the poor refugees, considering the little they bring.

2d. There is here no religion other than the Presbyterian, the Anglican, the Anabaptist, and

our own. We have not any Papists, at least that are known to us.

3d. I will reply to the third Article touching the R. when I shall be better informed.

4th. Boston is situated in forty-two and a half degrees, North Latitude. At this writing, it is daylight at six o'clock in the morning, and night at six o'clock; I mean the break of day, there being nearly an hour of twilight till the rising of the sun.

5th. I make no reply to your fifth Article, not having as yet been through the country. In two days I am to set out for Noraganzet. On my return, with God's help, I will tell you of the goodness and fertility of the soil and what grows thereon.

6th. In regard to acquiring land, that which is taken up in the Noraganzet country costs twenty pounds, sterling, per hundred acres, cash down, and twenty-five on terms in three years; but payment is not made because it is not known whether that country will remain in the hands of the proprietors, wrongly thus called, or belong to the King. Until this matter may be decided, no payment will be made; in all cases one cannot be obliged to pay more than the price above mentioned, and in accordance with the terms of contract approved before the town-mayors. We are even assured that if the King holds the land, the price will be nothing, or at least very little, the Crown contenting itself with a small reservation, provided that what one can sell and let will be one's own property. The Nicmok country is the private property of the President, and land there costs nothing. I do not yet know the quantity they give to each family; some persons have told me, from fifty to one hundred [acres], according to families.

7th and 8th. To be answered.

9th. It rests with those who wish to take up land to take it in one of the two countries on the seashore, or in the interior. The Nicmok country is in the interior, and twenty leagues from Boston, and an equal distance from the sea, so that, when they wish to send or receive anything from Boston, it must be carted. There are little rivers and ponds around this settlement, fruitful in fish, and woods full of game. M. Bondet is their Minister. The inhabitants are as yet only fifty-two persons. The Noraganzet country is four miles from the sea, and consequently it has more commerce with the sea islands, as Boston \* \* \* [*Two words illegible*], and the Island of Rodislan, which is only ten miles away. This island, they tell me, is well-settled, and with a great trade, which I know of my own knowledge. There are at Noraganzet about one hundred persons [of the faith]; M. Carre is their minister.

10th. You can bring with you hired help in any vocation whatever; there is an absolute need



of them to till the land. You may also own negroes and negresses; there is not a house in Boston, however small may be its means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good living. You employ savages to work your fields, in consideration of one shilling and a half a day and board, which is eighteen pence; it being always understood that you must provide them with beasts or utensils for labor. It is better to have hired men to till your land. Negroes cost from twenty to forty pistoles [*the pistole was then worth about ten francs*], provided they are skilful or robust; there is no danger that they will leave you, nor hired help likewise, for the moment one is missing from the town, you have only to notify the savages, who, provided you promise them something, and describe the man to them, he is right soon found. But that happens rarely, their quitting you, for they would know not where to go, having few trodden roads, and those which are trodden lead to English towns or villages, which, on your writing will immediately send back your men. There are ship captains who might take them off; but that is open thievery and would be rigorously punished. Houses of brick and frame can be built cheaply, so far as there being materials, for the labor of workmen is very dear; a man cannot be got to work for less than twenty-four pence a day and found.

11th, 12th, 18th. To be answered.

14th. Pasturage abounds here. You can raise every kind of cattle, which sell very well. An ox costs from twelve to fifteen crowns; a cow, eight or ten; horses, from ten to fifty crowns, and in plenty. There are even wild ones in the woods, which are yours, if you can catch them. Foals are sometimes caught. Beef costs two pence the pound; mutton, two pence; pork, from two to three pence, according to the season; flour, fourteen shillings by the one hundred and twelve pound, all bolted; fish is very cheap; and vegetables also; cabbage, turnips, onions, and carrots abound here. Moreover, there are quantities of nuts, chestnuts, and hazlenuts, wild. These nuts are small, but of wonderful flavor. I have been told that there are other sorts which we shall see in season. I am assured that the woods are full of strawberries in the season. I have seen quantities of wild grape-vines, and eaten raisins of very good flavor, cured by one of my friends. There is no doubt that the vine does very well; there is some little planted in the country, which has put forth. There is difficulty in getting the European vine. If some little could be had, much more would be planted. Those who mean to come over thence, should strive to bring with them of the best.

15th, 16th, 17th, 18th. To be answered.

19th. The rivers are very full of fish, and we

have so great a quantity of sea and river fish that no account is made of them. There are here craftsmen of every kind, and above all carpenters for the building of ships. The day after my arrival, I saw them put into the water, one of three hundred tons, and since, they have launched two others somewhat smaller. This town here carries on a great trade with the islands of America and with Spain. They carry to the islands flour, salt beef, salt pork, cod, casks, salt salmon, salt mackerel, onions, and oysters salted in barrels, great quantities of which are taken here; and for their return they bring sugar, cotton cloth, molasses, indigo, sago (*sic*) and pieces of \* \* \*. In the trade with Spain, they carry only dried fish, which is to be had here at eight to twelve shillings the quintal, according to quality; the return cargo is in oils, wine, and brandy, and other merchandise which comes by way of London, for nothing can be imported here, coming from a foreign port, unless it has first been to London and paid the duty, after which it can be transported here, where for all duty one-half per cent. is paid for importation, since merchandise for exportation pays nothing at all.

20th. To be answered.

21st. You must disabuse yourself of the impression that advantages are here offered to refugees. In truth, in the beginning, some subsistence was furnished them, but at present there is a need of some for those who shall bring nothing. At Nicmok, as I have before said, land is given for nothing, and at Noraganzet it must be bought at twenty to twenty-five pounds sterling the hundred acres, so that whoever brings nothing here, finds nothing. It is very true that living is exceedingly cheap, and that with a little, one can make a good settlement. A family of three or four persons can make with fifty pistoles a fine settlement; but it needs not less than that. Those who bring much, do well in proportion.

22d and 28d. To be answered.

24th. One can come to this country, and return the same as in Europe. There is the greatest liberty, and you may live without any constraint. Those who desire to come to this country, should get themselves naturalized (*Fridanniser*) in London, in order to be free to carry on business in any sort of merchandise, and to trade with the English islands, without which they cannot do so.

25th, 26th, 27th. To be answered.

The articles to which I fail to reply are those of which I cannot give any account, because it is necessary to inform myself exactly, and to see for myself. I have told you above that the money of London gives a profit of twenty-five per cent. Although this advantage is noted, it is nevertheless better to bring merchandise upon which there is a gain of one hundred per cent. including the twenty-five exchange; for merchandise is bought

here only by barter, and if you give money, it is in no respect to your advantage. On another occasion, I will give the prices of merchandise, and the kinds proper for this country here, a thing I cannot do as yet, having only just arrived. If I had arrived a month or two earlier, I should have been able to see the crops of this country. I have been here long enough to have seen a prodigious quantity of apples, from which they make a marvellously good cider. One hundred and twenty quarts cost only about eight shillings, and at the inn it is sold two pence the quart, two pence the quart, beer measure. There is an inferior quality which costs only five or six shillings, one hundred and twenty quarts. I am to take rooms with one of my friends, and have our meals in common, for the winter, which, they all tell me, is here very rough and long, and the summer extremely warm, a thing I shall make trial of, if God grants me the favor of passing it, and giving an exact account of all things.

At Boston, the 15—25 of November, 1687,

### III.

Since my arrival only two vessels have left by which I did myself the honor to write to you. My first letter was dated the 15—25 November, 1687, in which I did reply to several Articles of your memorandum, and in this I will try to reply to some others. My second letter was of the 1st December, in which you will have had the exact narrative of my voyage made to Noraganzet, and the number of families who are there established.

I have replied to the second Article of your memorandum touching the religions; but I did forget to tell you that there is here a temple of Anabaptists, for as to the other sects of which I spoke in my narrative from Noraganzet, it is only for that country and not for Boston, for we have here no religion other than the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist, and our own. As for Papists, I have discovered since being here, eight or ten, three of whom are French and come to our church, and the others are Irish; with the exception of the surgeon, who has a family, the others are here only in passage.

3d. Of this third Article I have as yet no good knowledge, although I have exact information of those persons who are in some sort distinguished from the others, and who I have thought ought to enlighten me. However, they know nothing, perhaps are designedly ignorant; at all events, there is no doubt that all is subject to the orders of H. B. M. and that we refugees are here in entire security. We have here no Court, except a Presidential one, which gives judgment in civil and

whenever he pleases; and it is he who holds the casting vote. Within a short time they have increased the duties on wine; such as ordinarily paid only ten shillings the pipe, pays thirty at present; and the tavern keepers who paid only fifty shillings a pipe for the wine they sold, pay at present one hundred and one hundred and twenty a gallon for brandy, thirty pence a barrel for cider, and thirty pence a barrel for beer. As for other merchandise, it pays as usual half per cent. Besides this Presidial [*Court*], there are eight Justices of the Peace who are for civil cases that come up in the town. Not that they can wholly settle any case; if the parties like litigation they appeal to the Presidial, or to the Council of twenty-four which is assembled only in matters of the highest importance,

5th. I can reply to this Article only in part, not having yet seen fruit on the trees; but I know very well that for fig, orange, lime, olive, pomegranate, almond and mulberry trees, there are not any, the country being too cold. Nevertheless, I can assure you that I have passed winters in Lanquedoc more severe than this one. We have had but very little ice, and snow twice, a foot deep each time. It is also true that some English people have told me that it has been fifty years since they have seen a winter so mild; but what I admire in this country is, that it never rains more than three days of the month. Ever since I have arrived, I have remarked it; after which you have clear days, a fine, fresh air, which causes one to see very little sickness, and many people of good appetite. The land here is of varying quality, as I have already told you. There is some sandy (soil); all the rest produces very well. They gather here quantities of Indian corn, which is worth at present only sixteen pence the bushel; they gather also wheat, corn and rye, but not in great quantity, and all these do very well; vegetables also; as for the vine, it will do very well; it has only to be planted. There is a barge arrived from Fayal which has brought some plants. The French strive as far as they can to have it brought, some the black, others the yellowish, others the red, the sandy (colored) excepted.

7th. The ground is tilled with the plough, and after the ground is well prepared, a hole is made in the ground with a stake, and four or five grains of Indian corn are put in. The holes are equally distant from each other. When the corn is high, the ground at the foot is hilled as much as possible, in order that the wind may not cut it (down), when it comes to be laden with ears. Other grain is sown as in Europe.

8th. Land here is charged with no tax, up to the present time. I told you of the manner it can be obtained, at Noraganzet. There are here divers French families who have purchased Eng-

laws and  
ditional  
Council

lish residences all built, and which they have got exceedingly cheap. M. de Bourepos, brother to our minister, has bought one fifteen miles from here, and at one league from a very pretty town, and where there is a great trade, which they call Salem, for sixty-eight pistoles, a pistole of ten pounds [*the pound (livre) replaced by the franc was about twenty cents*] French. The house is very pretty, and it never was builded for fifty pistoles. There are seventeen acres of land all cleared, and a little orchard. M. Legau, a French merchant goldsmith, has bought one twelve miles from here toward the South, on the seashore, where he has a very pretty house and ten acres and a half of land for eighty pistoles, a pistole of ten pounds of France. He has also his share in the Commons, where he can send his cattle to pasture, and cut wood for his needs, and for selling here, it being conveniently sent by sea. Similar chances offer every day; and farms to be let on shares as many as you will, and at a moderate price. M. Mousset, one of our French people, finding himself burdened with a family, is renting one on shares which they gave him for eight pistoles a year; there is a good house, and twenty acres of cleared land. He can make six or seven barrels of cider, and the owner gives him the profit of two cows. If our poor refugee brethren who understand tilling land, should come thence, they could not fail of living very comfortably and getting rich, for the English are very inefficient, and understand only their Indian corn and cattle.

### XIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places, and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*]

WASHINGTON'S OPINION OF TALLEYRAND.—It is known to all that TALLEYRAND sojourned for a time in the United States, and during that period was honored by the acquaintance and friendship of many among the most eminent of our public men. In illustration of this fact a correspondent has obligingly furnished us with a copy of a note, addressed by President WASHINGTON to the Marquis of LANSDOWNE, who, it appears, had given to TALLEYRAND a letter of introduction to the latter. *National Intelligencer.*

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 30, 1795.

MY LORD: I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter introducing to me M. TALLEYRAND PERIGORD.

It is matter of no small regret to me that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest

towards that gentleman the sense I entertain of his personal character and of your Lordship's recommendation. But I am informed that the reception he has met with in general has been such as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe. Time must naturally be favorable to him everywhere, and may be expected to raise a man of his talents and merit above the temporary disadvantages which, in revolutions, result from differences of political opinions.

It would be painful to me to anticipate that the misfortunes of Europe could be the cause of an event which, on every personal account, would give me the truest satisfaction—the opportunity of welcoming you to a country to the esteem of which you have so just a title, and of testifying to you more particularly the sentiments of respect and cordial regard with which I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

The Right Hon. Lord LANSDOWNE.

REPUBLICAN LETTERS FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—The *Journal of Commerce* published, some years since, the following letters, received from its Washington correspondent, to whom they were originally written:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3, 1823.

R. WALSH, Esq., Philadelphia:

MY DEAR SIR:—Of the Cunningham correspondence, what can I with propriety say? That I was privy to no part of it?—this is true. That my father's letters are full of the tenderest affection and parental partiality for me? Be it so. These expressions of his regard and sympathy were as much unknown to me as to the public, till after the death of W. CUNNINGHAM, last May. I had known WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM in my youth; but since I went to Europe, in 1794, I had never to my recollection seen him but once, and that was at my father's house, in 1804. I had no correspondence with him; and, although I have an indistinct recollection of having heard that in the winter of 1808-9, he was endeavoring, ineffectually, to obtain the publication in the Boston *Palladium*, a Federal newspaper, of some essays in commendation of me, I neither desired nor thanked him for these favors, nor did I know the motive by which they were inspired at the time.

The correspondence, as published, is garbled. I sailed for Russia in 1809, on the fifth of August. There is a letter from CUNNINGHAM, written about a fortnight before that time, in which, noticing my approaching departure, he *hints* a wish to go with me. Neither his letter nor his wish was communicated to me; and that passage in his letter is omitted from the publication.

There is omitted, also, a passage in my father's *last* letter to him, which discloses the cause of CUNNINGHAM's treachery. It was because my father declined to recommend him to Mr. MADISON, for an appointment to office. The patriotism of the son flinched from the publication of these two passages.

As to the publication itself, it is a very simple case of confidence betrayed; and as I attribute much of WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM's baseness to partial insanity, I have no doubt that his son's had the same source, with the *consent* of Romeo's apothecary. The public sentiment appears to have done full justice to the *dishonesty* of the publication, but of what is public, electioneering partizans will make what use they can, without inquiring through what channels it became so.

I am very much disposed to rely upon the sound sense and honest feeling of my countrymen. If their minds are susceptible of being prepossessed against me by the writings or acts of others to which I was not even knowing, how can I expect they would listen with favor to any thing that I or my friends could say in my defence? The plea of not guilty is itself an absurdity when the charge against you is not for what you have done yourself, but for what others, without your knowledge, have said of you. I cannot believe it will have any permanent effect, but if it has, so much the worse perhaps for me—and it may be none the worse for the country—I am bound, at least, to hope so; and will do my best to perform my duties.

If there was anything in the correspondence which could bear with justice unfavorably upon my character, I should deem it no defence to say it was divulged by treachery. As respects me it is immaterial how the facts became public, It is not *my* confidence that has been betrayed. I say there is nothing in the book for which I can justly be called to answer before *any* tribunal—even that of Heaven. When charges *have* been brought against me, by responsible names, I have not stood mute—I see now no cause to answer.

With my best thanks and acknowledgments for your friendly disposition and notices, I remain, dear sir, your very humble and obedient servant.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. I trust you will not take, as I am told some legislative statesmen have done, the proposition mentioned in the messages, for abolishing *private War upon the Seas*, to be a mere offer to abolish *privateering*. You will understand it as it is meant—a project for the universal exemption of private property upon the Ocean from depredation by a War.

I hope to be gratified with your editorial remarks, upon the notification to the European powers, that the American Continents are not to

be considered, hereafter, as subjects for Colonization.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1827.

ROBERT WALSH, JR. Esq., Philadelphia:

MY DEAR SIR—I am mortified at finding myself obliged to send you an apology instead of a fulfilment of my promise. Every moment of my leisure, for more than a month, has been occupied upon the subject, and I have written an article containing as much manuscript as I had led you to expect. But you well know how all fruitful subjects swell under one's hands; and where I expected to finish, I have not got half through. The article embraces a review of the policy and proceedings, both of Great Britain and the United States, relating to the Colonial trade, from the Preliminary Articles of Peace, in November, 1782, down to the present day. It is, of course, mere drudgery, but I have now brought it down to the Peace of Ghent.

That period forms an epoch in the history, and it is only in the sequel from that to the present time that the great majority of your readers will take any interest. But this is a matter about which the squabbling between mother and daughter has only begun, and we shall not soon see the last of it. I believe it will therefore be useful to travel back, a *primordia rerum*, and show the people of our country how it was in the beginning, is now, and I fear ever will be, in the purposes of our mother, as to the matter of Colonial trade,

I had already some misgiving that I should be cut short for time, when I requested you to be provided with an article for your *next number*, in the event of disappointment from me: I did hope, however, that I should be able to get through before the twentieth. I am now satisfied that it will be impossible, and must therefore ask your indulgence to reserve the article for the number after next. If my health should hold out, you may be sure of receiving the article by the first of August, when I hope it may not be so unworthy of public inspection as it would be now. It will probably not be much longer for the delay; which I shall employ to retrench and abridge as much as to enlarge.

Yours truly,  
J. Q. A.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8, 1827.

ROBT. WALSH, Esq., Philadelphia

DEAR SIR.—I must abandon the hope of being able to furnish you a continuation of the article upon the Colonial trade question, in time for the next number of the *Review*. The truth is, the question itself has changed its aspect. If the shuffling casuistry of MR. CANNING had not been sufficiently exposed while he lived, it would be utterly useless to chastise it now that his gibes and his jeers are consigned to the silence of the tomb. It is

now, perhaps, a misfortune for us that he died as he did, for, in the last month of his life, while his difficulties at home were thickening upon him, his tone and his policy had undergone a change and his mind was running again upon the naturalities of affection between the mother and daughter.

He continued, however, inflexible upon the Colonial trade question, and so do his successors. They are controlled by the shipping interests, which will prevail until the interest of the planters shall raise a counter clamor, or till some more absorbing interest shall agitate the public mind and leave them at liberty to act upon this subject more for their own real benefit and for ours, than they can at present. The second part of the article in your *Review*, if ever written, must treat the subject differently from what it should have done, if it had appeared with the first; or indeed at any time before the death of Mr. CANNING. It would answer no purpose now to put him in the wrong. No purpose here, because it has been done already by others. No purpose in Europe, because trammelled as the new Ministry are and more likely within a year to shiver into atoms than to hold together, they could not if they would trace back their steps again upon this point at present.

The sequel of your article would therefore be, perhaps, more seasonable the next summer than now. The *consequences* of Mr. HUSKRISON's backward march are not yet fully developed. They are, however, and will be gradually disclosing themselves. The Governor of St. Kitts has already been forced to open, for three months, the ports of his islands, by a hurricane. Our trade with the West Indies has been very little diminished by the interdiction; our revenue not at all. Next summer, we shall be able to argue the question more *avec connaissance de cause*, and perhaps may have to address more listening ears. I give you, it may be, insufficient reasons for the postponement, which you may, if you think fit, hint at in a note to your next number—but the reason above all others is, that I cannot prepare the article for you in season.

Yours, with great regard and esteem.

J. Q. ADAMS.

#### "OLD TIME CHURCHES" IN MARYLAND.\*

Let our "old time churches," especially within the bounds of our first American Conferences, be cherished with precious and grateful recollections. Relics of former ages are almost universally regarded with peculiar sanctity and interest. With what veneration and respect should the present class of Methodists contemplate those primitive churches, erected through the agency of Straw-

bridge, Watters, and others, a few of which are still standing as the uniting link between the past and present? Maryland and Virginia have their proportion of these ancient, antique edifices; and it should be the purpose of our ministers and people to maintain the sacredness associated with them, during the future of Methodism. Where "time and chance" have so defaced these peculiar landmarks as to compel reconstruction and improvement, their primitive identity of names and location should never pass from the memory of the people.

Among the oldest Methodist churches in the Baltimore Conference is "St. James's," within the "old Montgomery Circuit," erected about the year 1785, but now one of the principal appointments in Patapsco Circuit, and for the second time in its eventful history undergoing the most thorough repairs. "Montgomery Circuit" first appears on the *General Minutes* in 1788, with the names of Robert Green and John Allen as Circuit Preachers, and Nelson Reed, Presiding Elder. From the rapid growth of Methodism at that early day, *necessity* compelled the constant formation of new fields, these often increasing with greater rapidity than men of the right character were raised up of God to supply and cultivate them. From the "old Montgomery Circuit" have sprung an immense progeny, the natural outgrowth of that aggressive spirit which still distinguishes the same Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1790, this ancient field reported a membership of six hundred and forty-eight whites and one hundred and three colored, showing most conclusive evidence of unexampled prosperity. At this early period, "St. James's" Church had become one of our places of power and strength; and for more than eighty years, it has been able to maintain with apostolic zeal and faith, its original prestige. This church building is thirty by forty feet, and was constructed of hewn chestnut logs, painted with lime cement, with a gallery extending nearly half way through the house, and seated with a rough, uncouth class of benches, peculiarly adapted to the physical and mental qualities of their rustic occupants. For nearly thirty-six years, "St. James's" stood in its primitive roughness, its pulpit occupied annually by the most illustrious fathers in the ministry, when God moved the hearts and hands of the people to cover its naked exterior, and add such temporary improvements as comported with the more refined ideas of a subsequent generation. Up to 1820, when the first repairs were made on this church, its pulpit had been regularly filled with seventy-one different preachers of the Baltimore Conference, three of whom, Roberts, George, and Waugh, were subsequently elected Bishops. Beside these stand the names of Garrettsen, Jesse and Wilson Lee, Draper, Griffith, Ryland, Jeffer-

\* From the *Christian Advocate*.

son, and others, whose self-denying labors in behalf of the Church deserve a conspicuous niche in our ecclesiastical temple. From 1820 to 1867, a period of forty-seven years, Time had made his impress on this ancient structure ; and its moss-covered roof and dilapidated exterior plead most eloquently for the hand of reconstruction ; and, we rejoice to say, God put it into the hearts of its numerous friends to arise and rebuild. During a period of eighty years, more than one hundred and sixty different preachers had regularly filled its pulpit, no doubt preaching over one hundred and fifty thousand sermons ; while the number of souls converted through their agency will only be manifest in the numbering of God's elect people. The last discourse preached within its antiquated walls was by the writer ; when the embarrassments under which Nehemiah reared the broken walls of Jerusalem, and the cheerfulness with which his co-laborers assisted in the work, were presented to the people as sufficient motives to inspire them with a determination to arise and adorn this house of God with more than its primeval glory. Since October last, the work of *reconstruction* has been gradually progressing, and with no adverse providence the early spring will bring to us the season of dedication. "Old St. James's" will enter upon its rejuvenated existence with a large and united membership, and with an active and evangelical ministry, in connection with increasing facilities for mental and moral improvement ; and "the glory of this latter house" shall by far exceed that of former years.

W. H. OSBORNE.

#### GENERAL FITZ-JOHN PORTER'S CASE.

*Letter from General Franklin to General Grant.*

HARTFORD, CONN., September 21, 1867.

MY DEAR GRANT,

Fitz-John Porter writes me to ask that I will do something to aid him in getting a rehearing of his case. All that I can do is to write you and give you the reasons why I think it will be an act of justice to give him the opportunity to clear himself from the terrible imputation now resting upon him.

I saw Porter in Pope's company the day after the latter's defeat at Bull Run, and afterwards, until we arrived in front of Washington. I know that they were on very cordial terms ; and that Pope on some occasions advised with him confidentially. I talked a good deal myself with Pope ; and I think if he had had at that time any feeling that Porter had acted badly I would have learned it then, but I had no suspicion that he felt aggrieved by anything that Porter or any one who was then near him had done. At Fairfax Court House, the day that we

arrived at Washington, I noticed that Pope was particularly in good spirits and cordial with Porter. I have, therefore, always thought that the attack upon Porter was the result of an after-thought ; and that the charges were not original with Pope.

During the trial, I thought it proper to inform Porter that Generals J. F. Reynolds, George H. Thomas, and myself, would, if requested, go before the Court and swear that we would not believe Pope or Roberts under oath. I had consulted General Reynolds before I made the proposition. He consented to go himself ; and thought General Thomas would have no hesitation in giving such evidence. I was myself well convinced of General Thomas's opinion of Pope's veracity, from what I had often heard him say, before the war. Porter declined to call us up to give this evidence, on the ground that the Court appeared so well disposed towards him, and his case was going on so well, that he did not wish to irritate the Court by an attempt to break down the evidence of the principal prosecutors. The sequence showed that he made a serious mistake.

But I think that the most equitable reason for a review of Porter's case is this : The Judge-advocate-general, Holt, was the Judge-advocate of the Court. That was right enough. But no one will deny that a Judge-advocate of a Military Court, when a prisoner in defended by able counsel, becomes to a great extent a prosecutor, and as such necessarily biased against the prisoner. To say that General Holt was prejudiced against Porter, is merely to say that he is like other men ; and that he was so prejudiced the whole proceeding shows. Whether it is better or worse for the course of justice that the Judge-advocate should be prejudiced has nothing to do with the question.

But an abstract of the proceedings, and finding, and sentence of the Court had to be made by the Judge-advocate-general for presentation to the President of the United States, upon which (for he necessarily could not read the evidence) he was to make up his mind as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. Was it right, proper, or decent, that this abstract should be made up by the very man who had done his best to convict the prisoner ? Did not such a proceeding prevent the President from learning any extenuating circumstances, or finding out anything weak in the evidence, if any such there were ? Did it not, in fact, take away any chance from Porter which he might have had, had a cool, unbiased person of knowledge made this abstract instead of General Holt ?

The whole business seems to me like a prosecuting Attorney passing sentence upon a prisoner in a civil Court, immediately after the speeches of Counsel. I think the fact that Mr. Lincoln had only General Holt's abstract to guide him in mak-

ing up an opinion on the proceedings of that Court is enough to invalidate the whole thing.

It has been said, and perhaps with truth, that there is no precedent to guide in this matter. It may be said with equal truth, that never since the trial of Admiral Byng was injustice so without precedent done. I think that there never was a more appropriate opportunity for going beyond precedent, and establishing the fact that no matter how or by whom flagrant injustice is done, you, when the power is in your hands, will see the right done.

For my part, I know that Porter was as loyal as the most loyal soldier now dead; and that no thought of treason or disaffection entered his brain. He was a victim to Pope's failure in Virginia, and it seems to me he has been a victim long enough. You will, in my opinion, do an act which will not be the least among those which will make up your fame, if you will lend your weight towards giving Porter the opportunity to retrieve his character as a citizen and soldier.

I am truly your friend,  
W. B. FRANKLIN.

General U. S. GRANT, Commanding Army of the United States.

**THE BOARDMAN FAMILY.**—In a retired part of Skowhegan, Maine, previously forming the town of Bloomfield, and bordering upon the Fairfield line, is situated the old homestead of the Boardman family. It is located upon the South-eastern declivity of Bigelow Hill, and commands a fine view of an extensive portion of the country. The farm is now owned by Mr. Abraham Adams, and to him the Boardman family are indebted for many kind attentions during their recent visit to its old home.

This gathering of the children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of the late Samuel L. Boardman, took place on Saturday, the thirty-first of August; and although the notice of the meeting was not as extended as could have been desired, a large company gathered at the old homestead and spent the day in festivities appropriate to the occasion. The familiar spots were all visited, recalling recollections alike pleasant and sad. The company present divided into little groups; and while some proceeded to the favorite trees in the orchard, others visited the spring where in childhood they went to get water, or by the side of some large rock that served as a childish play-house. Young ladies gathered moss upon rocks where their mothers played when children, to preserve as a memento of the visit. Mr. Adams kindly threw open his house for the reception of the visitors; and room after room was entered, in each of which a thousand recollections rushed upon the mind. After the party had visited all

points of interest upon the farm, they sat down to a sumptuous collation served in an adjoining grove, to which Mr. Adams and his family were invited. Among the grand-children present was one, Mrs. Mattie J. Bixby, who arrived with her little boy, six years of age, from Pike's Peak, just in time to be present on the interesting occasion. She came across the Plains, was unaccompanied by any acquaintance or friend save her little boy, and brought her revolver upon her person, to the depot at Skowhegan.

William Boardman came from Martha's Vineyard, and settled in New Market, N. H. He married Sarah, a daughter of Deacon Samuel Lane, of Stratham, N. H.; and was for many years, a Selectman and Collector of the town. His children were, Samuel L., Stephen, William, Martha, Mary, and Betsey. Samuel L. married Mehitable, daughter of General James Hill, of New Market, N. A. General Hill was a prominent citizen of that State; and during the Revolutionary war, raised and equipped at his own expense a Battalion of men, and marched with them to Saratoga, to aid in the engagement with Burgoyne; but did not reach there until after the surrender of that officer. Stephen married a Blighenburg, of Durham, N. H. William became a lawyer of considerable eminence, but died, unmarried, at a comparatively early age. Martha married Seth Shackford, of New Market, N. H. Mary married Daniel Thompson, of Sanbornton, N. H. Betsey died young.

Samuel L. Boardman came into Maine, in 1816, and settled in Bloomfield. He was for many years, keeper of the Skowhegan Bridge, was a man of estimable social qualities, beloved for his good nature, and honored for his integrity. He died suddenly, on the twentieth of March, 1857, aged seventy-five years. His widow is now living at the age of eighty-two. Their family are thirteen children, eight of whom are now living. The other descendants of the family are thirty grand-children and seventeen great-grand-children. These descendants are now widely scattered over Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, many have gone West, and one is residing with his family in Australia.

It is the intention of the family to compile a genealogy of the descendants of William Boardman, also tracing his ancestry as far back as possible; and any one who can furnish information towards making it complete, will receive the thanks of the family. Such letters may be sent to Mr. SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, Augusta, Me.

**A GLANCE AT THE CAPTURE OF FORT PULASKI.** The following letter, from Major-general Benham, of the Engineers, was doubtless not intended for publication (says *The New York*

*Citizen*), but as we know many reasons why it should be published, and none why it should not, we have concluded to give it, even at the risk of causing some slight momentary shock to our old friend's ideas of military etiquette:

BOSTON, MASS., August 11, 1867.

MY DEAR GENERAL.—(though "Miles" sounds more familiar): You, perhaps, may have known that after Gillmore had published his Pulaski reports, I could not but say to General Hunter, that he and I "would have to get certificates that we "were there," as I repeated in fact to Gillmore himself, who had already heard it. This seems to be the case now. A man who is getting up a record of officers—a personal enemy of mine, by the by,—refuses to receive or recognize any testimony that I was anywhere near at the capture of Pulaski, or gave any order there. He has, in fact, printed the record, notwithstanding the evidence given, with an entire omission of that section in my record.

Now, as you were present some portion of the time, as I distinctly recollect, when I gave orders to Gillmore there—and, if I recollect aright, you, with others, accompanied me in my visits of inspection through all the batteries on the first day of that bombardment, when we were constantly fired at from the fort, as we passed between or through the intervals of the batteries—I should be glad if you would give me, as early as convenient, any recollections that you have, of this or other matters, that you have noticed, relating to the duties I performed there; and, especially, what you recollect of the following, of which my recollection is perfect: At between twelve and one o'clock of the second day, I was at a sand-hill, close in rear of the three ten-inch gun battery, and with Gillmore was examining the fort through the large tripod telescope fixed in the hill, when a storm of the Blakely shell passed closely over us; and yourself, with one or two others, were in that group.

After some minutes examination, I said to Gillmore, "We must aim our guns at the angle "of the back of the mask-wall to peel it from that "whole face, and that will make a breach too wide "for that small garrison" (whose numbers we knew) "to defend." And I added, "If that is "done, we will storm the fort to-morrow night." You immediately asked who was going to command the storming column? and I replied that I should command it myself. You then told me you should like to lead it with two Irish companies that were there; and I replied to you that you should do it. I then turned to Gillmore and directed him to have scaling ladders prepared, specifying generally the different lengths that I thought it would be best to have made.

Gillmore soon after left, and within one and a

half to two hours the flag of Pulaski fell. I watched anxiously for the same ten or fifteen minutes that they took to get it down: and then, as Gillmore was not to be found in the batteries, I sent Lieutenant-colonel Hall, of Serrell's regiment, on a horse, through the batteries, to stop the firing; and I followed rapidly to the upper batteries, with my Adjutant-general, Ely, and ordered a boat from the creek to send him over. During the time they were launching the boat, you came up; and I then requested you, as Adjutant-general to General Hunter, who was in chief command, to go over and receive the surrender, stating to you the terms on which the fort was to be received.

Some fifteen or twenty minutes after, though you had not gone far in consequence of the high wind and tide against you, Gillmore came up in a great flurry from the light-house, three miles off, as I understood, where he had been eating his dinner; and I authorized him to go over to the fort also, where he, in connection with yourself and Captain Ely, the Adjutant-generals of his superior General officers, arranged, as I understood it, the terms of surrender, as had been directed.

Now, General, will you give me your recollections on any of the above matters, or any other such that I was concerned in, in connection with the capture of that work, and oblige,

Yours, very truly,

HENRY W. BENHAM.

Gen. CHARLES G. HALPINE.

[REMARKS OF GENERAL HALPINE ON THE ABOVE.]

The foregoing, in so far as it relates to General Benham, is correct in all its main particulars,—the order to receive the surrender of the fort, however, on no other terms than "unconditional "surrender," having been given to Major Halpine by Major-general David Hunter, who was present and in chief command during the whole bombardment,—his headquarters being at the brass tripod-telescope, to which General Benham has above referred. And here, perhaps, a few words about the siege of Fort Pulaski and its surrender might not be out of place:

For the success of that enterprise General Gillmore has arrogated an amount of credit to which he certainly was not entitled. When operations for the siege commenced, he was Captain of Engineers, and Chief-engineer on the staff of General Timothy W. Sherman, now in command at Newport; and during the later preparations for the bombardment and the bombardment itself, he was simply the directing Engineer Officer of the works, under the command of Major-general Hunter. For him, therefore, to assume, as he has done, all credit for that important siege and its success, is nothing but a false pretence. As well might the Chief-engineer on the staff of General Grant have suppressed General Grant's



name altogether, and only given his own in reporting the sieges and surrenders of Fort Donelson and Vicksburg.

But still less than this was General Gillmore entitled to the whole credit, or any great part of the credit, for the capture of Pulaski. Had his original plans been carried out, we might have been firing ten-inch solid shot from Columbiads and thirteen-inch shell from mortars, from the day the bombardment commenced until now, without having caused any serious discomfort to the men and officers of the opposing garrison. Gillmore's original plan only contemplated a bombardment from the upper sand-hills of Tybee Island, with Columbiads and mortars—his nearest batteries being about two thousand, six hundred yards, and his farthest batteries fully three thousand, seven hundred yards, from the work to be assailed.

Out of this ineffectual scheme he was reluctantly but effectually derided and argued—but chiefly derided—by Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Corps, new General-in-chief of Ordnance, on the staff of Grant; Lieutenant J. H. Wilson of the Topographical Engineers, since heard of as Major-general Wilson of the Cavalry, who committed the blunder of capturing Jeff Davis; and Lieutenant Patrick J. O'Rourke of the regular Engineers, subsequently killed while commanding a New York Brigade of Infantry at the battle of Gettysburgh. They laughed at the fears which Gillmore expressed, that ordnance and ordnance stores in any sufficient quantity could not be moved across the open place on Tybee Island, called "the jaws of death,"—a place clearly under the fire of, and without any protection from, Fort Pulaski's barbette guns; and having at last obtained the doubting Captain's consent to this experiment, it was by the inspiration and under the guidance of these young officers, that the lower and only effective batteries of the siege, were erected.

It was, we say, by the request, and still more by the ridicule of these young officers, that the then Captain Gillmore was compelled—sorely against his own judgment and protest—to consent to the erection of batteries at Goat's Point, on Tybee Island, distant only seventeen hundred yards from Fort Pulaski; and to the armament of these, under the special direction of the then Lieutenant Horace Porter, of the Ordnance Corps, with thirty-pounder Parrot guns, and some eight-inch Columbiads throwing the James projectile. All know the result. It was by the Parrott and James projectiles that the face of the *point coupee* was breached after about thirty hours of fire; and the surrender was then precipitated by the fact that projectiles passing through these breaches began to strike the magazines on the other side of the Fort, threatening a general blow-up of the garrison,—and to this, as one of the advantages

of breaching at that point, we very distinctly remember General Benham's having called attention, before the bombardment began, he having been one of the Engineer Officers engaged in the construction of Fort Pulaski, and consequently knowing where its magazines were located and how they could be reached.

General Benham, during the siege, and for some weeks preceding, was Chief-of-staff and Chief-of-engineers, on the staff of Major-general Hunter, and had certainly ordered the erection of some batteries on Dawfuskie Island, to assist in the bombardment. It is true, these batteries proved to be out of range and accomplished nothing; but we distinctly affirm that they accomplished just as much as could have been accomplished by the ten-inch Columbiads and thirteen-inch mortar batteries, originally designed and erected by General Gillmore as his only agencies for conducting the attack.—*N. Y. Citizen.*

#### SOUTH CAROLINA MAIDS OF THE OLDEN TIMES.

—In turning over the leaves of a very delightful book, published some years since, our eye chanced to fall on the following Petition, signed by sixteen maids of Charleston; and presented to the Governor of that Province, on the first of March, 1748:

*To His Excellency Governor Johnson:*

The humble petition of all the maids whose names are underwritten:

Whereas, we humbly petitioners, are at present, in a very *melancholy* disposition of mind, considering how all the bachelors are blindly captivated by widows, and our youthful charms thereby neglected: the consequence of this our request is, that your Excellency will, for the future, order that no widow shall for the future presume to marry any young man till the maids are provided for; or else pay each of them a fine for satisfaction for invading our liberties; and likewise a fine to be laid on all such bachelors as shall be married to widows. The great disadvantage it is to us old maids is, that the widows, by their forward carriages, do *snap up* the young men, and have the vanity to think their merits beyond ours, which is a great imposition on us who ought to have the preference.

This is humbly recommended to your Excellency's consideration, and we hope you will prevent any further insults.

And we poor maids, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

P. S.—I being the oldest maid, and thereby most concerned, do think it proper to be the messenger to your Excellency in behalf of my fellow-subscribers.—*Savannah Georgian and Journal.*

SANDY HOOK LIGHT-HOUSE.—In 1762, JOHN

CRUGER, PHILIP LIVINGSTON, LEONARD LISPENDARD, and WILLIAM BAYARD, by direction of the Legislature of the Colony of New York, and as Trustees for the Government, purchased four acres of ground on the point of Sandy Hook, and there erected a light-house and out-buildings. There had, we believe, been a beacon-light displayed there before, but this was the first permanent light-house built. During the early part of the Revolution, the light was extinguished by order of the Government; and, in 1790, the grounds, buildings, &c., were ceded by the People of the State of New York to the United States of America.

This seems to dispose of all the pretensions of New Jersey, to interfere with that property.

A LOVE AFFAIR OF BENEDICT ARNOLD'S.—The following is a veritable letter, written by General Benedict Arnold, inclosing one to Miss Deblois of Boston. It was addressed to Mrs. General Knox, who was then residing in Boston, and was a friend of Arnold's lady love, who was, as we understand from one of her few surviving cotemporaries, quite a belle in Boston, a lady of most respectable standing in society, and of fortune. Whether she reciprocated Arnold's passion we cannot learn. Whether she did or did not, however, it is certain that the parties were never united and the lady was never married. Tradition says that some time subsequently to the date of this letter, she went so far as to enter the church for the purpose of being married to a Boston gentleman; and that there the marriage was forbidden by her own mother, for what reason is not now known.

Miss Deblois lived and died in Boston, in single blessedness and high respectability. It will be seen by the impassioned language of Arnold's letter that he made love even as he fought and did everything else,—with all his might and main. And one cannot help reflecting how very different might have been the history of this brave but passionate and ill-principled man, had he succeeded in this love affair.

At the time he wrote this letter he was perhaps at the zenith of his fame. It was just subsequent to his brilliant career in Canada and along the lakes. The original letter, in Arnold's own hand writing, was recently discovered among the papers of General Knox. It is written in a handsome, free, and unaffected hand. *The Boston Traveller* which publishes this letter, gives the spelling and capitalizing as in the original.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

"WATERTOWN, March, 1777.

"DEAR MADAME: I have taken the liberty of  
"Inclosing A Letter for the Heavenly Miss  
"Deblois, which beg the favor of your delivering,  
"with the Trunk of Gowns, &c., which Mrs.

"Colburn promis'd me to Send to your House.  
"I hope she will make no objections against receiving them. I made no doubt you will soon  
"have the pleasure seeing the Charming Mrs.  
"Emery, and have it in your power to give me  
"some favourable Intelligence. I shall remain  
"Under the most Anxious Suspense until I have  
"the favour of a line from you, who (if I may  
"Judge) will from your own experience, conceive  
"the fond Anxiety, the Glowing hopes, and Chilling fears, that Alternately possess the breast of  
"Dear Madame,

"Your Obed't & most Humble Serv't,

"B. ARNOLD.

"MRS. KNOX, Boston."

THE FIRST SILK MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES.—Mr. T. Kohn, a merchant of this city, who deals in ribbons, fringes, &c., has put up some valuable machinery in Mr. Thrall's building, near the railroad station, for weaving silk. He showed us a piece of silk, yesterday, containing twelve yards, which was made by this machinery, and which he claims is the first piece of silk ever made in this country. It is very heavy, made of double thread, and is a plaid of five colors. It is certainly a successful experiment. Mr. Kohn has machinery for producing six hundred different patterns of figured silks; and he intends to do a good business at silk making. He also intends to make ribbons. Mr. Albert Sugden, who superintends the work, is an experienced and competent weaver; and he has procured from England certain portions of the machinery used, and directed the work in putting it up. The piece of silk shown us is seven-eighths of a yard wide; and it is thought to be worth two dollars a yard, though it can probably be sold for less.—*Hartford Times*.

[REPLY TO THE ABOVE.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE N. Y. TRIBUNE.

SIR: I cut the above slip from *The Tribune* of Dec. 21. On reading it, I called a witness to the stand—my mother—who, though verging toward fourscore years, has an eye still undimmed, and a natural force but little abated. She is a granddaughter of Colonel Jedediah Elderkin, who, with his compeer, Colonel Eliphalet Dyer, were prominent lawyers at Windham, Connecticut, during most of the last half of the eighteenth century. Colonel Elderkin took a great interest in the manufacture of silk. He had a farm a few miles from Windham, where he grew the mulberry, and had quite an extensive cocoonery. He procured a loom and a weaver from Europe; and my mother distinctly remembers seeing pieces of silk made, more than sixty years ago. Colonel Elderkin had the silk made into dresses for his

daughters. Silk handkerchiefs were made in considerable numbers.

From causes not now known to me, the manufacture was discontinued; but to this day, silk thread is made, I think, at Mansfield, in Connecticut. I was, myself, at the house of my maternal grandfather at Windham, twenty-five years ago, and then examined many of the papers of Colonel Elderkin, and selected out portions of his correspondence with different persons in reference to the silk culture and manufacture. In my removal from New-York, the papers have been mislaid, but the subject interested me at the time; and the article from *The Hartford Times* brought it again vividly to my recollection. It is greatly to be hoped that this enterprise of Mr. Kohn may be successful. If he may not claim the honor of having woven the first web, he may still have claim to the greater honor of being the first successful pioneer in an enterprise which may in some degree relieve us from our dependence on the silk-loom of Europe.

Very truly your friend,

WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL.

CHERRY VALLEY, Dec. 25, 1857.

**A VENERABLE BILL OF COSTS.**—There is in the possession of B. H. Jarvis, Esq., formerly Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, quite a literary and legal curiosity. We subjoin a copy:

NATHANIEL HAZARD vs CORNELIUS EWEISE.		MAYOR'S COURT, April 1st, 1746. MAYOR'S CHAMBERS.	
		s. d.	
Entering action and summons.....	.....	2	8
Serving and return.....	.....	1	9
Filing declaration.....	.....	1	0
Entering return of summons.....	.....	1	0
Rule to plead.....	.....	9	9
Rule of continuance.....	.....	9	9
Entering judgment by default.....	.....	2	0
Entering judgment confessed.....	.....	2	0
Recorder.....	.....	6	0
Attorney and Counsel.....	.....	10	0
Making up the record.....	.....	9	0
Crier and Bellringer.....	.....	1	9
Execution.....	.....	1	6
Drawing costs and copy.....	.....	1	6
Taxing costs.....	.....	1	0
Dam.....	£5 0s. 6d.	2	13 8
Costs ...	9 12 8	Poundage.....	8 10
Total..	7 12 9		£3 16 1

NEW YORK, April 1st, 1746.

I Do Tax this Bill at two Pounds Sixteen Shillings and one Penny, poundage included.

DAN. HOESMANDER.

**THE FIRST WESTERN STEAMBOAT.**—The New-  
port (Ky.) *News* has the annexed interesting account of the first steamboat on the Western waters:

The first steamboat that ever run on the Western waters, was built under the superintendence of

Mr. Robson, who spent his old age with his son William, two miles back of Newport, Kentucky.

He was employed by Fulton, Livingston, & Co., of New York. The boat was launched at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on the seventeenth day of March, 1811, and called the *New Orleans*. She was primed with a bluish colored paint. She passed New Madrid, Missouri, at the time of the earthquake in December, 1811. Mr. Scowls, now living in Covington, a wealthy man, was Cabin-boy on her; Andrew Jack was Pilot; and a Mr. Baker was Engineer. She carried General Coffee and Don Carl from Natchez with their troops down to New Orleans, in 1814, at the time General Jackson was defending that city against the British.

**THE FIRST STATE PRISON.**—Few of our readers probably know that there is yet standing within the city of New York, the first "State Prison" ever erected in the State of New-York, and one of the first built in the United States.

This old State Prison still stands in the Ninth Ward, on the block bounded by Washington, Amos, West, and Charles-streets; and is now occupied as a brewery. It was erected in the then village of Greenwich, in the years 1794 and 1795; and was opened for the reception of prisoners from the entire State, in 1796. It was a large three-story, stone building, having all its workshops in the rear. The space was inclosed by a strong stone wall, fourteen feet high in front and twenty-three in the rear, within which stood the Prison and its appendages. The whole inclosure comprised about four acres, and included the three blocks of ground on Washington and West-streets, between Christopher and Perry.

This Prison continued the only receptacle for persons convicted of felonies in this State, until 1816, when the western regions having become populous, the State Prison at Auburn was commenced, and completed in 1818.

The New York Prison was, however, kept up until about 1828, when the new one at Mount Pleasant, commonly called Sing Sing, having been completed, the prisoners were transferred thither and the old building purchased by the City Government.

In the early history of this Prison, revolts were quite frequent. In 1803, one occurred, which was not suppressed until three prisoners were killed and several wounded. A strong guard was constantly kept up, composed of a Captain, two Corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and twenty privates. Besides these there was one Principal, one Deputy, and fifteen Assistant-keepers.

The Prison was under the government of a Board of Seven Inspectors, appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This Board made the necessary rules for

the government of the Prison, appointed the officers, purchased supplies, etc.

The old building, as it now stands, half surrounded by other edifices, is an interesting memento of the past.—*N. Y. Times*.

**THE FIRST DUEL IN THE UNITED STATES.**—Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that the first duel in the now United States, was fought at Plymouth in 1621, the year succeeding the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, Sabine in his *Notes*, says: "The parties were Edward Doty "and Edward Leister, servants of Stephen Hopkins, and, having a dispute, they settled it—gentlemen-like—with a sword and dagger. Both were wounded. Without a statute law on the subject, the whole company of Puritans assembled to consider and punish the offence. The decision was the wisest that could have been made. Doty and Leister, were ordered to be tied together, heads and feet for twenty-four hours, without food or drink; but the intercession of their master, their own humanity and promises, procured a speedy release."

**MASSACHUSETTS SEVENTY YEARS AGO.**—An exchange in some well considered comments on "the progress of the world," remarks: In our own country, the signs of progress and improvement are numerous. The arts of peace were never more sedulously cultivated, and changes for the better are constantly taking place, changes in which the nobler and purer spirit of our nature is made distinct and apparent, and a deeper degree of interest is manifested for the unfortunate and suffering. Look, for example, at the following paragraphs, descriptive of the condition of the affairs in Massachusetts, seventy years ago:

**THE PILLORY IN STATE STREET.**—Fifty years ago, criminals were often sentenced to exposure on the pillory, which sentence was thus accomplished: In the jail yard, then located in Court-square, was kept a gallows on wheels, which, on an occasion for its services, was rolled down State-street, East of the old City-hall, and on this the criminals were exhibited to the gaze of the assembled crowd, who generally confined themselves to derisive remarks and shouts; but once in a while a mischievous urchin would throw a rotten egg, or some other missile, at the head of the pilloried prisoner. At one time, four persons named Southack, Pierpont, Stover, and Hall, were placed in the pillory for swindling. They stood facing each point of the compass, and each hour were changed, so that in four hours they had all faced the four points of the compass. Another punishment was to place a man on the gallows with a rope around his neck. On one occasion, a pris-

oner so punished, came near being actually hanged, after which the practice was abandoned. Public whipping for theft was also in vogue about the same period; and there are persons now living who have seen men, and even a woman, publicly whipped on a gallows in State-street.

**MORE OF THE GOOD OLD TIMES.**—The following memorandum have been discovered in the archives of Hampshire County. From the cool, business-like style in which he mentions it, hanging people must have been a pleasure to Sheriff Porter. The style in which a memorandum is made of such little matters as hanging and whipping, and this on a piece of paper devoted to another purpose, as if to sacrifice a clean sheet were a clean waste, is admirable:—

SENTENCES AT THE SUPREME COURT, April, 1768.

Abijah Converse to be hanged.  
Asa Hopkins to stand in the pillory one hour, be whipped twenty stripes and pay costs—standing committed.  
Cost ..... £17 15 10  
Collecting fees ..... 10 6

Abraham Parkhurst to be whipped ten stripes and pay costs, standing committed, &c.  
Extract from the sentences.

Attest,

E. PORTER, Sheriff.

**HISTORY OF WHEAT IN AMERICA.**—Wheat was first introduced in the North American Colonies, in 1595, on the Elizabeth Islands, in Massachusetts, by Gosnold, at the time he explored that coast. That has been upwards of two hundred and fifty years ago, and since that time, so great has been the increase of that cereal, that in the year 1849, according to the census of 1850, the product amounted to 160,503,809 bushels. Up to 1610, and perhaps later, England supplied the Colonies with the greater part of their bread-stuffs.

**THE FIRST TEA DESTROYED.**—*The Newburyport Herald* has published some very interesting revolutionary reminiscences. We make the following extract from one of the series of papers, as it relates to a subject which will never lose its interest. After mentioning the excise laws of 1754, and the troubles respecting the Stamp act, *The Herald* says;—"Next came the tea difficulty; "and all have heard what was done by the "Mohawks' of Boston with the tea at that port: "but as yet none of our historians have given the "fact that, before Boston acted in the disguise "of Indians, the ship-carpenters of Newburyport "publicly and openly burned up the tea in Market-square. How this well-authenticated fact "escaped, that the first defiant resistance to tea "imposition in this country was in Newburyport, "we cannot tell. But twice was this resistance "made, once by burning it in Federal Street, and

"again in the Market. The tea was stored in the powder-house for safe keeping. Ebenezer Johnson, standing one day upon the timber of his yard, called his men about him, and after a few patriotic words, gave the order: 'All who are ready to join, knock your adzes from their handles, shoulder their handles, and follow me.' Every adze in the yard was knocked off; and that stout, athletic man, who would have marched through a regiment of 'red-coats,' had they then stood in his way, taking his broad-axe as an emblem of leadership and for use, marched at the head of the company to the powder-house. There that well-tried axe opened a way through the door, and each man shouldering his chest of tea, again fell into line. They marched direct to the Market, and then in single file around the old meeting-house, where the pump now is, when Johnson's axe opened his chest, and box and tea were on the ground together. Each man as he came up did the same, when, with his own hand, Johnson lighted the pile and burned it to ashes; and on that spot, without disguise, the ship-carpenters of Newburyport destroyed the first tea that was destroyed in America."

What will Boston say to this?

**BASS-WOOD PAPER.**—Several papers refer to this article, as a recent invention. It is not so. As early as 1796, a newspaper prepared from bass-wood, was printed in Vermont, by the celebrated Matthew Lyon, bearing the title of *The Scourge of Aristocracy, and Repository of Important Political Truth*. It was in this paper that Lyon published the libel for which he was tried and convicted under the famous Sedition law. He was sentenced to an imprisonment in jail for four months, and the payment of a fine of *One thousand dollars*, and costs. Lyon died in 1822, and repeated attempts were made, after his decease, to obtain from Congress a remission of the fine and costs, but without success, till 1840; when it was voted to refund the amount, with interest, to his legal representatives.—*Salem Gazette*.

**AN INTERESTING LETTER FROM GENERAL SCOTT.**—Every reader, we doubt not, will agree with us that the subjoined letter is not only an interesting one, but that the concluding sentence of it makes it a remarkable one. It is an exact copy of a letter written by General Winfield Scott, then a Captain in the army, during a sojourn at his home in Petersburg, Virginia, on the 18th of June, 1811, just one year before the Declaration of War. The letter was addressed to an old friend in this

city, and is now in possession of his son, J. L. Edwards, Esq.—*The National Intelligencer*.

"PETERSBURG, JUNE, 1811.

"I believe we have very little village news to give you, nor do I know what would please you in that way.

"Of myself—that personage who fills so large a space in every man's own imagination, and so small a one in the imagination of every other—I can say but little; perhaps less would please you more. Since my return to Virginia, my time has been passed in easy transitions from pleasure to study, from study to pleasure; in my gayety forgetting the student, in the student forgetting my gayety. I have generally been in the office of my friend, Mr. Leigh, though not unmindful of the studies connected with my present profession; but you will easily conceive my military ardor has suffered abatement. Indeed, it is my design, as soon as circumstances will permit, to throw the feather out of my cap and resume it in my hand. Yet, should war come at last, my enthusiasm will be rekindled; and then who knows but that I may yet write my history with my sword?"

"Yours, truly,

"WINFIELD SCOTT.

"LEWIS EDWARDS, Esq., Washington."

**WINTER PERILS OF OLD.**—Looking through a copy of *The Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, dated Feb. 8, 1768—only a hundred years ago—we find, under the date of "NEW YORK, Jan. 25," the following:

"A letter from *Montreal* dated Dec. 27, 1767, advises that it is feared the couriers with the mail from New York for that place are both drowned in attempting to cross the river, [St. Lawrence.] "They were spoke with by a man who came afterward to *Montreal*, who says that three days after he saw them, he was informed that they, with two countrymen, took a canoe to cross at the Falls of *St. Louis*, three leagues above *Montreal*, and that soon after there came on thick Weather, and a heavy Fall of Snow, in which he imagines that the Canoe was overset by the Ice, and the People drowned, and they have heard nothing of them since. There is not the smallest Chance of ever finding the Mail, as the River is very broad, full of floating Ice, and the Current exceedingly strong for many Miles down.

"Another Letter from *Skeneborough*," [now Whitehall] "of the 14th of January, confirms the above account, and says, it is the Mail which left *New York* the latter end of November: 'Tis added that twenty-four Persons have suffered the same Fate within a Month past, by a Thaw, that brought great Quantities of Ice

"down that rapid River—such as had not been known at that Season in the Memory of Man. Lake George has not been passable by Ice this Season, though the Route to *Crown Point* has been good ever since November."

The mail now goes through from New York to Montreal in fewer hours than the days required for the same service a hundred years ago, and that without drowning the carriers.

THE GRAVE OF JEFFERSON.—"I ascended, (writes one who some time since visited Monticello,) "the winding road which leads from Charlottesville to Monticello. The path leads "a circuitous ascent of about two miles up a miniature mountain, to the farm and the grave of Jefferson. On entering the gate which opens "into the enclosure, numerous paths diverge in various directions, winding through beautiful groves to the summit of the hill. From the peak on which the house stands, a grand and nearly unlimited view opens to the thickly wooded hills and fertile valleys which stretch out on either side. The University, with its dome, porticoes, and colonnade, looks like a fair city in the plain; Charlottesville seems to be directly beneath. No spot can be imagined as combining greater advantages of grandeur, healthfulness, and seclusion. The house is noble in its appearance: two large columns support a portico which extends from the wings, and into which the front door opens. The apartments are neatly furnished and embellished with statues, busts, portraits, and natural curiosities. The grounds and outhouses have been neglected, Mr. Jefferson's attention being absorbed from such personal concerns by the cares attendant on the superintendence of the University, which, when in health, he visited daily since its erection commenced. At a short distance, behind the mansion, in a quiet, shady spot, the visitor sees a square enclosure, surrounded by a low, unmortared stone wall, which he enters by a neat wooden gate. This is the family burying-ground, containing ten or fifteen graves, none of them marked by epitaphs, and only a few distinguished by any memorial. When I saw it, the vault was just arched, and in readiness for the plain stone which is to cover it. May it ever continue, like Washington's, without any adventitious attraction of conspicuousness, for when we or our posterity need any other memento of our debt of honor to those names than their simple inscriptions on paper, wood, or stone, gorgeous tombs would be a mockery to their memories. When gratitude shall cease to consecrate their remembrances in the hearts of our citizens, no cenotaph will inspire the reverence we owe to them."

AN ACCIDENTAL RESEMBLANCE.—The *Washington Star* says: The original rough draft of the Declaration of Independence, in the hand-writings of Mr. Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, and the elder Adams, is preserved in the State Department with great care. It has been framed and placed in a box of black walnut, hung against the wall, the door of which is of one piece about two feet square. At certain angles of the room, the grain and natural marks of which the door is fabricated, present a singular appearance. Without the exercise of any great fancy, a representation of the battle of Bunker Hill can be discovered, though some contend it has a great resemblance to the storming of Stony Point, or the attack on King's Mountain. It is quite a curiosity.

A SINGULAR HISTORICAL FACT.—Alluding to the Battle of Bunker's Hill, which occurred on the seventeenth of June, the *Boston Post* remarks:

It is a singular fact, that on the eighteenth of June, 1775, there were few who would have cared to claim a share in the transactions of the previous day. The attempt to occupy so exposed a place as Breed's Hill was pronounced rash in the conception and discreditable in the execution; there was a deep feeling of disappointment and mortification in the Colonies at the result, and the complaints were loud and many at the lack of good conduct evinced somewhere. Years elapsed before any one claimed for himself, or for a friend, the honor of having commanded on the occasion; and other years elapsed before there was a general notice of the anniversary. Yet the bravery of its chief actors was so conspicuous as to elicit the warmest tributes; and intelligent sympathizers with the cause of freedom looked deeper than the outward sign of defeat. One of them, Governor Johnson, in a truly eloquent speech in the House of Commons, on the thirtieth of October, 1775, delivered the judgment of posterity. "To a mind" he said, "who loves to contemplate the glorious spirit of freedom, no spectacle can be more affecting than the action at Bunker's Hill. To see an irregular peasantry, commanded by a physician, inferior in numbers, opposed by every circumstance of cannon and bombs that could terrify timid minds, calmly wait the attack of the gallant Howe, leading on the best troops in the world, with an excellent train of artillery, and twice repulsing those very troops who had often chased the chosen battalions of France, and at last retiring for want of ammunition, but in so respectable a manner that they were not even pursued—who can reflect on such scenes and not adore the constitution of Government that could breed such men."

**WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL.**—The following extract, says the Washington *National Intelligencer*, is from a letter written by a lady upward of eighty years old, residing in Philadelphia, to her grandson, in Washington, District of Columbia:

"When GEORGE WASHINGTON delivered his 'Farewell Address,' in the room at the South-east corner of Chestnut and Sixth-streets, I sat immediately in front of him. It was in the room Congress occupied. The table of the Speaker was between the two windows on Sixth-street. The daughter of Dr. C. of Alexandria, the physician and intimate friend of WASHINGTON, Mrs. H., whose husband was the Auditor, was a very dear friend of mine. Her brother WASHINGTON was one of the Secretaries of General WASHINGTON. Young DANDRIDGE, a nephew of Mrs. WASHINGTON, was the other. I was included in Mrs. H.'s party to witness the august, the solemn scene. Mr. H. declined going with Mrs. H. as she had determined to go early, so as to secure the front bench. It was fortunate for Mrs. C. afterwards Mrs. L. that she could not trust herself to be so near her honored grandfather. My dear father stood very near her. She was terribly agitated. There was a narrow passage from the door of the entrance to the room, which was on the East, dividing the rows of benches. General WASHINGTON stopped at the end to let Mr. ADAMS pass to the chair. The latter always wore a full suit of bright drab, with lash or loose cuffs to his coat. He always wore wrist ruffles. He had not changed his fashions. He was a short man with a good head. With his family he attended our church twice a day.—General WASHINGTON's dress was a full suit of black. His military hat had the black cockade. There stood the 'Father of his Country,' acknowledged by the nation—the first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his Countrymen. No marshal, with gold colored scarfs, attended him—there was no cheering—no noise. The most profound silence greeted him, as if the great assembly desired to hear him breathe, and catch his breath in homage of their hearts. Mr. ADAMS covered his face with both his hands; the sleeves of his coat and his hands were covered with tears. Every now and then, there was a suppressed sob. I cannot describe WASHINGTON's appearance as I felt it—perfectly composed and self-possessed till the close of his address, then, when strong nervous sobs broke loose—when tears covered the face—then the great man was shaken. I never took my eyes from his face. Large drops came from his eyes. He looked to the youthful children, who were parting with their father, their friend, as if his heart was with them, and would be to the end."

**JEFF. DAVIS IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY.**—Jeff. Davis's appointment and commission as First Lieutenant of United States Dragoons, was found among his private papers, at his residence, near Jackson, Mississippi, on the eleventh of July, 1863, by J. H. Goldsmith, Company B. Fourteenth Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

The appointment is simply a partly printed and partly written letter-sheet, with the blanks filled. It is dated June the fifth, 1834, and signed "F. C. Jones," or "H. Jones," [*Roger Jones, probably.*] as nearly as I can make out. The commission is on parchment, dated May the tenth, 1834, is signed "Andrew Jackson, President," in a bold hand, and countersigned "Lewis Cass, Secretary of War." The commission is much defaced by time and water.

**MILD WINTERS.**—The following is copied from the fly-leaf of a book in my possession, written, I believe, by the late John Targee, esq.

P.

"JANUARY, 1824.

"JANUARY 15.—This day arrived from Troy a sloop, and the steamboat James Kent arrived last evening from Coxsackie—the Kent having been caught in the ice in the early part of the season. The river had been closed as far down as Poughkeepsie, but owing to the uncommon mildness of the season the ice gave way, and the above vessels came down to the city. Yesterday, the fourteenth, the weather was uncommon windy and cold. Fifteenth, in the morning, mild; afternoon, more cold—thermometer 31.  
"NOTE.—The river closed again, and opened on or about the eighth of March, when the *Fire Fly* steamboat arrived on the tenth of March from Albany."

*New York Tribune.*

#### INCIDENTS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF CHINA, MAINE.\*

**MESSRS. EDITORS:**—I wish to offer for publication some account of the first settlement of China, which commenced about ninety years ago, in the time of the Revolutionary war, by some people from Massachusetts, when this part of Maine was almost entirely an unbroken wilderness.

The incidents I am about to relate I heard from the mouths of those people, some seventy years ago—being now nearly eighty years of age. They settled on the easterly shore of the Twelve Mile pond, on a fine tract of land sloping westerly to the pond. Their nearest neighbors were in

\* From *The Maine Farmer*.

Vassalboro', (Getchell's Corner,) ten miles distant. They passed the first winter, with which for severity our winters now would hardly begin to compare, in which they suffered extremely from want and cold. In the spring following, the men having planted some potatoes on a piece of burnt land, started off in quest of food. They proceeded down the pond, seven miles, to the outlet. Leaving their canoe, they proceeded four miles by spotted trees to Getchell's Corner; thence in a canoe eighteen miles down the Kennebec to Cobbossee Contee, where was then the only grist mill in the region, built by Dr. Gardiner in 1760. The corn was then all brought from Boston in vessels. Here they expected to get employment enough to buy a few bushels, get it ground, and return to their starving families; but to their dreadful disappointment the corn had been all sold, and they set out with heavy hearts for home, with their empty bags. After they got above tide water at Augusta, they had to pole their canoe up the rapids, twelve miles, to Getchell's Corner, thence homeward the way they came, having been gone a week. Their half-famished families saw them at a distance on the pond, and immediately put on their kettles with water to cook some pudding as soon as they should arrive. Their little ones ran down to the shore to greet them. They walked into their desolate homes, looking at each other in mute despair. Not a word was spoken for half an hour—their little ones crying with hunger. But how did they make out to live after this? is the natural inquiry. Well, they had to dig up the potatoes they had planted—perhaps not all of them—the fish, shad, and alewives, in the spring ran up to the outlet in such vast numbers that I have heard the old people say that they could have walked over the stream on the backs of them on snow-shoes. Then the moose were very abundant. They would wade into the pond in the night, and brouse among the lilies and water grass. The people would watch for them and go out in canoes and kill them with clubs. Then they got to keeping a cow or two, pasturing them in the woods and meadow, and cutting hay for them in the meadow. Thus they got along, placing their reliance upon a kind Providence, until the wilderness blossomed like a rose. There were fine farms, stocks of cattle, and diaries, more than sixty years ago, all in sight of the now pleasant village of China. Many a traveller has been charmed with the sight of these farms and of the beautiful sheet of water below them, now called China lake. Such were the hardships suffered by the pioneers of China, (formerly Harlem) but they have long since passed away.

FARMINGTON, ME.

DANIEL SEWALL.

## XIV.—NOTES.

THE MONUMENT OF BURROWS.—In the year 1815, an "OLD NEW-YORKER" (Matthew L. Davis, Esq.) was travelling through the town of Portland, Maine, where he discovered the grave of the gallant Captain William Burrows, of the U. S. Brig *Enterprise*—who was mortally wounded on the fifth of September, 1813, in a severe but successful contest with the English Brig *Boxer*—was without a head stone. Mr. Davis's patriotic liberality on this occasion was thus noticed by *The Portland Argus*:—

"A gentleman from New York, Matthew L. Davis, Esq., while passing through town a few days since, on a tour to the Eastward, had accidentally taken a walk into our burying ground. His attention was attracted to the neglected grave of the late gallant Captain Burrows. The only guide to the spot, where is deposited the remains of one who had so much heroic merit and who deserved so much of his country, was the tomb stone of his deceased competitor, the British Captain, Blythe. This was erected two years since by the surviving officers of the *Boxer*. The thought was instant. Mr. Davis immediately gave orders for an elegant marble monument to be erected over the grave of Burrows, to be finished by his return, and without the sparing of labor or expense. It is now completed and put up. Its style of execution does much credit to the ingenious artist, Mr. Bartlett Adams, of this town; and the inscription is highly creditable to the taste, judgment, and modesty of the generous donor, and worthy the hero, whom it is designed to commemorate."

The following is the memorial inscribed on the Monument:—

BENEATH THIS STONE

moulders

THE BODY OF

WILLIAM BURROWS,

LATE COMMANDER

OF THE

UNITED STATES BRIG ENTERPRISE,

who was mortally wounded on the fifth  
of September, 1813,

IN AN ACTION WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO INCREASE  
THE FAME OF AMERICAN VALOUR, BY CAP-  
TURING HIS

BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S BRIG  
BOXER,

AFTER A SEVERE CONTEST OF

Forty-five minutes.



A passing stranger has erected this monument of respect to the manes of a Patriot, who in the hour of peril, obeyed the loud summons of an injured country, and who gallantly met, fought, and conquered the foe-man.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. F. D. V.

A SLIGHT DIFFERENCE.—The State of New York has for many years had in its employ, as custodian of its archives, that eminent scholar and archaeologist, Doctor E. B. O'CALLAGHAN. All the earlier manuscripts are in the Dutch language. Many years ago these manuscripts were translated into English, and last summer the Doctor had occasion to verify some of the papers. In one, it was stated that the Directors at Amsterdam, in sending to this country a lot of emigrants, had supplied each one with a *codfish hook*. By reference to the original, Dr. O'CALLAGHAN found that it meant each a *pea-jacket*.—*Grand Rapids* (Mich.) *Democrat*, Nov. 12, 1887.

PUNNING TRADES TOKENS.—Will. Rose, a publican, of Coleraine, in Ireland, issued trades tokens with a Bear, passant, on the reverse—EXCHANGE. FOR. A. CAN. (i.e., of Beer!), and as if the pun was not ridiculous enough, there was a ROSE AS A REBUS FOR HIS NAME.

Thomas Dawson, of Leeds, perpetrated a similar pun on his token, dated 1870. It says,—BEWARE. OF. Y<sup>e</sup>. BEARE, evidently alluding to the strength of his beer.—*Boynes and Akerman's Trades Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*.

W. J. F.

REMAINS OF EARTH-WORKS.—In Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ii., 1256, in regard to the wall of Severus, across England, from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne, it is said that "Hodgson, in his *History of Northumberland*, (iii. 276) states a fact 'curious if true. 'A little West of Portgate, the 'earth taken out of the fosse lies spread abroad "'to the North in lines, just as the workmen "'wheeled it out and left it. The tracks of "'their barrows, with a slight mound on each "'side, remain unaltered in form.' It is scarcely 'credible, however, that slight elevations of 'earth, and superficial traces in it, should, for 'more than a thousand years, have successfully 'resisted the constant operation of the natural 'agencies, which are sufficient to disintegrate the 'hardest rock.'

So says the writer in the Dictionary. But, after reading this, we were walking across what is called in Carolina, an "*old field*," grown over and swarded down with the hard rooted and tough stemmed broom-grass so common in this

country, which had been last planted in corn, and ploughed deep, before being thrown out of cultivation. And we noticed, as often is the case, that the ridges will retain their height indefinitely long. When once coated over with roots and the growth of the grass, it is difficult to see how they can be levelled down as long as the grass lives. We find these ridges remaining even when the "old field" has been grown over with the pines that so commonly return, with other trees, in old fields that are not under cultivation; and then the fallen leaves will help to preserve the ridges.

And doubtless we may find, along the lines of railroads, just such banks of earth wheeled out; and remaining just as left by the workmen. And so they will remain, as the turf is unbroken.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

E. F. R.

### QUERIES.

KNICKERBOCKERS.—Dickens' *Uncommercial Traveller*, after describing his lodgings in Bond street, says that the latter's young man, when he "got his *Knickerbockers* on, was even cheerful."

Does he refer to Boots or Breeches?

NEW YORK.

K.

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.—Stone, in his *Life of Brant*, ii., App. vii., gives a Ballad, entitled *Saintclaires Defeat*, purporting to have been written "On Occasion of the Victory of the "Indians over that Officer, in 1791."

Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me who was the author of that Ballad? Mr. Stone does not give the name of the writer.

ALBANY, N. Y.

W.

### REPLIES.

LOBSTERS AND NEW YORK.—[*H. M.*, II., ii., 182.] The story is not true. We did not need lobster planting here, for this favorite of the old Dutch aldermen is a native of the waters of New York. Vanderdonck, writing in 1642, says, "Lobsters are plenty. Some of these are very 'large, being from five to six feet in length; 'others again are from a foot to a foot and a half 'long, which are the best for the table." If the "Sons of Rhode Island" can furnish specimens larger than these we will agree to eat them.

Will PRAWN be kind enough to give the name and date of the old New York newspaper referred to in his communication?

SHRIMP.

## XVII.—BOOKS.

## 1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MOHRBANK, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Terra Marior; or Threads of Maryland Colonial History.* By Edward D. Neill. Phila: J. B. Lippencott & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 260.

If we do not mistake, the writer of this little volume was recently the Secretary of the State Historical Society of Minnesota, and author of a standard History of that State. He is now one of the Secretaries of President Johnson; and he tells us, in his Preface, that this is the result of his recreation, when not officially employed at the White House, while visiting the Congressional Library and rummaging the treasures of that fine collection.

In his treatment of the Colonial history of Maryland, he devotes Chapters, respectively, to George and Cecilius, first and second Lords Baltimore, the difficulties with Virginia, the advent of the Quakers and their influence, the disputes concerning boundaries, the Revolution of 1689, society during the Eighteenth Century, and the causes which led to the Declaration of Independence, and to the various Proprietaries.

In the treatment of his subjects, Mr. Neill has employed an easy, flowing style without wasting words for mere effect; and it will be readily seen, by the most casual reader, that, although the author does not pretend to be an expert in the History of Maryland, he knows where to look for the material, and how to employ it.

We have not seen any work, concerning the settlement and progress of Maryland, which, within the same space, contains so much substantial information on the subject; and, for that reason, we are glad to call the attention of our readers to its merits.

The publishers have issued it in a very neat dress; and it will form a very acceptable addition to the local History of Maryland.

2.—*Meditations on the actual state of Christianity, and on the attack, which are now being made upon it.* By M. Guizot. New York: C. Scribner & Co., Sine anno. Crown octavo, pp. 390. Price \$1.75.

Two years since, the great French philosopher published his volume of *Meditations* concerning the essence of Christianity; we have now, those concerning the actual state of the Christian religion, its internal and external condition, the elements which are actively adverse and antagonistic to it, and the impulse imparted to it by that antagonism.

It is not the province of this work to make an extended examination of the various important subjects to which this volume is devoted; but we cannot lay aside a volume from the pen of M. Guizot without reminding our readers that the great ability and high character of its distinguished author commend it to their highest respect.

3.—*Language and the study of Language.* Twelve Lectures on the principles of Linguistic Science. By William Dwight Whitney. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. xi, 489. Price \$2.50.

Professor Whitney, the learned author of this work, has attempted to place before his readers all the facts regarding Language, which are most important. Among these he places its nature and origin, its growth and classifications, its ethnological bearing, its value to man, etc.; and in as simple terms as possible, avoiding as far as he can do so, all technical and metaphysical phraseology, he has executed his task with great ability. The volume will find a hearty welcome among students and instructors; and its handsome dress will secure for it a place in every well-balanced library.

4.—*Tales of the Good Woman.* By a doubtful Gentleman, otherwise, James K. Paulding. Edited by William L. Paulding. In one volume. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 402. Price \$2.50.

5.—*The Bulls and the Jonathans;* comprising John Bull and Brother Jonathan and John Bull in America. By James K. Paulding. Edited by William L. Paulding. In one volume. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1867. Crown octavo, pp. 373. Price \$2.50.

It is an injunction of the Almighty to "honor thy father and thy mother;" and Mr. Paulding, the industrious Editor of these volumes, has earned for himself many blessings for the fidelity with which he has obeyed this heavenly law, in the work which is before us.

The first of the two volumes which we have named is a collection of several of the minor papers of Mr. Paulding; the latter embraces two works, responsive to the slanders against the United States in which various English visitors indulged, about that period; and both will be welcomed, especially by those who, thirty years ago, entered into the passing excitements of the day. These excitements and their attendant bitterness have been forgotten, except by the more venerable of our contemporaries, if they have ever been known to any others who now live—and it is well, therefore to revive such works as these, abounding as they do with that sturdy love of country and unmistakable earnestness of expression which characterized that period more than this, in order that those who shall come after us may learn some of the influences which controlled the affairs of the Union at that time and

be enabled to contrast them with the prevailing ideas of our own day.

The Editor has faithfully carried the different works through the Press, with carefully prepared *Introductions* and illustrative Notes; and we hope that his labors will be rewarded with a generous support.

6.—*Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit*. By Henry Ward Beecher. Phonographically reported. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 882. Price \$1.75.

Prayers to God considered as merchandise, and sold as such! Who but the late Secretary of the American Temperance Union, (so called,) would have entertained such an idea, even if two demons instead of one had prompted it? The fact exists, however, that for "several years," a grave and venerable Doctor in Divinity has listened, and thought of the "great loss" which he was experiencing in allowing so much ministerial supplication to run to waste, and employed, as a commercial speculation, an experienced phonographer to gather them, drop by drop, as they have fallen from Mr. Beecher's lips; that these Prayers to the Almighty, thus picked up, *in transitu*, have been subsequently peddled in the New York market; and that they are here, printed, at fourteen shillings per copy.

It is creditable to Mr. Beecher that he is not a party to so unholy a transaction; and we regret that such a house as our own honored publishers has so far violated all that is decent by allowing its imprint to appear on the title page of such a work—even to gratify "the Reverend Doctor "John Marsh."

7.—*Genealogy of the Van Brunt Family, 1653-1867*. By Teunis G. Bergen. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1867. Octavo, pp. viii, 79.

Rutger Joesten Van Brunt, a solid Dutch farmer, emigrated to New Netherland, in 1653, and was among the first settlers in New Utrecht, on Long Island. Like most other Dutchmen, he had a family; and his descendants are now widely scattered over the country, under the well-known names of Van Dyck, Pollock, Hegeman, Petersen, Ditmas, Vanderbilt, Stymets, Hendrickson, Winant, Stillwell, Denyse, Rapalje, Lott, Lefferts, Cowenhoven, Benson, Preste, Boice, Nafius, Voorhies, Bergen, Van Brunt, etc.

The volume before us, from the pen of one of our contributors who is well versed in such matters, contains the Genealogy of this widely-spread family, from its foundation in America until the present time; and it will prove very useful to the student and very interesting to those who now represent the original Rutger.

The labor which is necessary for the production of such a volume is very little understood by

those who have never attempted such a work; and we can very readily understand why, by reason of its details, it may be unduly neglected by the merely casual collector. It is, however, worthy of a better fate; and we earnestly hope it may have a remunerative circulation.

8.—*Mental Arithmetic*; or, oral exercises in Abstract and Commercial Arithmetic, with first lessons in written Arithmetic, for the use of Schools. By Charles S. Venable, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia. New York: Richardson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 176. Price 45 cents.

9.—*Arithmetic, Pure and Commercial*. For the use of Schools. By Charles S. Venable. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 261. Price \$1.

10.—*An Elementary Grammar of the English Language*. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. Professor of History, General Literature, and Rhetoric, in the University of Virginia. New York: Richardson & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 288.

11.—*The Southern Pictorial Fourth Reader*. For Schools and Families. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. New York: Richardson & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 276.

12.—*Holmes' Southern Fifth Reader for Schools and Families*. By Geo. F. Holmes, LL. D. New York: Richardson & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 408.

The above form portions of a series of textbooks prepared for schools in the Southern States, by Southern scholars, at the instance of a New York publisher, Mr. Richardson, who is known to many of our readers as the founder, and, for many years, the publisher, of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It has been the purpose of the authors of these works to exclude from their pages whatever is calculated to keep alive the existing sectional animosities, either by invidious comparisons or partisan statements; and as the ablest minds of the South are engaged in the preparations of these the importance of the undertaking cannot be too highly regarded.

The series is intended to embrace, when complete, nine Readers, three Grammars, eight volumes of Mathematics, five on Geography and Astronomy, five on the French, and three on the Latin Language, etc., and it has been welcomed throughout the South, in the most flattering manner.

The several volumes are well printed, on fair paper, and substantially bound; and we commend them to those of our readers, North and South, who are interested in the education of the rising generation.

13.—*Hysteria. Remote Causes of Diseases in general; Treatment of Diseases by Tonic Agency; Local or Surgical Forms of Hysteria, etc.* Six Lectures delivered to the Students of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1864. By F. C. Skay, F. R. S., late President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, Consulting Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, etc. New York: A. Sampson & Co. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 103.

This book is more especially interesting to our

medical friends; but it contains so much sound sense, and is withal so free from the technicalities that usually abound in medical works, that the general reader may profit by its perusal.

Mr. Skey is an advocate of the rational treatment of disease, i. e., that plan which makes nutrition and tonic medicaments the basis of the management of disease. His opposition to the spoliative and reducing system which so long held sway over the Medical profession, is bitter and undisguised; and founded as it is upon a right appreciation of the nature of disease, cannot fail to do good, while his immense experience gives to his opinions an almost judicial aspect that merely theoretical views cannot possess. The American publishers have done a good service by placing this little book within the reach of the reading public, and they have earned for themselves credit by the admirable typographical execution of the same.

14.—*Proceedings of the Meeting held at the Inauguration of Rutgers Female College, April 25, 1867.* New York: Agathynian Press. 1867. Octavo, pp. 69.

With all the elegance of tinted laid paper and rubricated title-pages, Doctor Pierce has here recorded the inaugural services with which the Rutgers Female Institute was introduced into the charmed circle of American Colleges.

As a matter of local interest, it will commend itself to the attention of Collectors; and the young house which printed need not be ashamed of its handiwork, in producing it, even when compared with the work of other and older offices.

15.—*An Early New England Marriage Dowry, with Notes on the Lineage of Richard Scott of Providence.* By Martin B. Scott. Boston: 1867. Octavo. pp. 9.

A private reprint, in separate form, of a paper which appeared in a recent number of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, from the pen of M. B. Scott, Esq., a descendant of Richard.

This Richard Scott was a brother-in-law of Anne Hutchinson, and among the earliest settlers of Rhode Island; and the leading paper in this tract is a deed of conveyance to his son-in-law, Christopher Holder, of the Island of Patience, in Narragansett Bay. This deed is followed with a certificate of Roger Williams; and the Notes of the Editor conclude the volume.

We have gone over these "Notes" with some care, and we find them to be just what the editor promised in his title-page—they are notes on the family of Richard Scott, the Quaker, who died in Providence, in 1681-2, embracing notices of his own life and character; corrections of errors into which Capron fell, while on the same subject, in 1817; a brief view of the persecutions to

which his wife, Katharine Marbury, was subjected by the Puritans in Massachusetts, because of her sympathy with the Friends and the sympathy of her persecutors with barbarism and monarchy, etc.

We are glad to perceive that, even in the West, the taste for historical studies is growing; and that private gentlemen—business men and busy men—do not think it is necessary to let their legers and their counting-rooms employ all their energies or command all their sympathies.

16.—*No. I. Indian Bulletin for 1867, containing a brief account of the North American Indians, and the interpretation of many Indian names.* By Rev. N. W. Jones. New York: C. A. Alvord. 1867. Octavo. pp. 16.

We are informed by the author that "this pamphlet has been issued to subscribers, for the purpose of defraying in part the expense of an effort to establish a National Professorship of Indian Languages and Archæology;" but as the reader is not told any other particulars concerning this "effort," we suspect that it has been issued in order that its author may be the better enabled to get a living while he continues to spend,—as he must "often" have spent before, else he would not have been able to speak so positively of what is "often required" in that undertaking—"months of labor" to ensure "the correct interpretation of a single Indian name." We do not object to such an employment of the proceeds of the sale of this tract; we only take the liberty of suggesting that there can be no necessity for a Christian minister to spend, "often," "months of labor," in ascertaining "the correct interpretation of a single Indian name," under the very queer supposition that he is thus engaged in an "effort to establish a National Professorship of Indian Languages and Archæology;" and it is still more singular, that even after having thus "often" spent "months of labor" in interpreting "a single Indian name," there are still doubts, even in his own mind, concerning the correctness of the interpretations of "a few" of the names which he has introduced into this work.

With this confession of the author's ignorance of his subject, staring us in the face in his Prefatory Note, we have little prospect of entire satisfaction with the *Bulletin* itself.

On the fifth line of the first page of the text of the work, the reader is introduced to "the beautiful Pocahontas," and to her salvation of Captain Smith, evidently in open defiance of our friend, Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge; and in the same paragraph, the Indian is said to have "furnished food, shelter, land, trade, and wealth to hundreds and thousands;" to have been a "skillful mechanic, a successful physician, a practical farmer;" and to have "left a literature far more copious than the Hebrew"—very

much of which will be news to our readers, especially since the ministerial character of the relation seems to furnish a guarantee of the correctness of the statements.

17.—*A Discourse preached in Warren* at the completion of the first Century of the Warren Association, September, 11, 1867, by Samuel L. Caldwell. Providence: 1867. Octavo, pp. 19.

The "Warren Association" is one of the oldest of the Baptist Associations in the country, and one of the most influential. It was the Centennial birth-day of this venerable body which called the Pastor of the First Church, in Providence, to deliver the address which is now before us.

In 1734, there were only fifteen Baptist Churches in New England; in 1767, seventy-nine; in 1784, a hundred and fifty; in 1796, three hundred and twenty-five; in 1860, twelve hundred and ninety-one—such has been the progress of the denomination, during the past Century and a third.

Doctor Caldwell boldly confronts the testimony of modern, so-called, historians; and he tells us that this steady march to power by the Baptists of New England, during the eighteenth Century, was only because "the Truth was mightier than the Law, than majorities, than social customs and traditional education, than all social forces against it;" and he does not hesitate to assert, in the most emphatic terms, that the Puritans were "intolerant" where they were in authority, and "inhospitable" to those who were unlike themselves. The Browns' unsuccessful attempt to use the Prayer-book, the refusal of the Elders to tolerate Presbyterianism, the Antinomian persecutions, the exile of Roger Williams, and the whipping of Obadiah Holmes, are among the instances referred to, to support this avowal; and he very aptly cites Presidents Dunster and Chauncey of Harvard, Lady Deborah Moody, and Hansard Knollys, as early Baptists.

The early struggle with Puritan intolerance is also made the subject of a careful and elaborate survey. He also relates the origin of the Association at Warren, its progress to power, and its subsequent divisions for greater convenience; and he closes with a very excellent retrospect of the past Century.

We observe that Doctor Caldwell alludes to the Confession of Faith of the English Baptists, in 1643; we shall be glad to learn where it may be found. There are some persons who are not satisfied with the genuineness of all the Confessions of the Early Baptists in England, which the Hansard Knollys Society has issued; and we are quite sure that the particular Confession which possesses the greatest historical interest—the *first*—has not been truly presented in the Society's volume. We happen to own a perfect copy of the original edition; and we speak by the book.

18.—*The General Association of Massachusetts, 1867. Minutes of the Sixty-fifth Annual Meeting, Greenfield, June 25-27, with the Narrative of the State of Religion, and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches.* Boston: Congregational Board of Publication. 1867. Octavo.

The title-page furnishes a complete description of this pamphlet, and a most useful work it is to those who are interested in the local history of Massachusetts,

The Editor—probably Doctor A. H. Quint of New Bedford—has done his work with ability and good judgment; but we are not quite sure that the Minutes of the Maine Association, referred to in our last, are not more complete and therefore more useful.

There is, in this tract, a paper of considerable interest, because of its novelty—we refer to the "Report of the Committee on the administration of Baptism in connection with admissions to the Church."

It seems that the Pastors of some of the Churches in Massachusetts baptize persons "before assent is given" [*by the baptized*] "to the Covenant," while others require a *previous* confession, "avouching *Personal* faith and consecration to God and Christ;" and the object of this Report is to determine which of these practices is the best; whether an unbeliever—in which class we recognize *all* who have made no Profession of their faith—is at any time entitled to Baptism or may properly be Baptised, under any circumstances. In the solution of such a question, one would suppose no Orthodox Christian, nor even an Heterodox Infidel, could possibly differ in his conclusion from every one of his neighbors, if he has read and recognizes the binding obligation of the original commission to baptize or believes the narrative of its meaning as illustrated by the practice of the primitive Christians—that, for instance, of Philip, when the eunuch indicated his desire to be Baptized.

In this, however, notwithstanding its simplicity, it seems there is a difference; and the Report, after a roundabout story, without turning to the Commission or quoting a *primitive* authority, determines, very sensibly, we think, that "the practice which has crept in of baptizing the candidate before the covenant, that is, before any confession of his *PERSONAL repentance, faith, and obedience*, and after simple assent on his part to a mere statement of doctrinal belief, *was AN INNOVATION UPON CHRISTIAN USAGE from the days of the Apostles*"—a determination which is perfectly in accord with the Bible.

Would it not be well for the Committee to extend its inquiry during the current year, and tell us, in the next issue of the Minutes, how it is with the "Baptism" of those persons who, with yet more grave impropriety, it seems to us, have neither "assented" "to a mere statement of doctrinal belief," nor "confessed" their *personal*

"repentance, faith, and obedience," as required by the Committee? Of those, many are said to be baptised in Massachusetts every year—nine hundred and eighty-seven, in 1866, and eleven hundred and sixty-eight, in 1867, are reported on page 55 of this very tract;—and it seems to us that this intelligent Committee might reasonably inquire by *whose* authority they were "Baptized" at all; and just what difference there is between the so-called "Baptisms," thus administered to *unbelievers* and without even an "assent to a mere statement of doctrinal belief," much more without "any confession of their *personal* repentance," etc., and that lawless "*innovation upon CHRISTIAN usage* from the days of the Apostles," of which the Committee has made mention.

We trust Dr. Quint will promote the extended inquiry, thus invited.

19.—*Communication from the Counsel of the Corporation* in reply to Resolution of Inquiry in relation to the powers of the Corporation of the City of New York to issue Tavern and Excise Licenses. Board of Aldermen, October 7, 1867. New York: E. Jones & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 22.

We do not generally notice the papers published by the Corporation of New York, but this seems to demand a more careful consideration since it is mainly a historical and legal discussion concerning the ancient Charters of the city and the rights of the Common Council, under their provisions.

The learned Counsel of the Corporation traces from the days of the Dutch, more than two hundred years, the vested right of the city to license Taverns and collect excise duties; and he cites the Charters, subsequently granted by British authorities in confirmation of that "ancient right," and the decisions of the Courts, in the earlier days, on the inviolability of the Charter, to prove that the right to issue Licenses for Taverns and to collect Excise, is vested only the Mayor.

We have read the argument with considerable attention; and, in view of the incompleteness of his material, Mr. O'Gorman has done well. There is, however, very much more to be said on this subject of the right of the Legislature to interfere with the local concerns of New York; and we are looking forward to the Reports of the seven gentlemen to whom the Corporate authorities, last spring, appealed for information on that subject, to clear away the rubbish and establish the Truth—a result which will confirm to New York all the rights of self-government, without interference from abroad.

20.—*Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Mercantile Library Association of the City of New York.* May, 1866—April, 1867. New York, 1867. Octavo, pp. 48.

It seems that on the first of May, 1867, there

were Ten thousand five hundred and thirty-one members in this Association; that its yearly receipts were \$40,692 07; that Ten thousand and ninety volumes were added to the library during the year preceding that date, and Three thousand and four duplicates sold; and that it possessed "about Ninety thousand volumes," a fine Reading-room, etc.

It is gratifying to know that the Society is highly prosperous; and we trust that its prosperity will never be retarded by injudicious management.

21.—*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: with an Appendix.* Vol. XIV. A. D. 1867. New York, Presbyterian Publication Committee. 1867. Octavo, pp. 458—695.

We are indebted to our valued friend, Rev. Doctor Hatfield, for a copy of this volume, in which, carefully and judiciously arranged, are the statistics of the great denomination of New-School Presbyterians, scattered throughout our country.

The completeness of the record, in view of the wide extent of the Assembly's jurisdiction and the negligence of mankind wherein its *interest* is not apparent, is a monument to the industry, and methodical training, and businesslike habits of Dr. Hatfield, and may usefully serve as a model for those who shall come after him, in any department.

22.—*Insanity in its Medico-Legal Relations.* Opinion relative to the testamentary capacity of the late James C. Johnston, of Chowan County, North Carolina, by William A. Hammond, M. D. Second edition. New York: Baker, Voorhis, & Co., 1867. Octavo, pp. 81.

This notable case of monomania has been so fiercely contested on either side that it is already known to both the medical and legal professions throughout the country; and to no others, except the parties directly in interest, is it of any importance whatever.

The Opinion of Doctor Hammond, adverse to the capacity of the testator, is very elaborate and very conclusive; and we know of no reason for discrediting his conclusions. We commend the work to those who are interested in such subjects.

23.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College,* with a statement of the course of instruction in the various departments. 1867-68. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 74.

The Annual Catalogue of Yale College presents, in its five Departments, a noble array of Instructors, with a hundred and twenty-two students in Philosophy and Arts; one hundred and seven in the Senior Class, one hundred and twenty-eight Juniors, one hundred and thirty-two Sophomores, and one hundred and thirty-eight Freshmen, and

ample means for the efficient discharge of the duties devolving on the institution.

94.—*Colton's Journal of Geography and collateral Sciences*: a record of discovery, exploration, and survey, issued quarterly. New York: G. W. & B. Colton & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 16. Price \$1. per year.

Although the primary object of this work may have been to advertise the business of its Publishers, we hope it will be made as useful as possible to students and others who take an interest in this very interesting subject.

The number before us is well-printed and contains a paper on *Alaska* and one, by Professor Dana, on the *Geological History of North America*.

95.—*The Atlantic Almanac*, 1868. Edited by Oliver Wendell Holmes and Donald G. Mitchell. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. Royal Octavo, pp. 76. Price 60 cents.

This work has been prepared upon a plan and in a style entirely new in its country. It contains sixty-four royal octavo, double-column pages, over fifty of which are filled with *original* matter. The literary character of the Almanac is altogether superior to that of any similar Almanac ever before published, as will be seen from the following list of authors who have contributed to its pages: O. W. HOLMES, ALFRED TENNYSON, DONALD G. MITCHELL, ALICE CARY, the Author of *The Man Without a Country*, R. W. EMERSON, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, GAIL HAMILTON, NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, ELIZABETH AKERS ALLEN, CHARLES DICKENS, WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, OWEN MEREDITH, GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, MRS. AGASSIZ, THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH, THOMAS HOOD, W. M. THACKERAY, and J. G. WHITTIER. It contains four full-page Illustrations, in colors, of *The Seasons*, reproduced from paintings by Mr. A. F. BELLows, and in addition to these, the text is profusely illustrated by the most skilful artists of the country.

In the general character of its literature, the *Atlantic Almanac* may be regarded as a Christmas number of the *Atlantic Monthly*; and a beautiful colored Cover adds to its attractiveness.

## 2.—MISCELLANY.

MAINE IN THE WAR.—*The Leviston Journal* says, Hon. J. L. Hodston, late Adjutant-general of this State, published during his term of office, six annual reports to the Legislature, averaging one thousand octavo pages each. Together they embrace a mass of statistical and biographical facts that can be found in no other State documents. The last volume of the series is in the hands of the binder, and will be ready for delivery to the Legislature at its meeting. From it we learn that

Maine sent to war, seventy-two thousand, eight hundred and forty-five men. The total number deceased in the service was seven thousand, three hundred and twenty-two. There were five thousand and three hundred and eighty-seven substitutes and representative recruits furnished by drafted and enrolled men, and men not liable to draft. During the war, the State furnished one million, nine hundred and sixty thousand, eight hundred and one dollars and ninety-nine cents, in aid to needy families of soldiers and seamen. This was distributed among forty-nine thousand and thirty-four families, consisting of one hundred and twenty-two thousand, one hundred and ninety-three persons.

FORREST'S CAMPAIGN.—General Forrest publishes the following card:

"MEMPHIS, TENN., October 3, 1867.—In the 'work now in course of preparation by the publishers, will be found an authentic account of 'the campaigns and operations in which I took 'part during the war for the independence of 'the Confederate States. Believing it to be 'proper that there should be a timely and 'lasting record of the deeds and services of those 'whom I have been so fortunate as to command, 'I placed all the facts and papers in my possession, or available to me, in the hands of 'accomplished writers, who have done their 'part with close and conscientious research, and 'have endeavored to make up a chronicle neither 'over-wrought nor over-colored, as I can testify. 'For the greater part of the statements of the 'narrative I am responsible; and all facts and 'incidents derived from other sources are properly credited in the foot-notes. It is hoped 'that justice will be found done in some degree 'to the courage, zeal, fortitude, and other soldierly qualities of the men of 'Forrest's Cavalry,' for that has been the main purposes 'of the work. N. B. FORREST."

PEALE'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—Messrs. Ball & Black have issued a circular announcing that they have for sale one hundred copies of Rembrandt Peale's portrait of Washington, drawn on stone by the artist, and carefully retouched by his own hand. Since Mr. Peale's death, the stone on which this drawing was made has been destroyed, and consequently these hundred copies, with a few that the artist himself disposed of, are all that can ever be offered to the public. Moreover, Messrs. Ball & Black declare that if at the end of ninety days—the circular bears no date—any of the prints should be unsold, they will be taken to Europe, and disposed of there. We are assured by several cotemporaries of Washington,

in a series of extracts from letters, written by them, and published at the end of the circular, that the likeness is a very faithful one. Chief-justice Marshall writes: "I have never seen a portrait of that great man which exhibited so perfect a resemblance of him." Judge Washington, ditto. Judge Cranch, ditto. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton: "It brought to my recollection his countenance such as it was at the commencement of the Revolution;" and William Rush writes: "I have been in battle under his command, have viewed him frequently on horseback and on foot, walking, standing, and sitting. I have modeled him in wood and clay repeatedly, and I consider your portrait the best likeness of him in the vigor of life, I have ever seen on canvass." These witnesses are not to be disregarded, and there is no doubt that the drawing is valuable. But Peale was a very indifferent artist—a mere mechanic—and the portrait has about as much look of the living man as Mr. William Rush's models in wood probably had. It is impossible for us to agree with the extravagant estimate that Messrs. Ball & Black place upon this lithograph.—*Exchange*.

SCRAPS.—Whitelaw Reid, once AGATE of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, is writing a History of Ohio Volunteers.

—Marshall, the artist, has nearly completed his engraving of Grant. It is of the same size and form as that best of portraits of Mr. Lincoln which is so well known as the work of Mr. Marshall.

—We learn from the *Newark Courier* that the historical record of New Jersey in the war for the Union, authorized by the Legislature of 1866, and prepared by John Y. Foster, of that city, is now passing through the press, and the first edition will appear about Christmas time. For the sake of convenience in handling, the work is confined to a single volume of seven hundred and fifty royal octavo pages, and will be handsomely printed on heavy white paper, in large, clear type, and embellished—in addition to a superb steel portrait of General Philip Kearney—with numerous maps of the more important battle-fields of the war.

—We regret to state that it was a necessary act of the last Legislature, punishing by fine any wilful writing upon, injuring, defacing, or destroying, any book, picture or statute belonging to any law, town, city, or other public library.—*Boston Transcript*.

—*Barnes' History of the Thirty-ninth Congress* is to be published by Harper & Brothers, who will bring out a new and enlarged edition of the work, splendidly illustrated, in a few days.

—The late Col. Alfred Mills, of the *Chicago Tribune*, left a manuscript history of McClellan's

Peninsular Campaign, which contained so much that was startling, that the author did not deem it expedient to publish it at present; but it should see light ere long, as a valuable contribution to the history of the late war.

—Mr. J. Fletcher Williams, one of the editors of the *Saint Paul Pioneer* and the Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, is soon to publish a *History of St. Paul*, on which he has been at work for many years, and for which a large portion of his material has been collected through nearly eleven years of editorial life in the city of which he writes.

—The Astor Library has been in existence fourteen years, and now possesses one hundred and thirty-five thousand volumes, while the capacities of the present buildings are equal to the accommodation of three hundred and fifty thousand. Four thousand volumes were added in 1867, and additions are constantly being made; but great care is exercised in the present purchases so as not to fill up the library too rapidly. During the past year there have been about twenty-five thousand readers in the two halls, and about fifty thousand volumes read. Besides these, large numbers have been admitted to the alcoves—authors, statistical writers, members of the press, etc. Francis Schroeder, formerly American Minister to Sweden, and one of the most distinguished biblioplists of the country; is the present Superintendent, and E. R. Straznicky, Frederic Saunders, F. A. Wood, and John Ebbets, are Librarians.

—J. S. C. Abbott, the author of the *Life of Napoleon*, is engaged on a *Life of Gen. Grant*. More's the pity.

—Thurlow Weed promises to write a book of Political Reminiscences after the next Presidential election, with the assistance of some two thousand letters which have been preserved and indorsed by his daughter. These letters are from all the leading Whig statesmen and Republican politicians of the last thirty or forty years.

—The editor of the *Supreme Court Reports*, Oliver H. Barbour, had, years ago, a contract with Gould, Banks & Co., to furnish them to that firm, receiving one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars per volume. About the time of the completion of Volume XXIV, a change was made in the firm, the old firm assigning to the new this contract. Mr. Barbour declined to go on with the new firm, and made a contract with Little of Albany. The firm commenced an action against Mr. Barbour, claiming that the contract was assignable, and that Mr. Barbour had by his acts assented to the assignment. The case was referred, and the Referee found for the Defendant. The Plaintiffs appealed; and the case turns mainly on the question whether a contract for personal services is assignable. It



was recently argued, and the Court reserved its decision.

—*The Rebellion Record*, will be completed on the first of March next, by the publication of the twelfth volume. Persons having valuable material not already published in the work, will do well to inclose such to Mr. Frank Moore, the Editor, at the Bible-House, New York City.

### XVIII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

**EMBURY MONUMENT.**—A project is on foot to erect a monument over the ashes of Philip Embury.

When Mr. Embury died, in 1775, he was buried in a retired place on a neighboring farm in Camden, Washington county, New York, where his remains slept till 1832; they were then removed to the old Ashgrove burying-ground. There they remained till 1866, when the church having been removed to Cambridge (about two miles), the old burial place falling into decay and disuse, and many bodies being removed, it was thought best that the remains of the founder of American Methodism should be again removed. This was done during the Session of the Troy Conference, in Cambridge, April, 1866, Bishop James and Reverend S. D. Brown at the time delivering appropriate and eloquent addresses. These sacred relics now lie in Woodland Cemetery, near Cambridge, in a lot generously donated by the Cemetery Association for that purpose. The lot is one of the most eligible and beautiful in the large Cemetery, and is situated upon an eminence looking out upon one of the finest landscapes in the country. What is now needed is an appropriate monument—such an one as the Methodist Church is able and ready to erect over the dust of her God-honored founder.

The Troy Conference has appointed a Committee to secure, if possible, the erection of such a monument.

**SCRAPS.**—The death, at the age of eighty-seven, of the celebrated bibliographer, Jacques Charles Brunet, is announced. The son of a bookseller, born at Paris in 1780, he commenced his bibliographical labors at a very early age; and lived to witness the completion, in 1864, of a fifth and much-improved edition of the *opus magnum*, the *Manuel de Libraire*, which for more than twenty years has been the leading bibliography of the world. Eloquent orations were pronounced at his interment. M. Paul Lacroix quoted M. Charles Nodier as saying of Brunet: "Here is our great teacher, who has written, and will write, but one book; but to that he will devote his life, and it will be a masterpiece." The prophecy has been amply fulfilled. M. Lacroix

made but a brief allusion to the fine cabinet of books possessed by M. Brunet, the treasures of which he was at all times pleased to show to any one competent to appreciate them. He had some fine specimens of the *bindings* so much coveted by collectors; and his library, rich in other respects also, will, if it comes to the hammer, excite the most lively interest and most eager competition.

—An effort is being made among the friends of Fitz-Greene Halleck to raise an amount sufficient to erect a monument in Guilford to the poet's memory. James G. Wilson, Esq., of New York is engaged in collecting materials of Mr. Halleck's life, for a Memoir of him.

—A bundle of shingles taken from the wreck of a British transport that went ashore at Castine, in 1779, was as sound throughout as when it was shipped in England, although it has laid in the wreck nearly a hundred years.

—The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recommended that statues of the late ex-Governors Dodge and Doty, of that State, be placed in the niche assigned Wisconsin in the National Gallery at the Capitol, at Washington.

—The Vermont Senate has authorized the State Librarian to purchase portraits of all the Governors, paying not more than fifty dollars each.

—A number of fossil and other fish of the ante-carboniferous period have recently been dug up near Columbus, Ohio.

—*The New Orleans Republican* learns that Governor Flanders has applied to the Secretary of the Interior for the return to that State of Hiram Powers's statue of Washington, which was taken from Baton Rouge by General Butler, in 1862, and sent North. This work of art was sent to New York; but the ship on which it was placed became disabled at sea, and put into Chesapeake Bay. The statue was finally sent to the Patent Office, where it has been kept ever since.

—It is stated that Captain G. P. Cochrane of Augusta, Me. has one of the largest and most valuable private collections of minerals, Indian relics, coins, &c., in the State. The collection of minerals not only comprises all that are to be found in Maine, but contains many Southern and Western specimens of great rarity. The Indian relics consist of stone adzes, gouges, pestles, and other utensils, as well as arrow heads and various other implements of warfare; and were mostly obtained in Monmouth, Wayne, and neighboring towns, once in habitation of portions of the Androscoggin family of Indians.

—It is said that the British War Office has decided in future to include the subject of Military History by the creation of a special Lectureship for the Royal Military Academy, some other study of less importance being discontinued to make room for it.

# THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. NEW SERIES.]

NOVEMBER, 1867. ~~NEW~~

[EXTRA NUMBER.]

## WHAT OUR NEIGHBORS SAY OF US.

WITH the liveliest satisfaction, we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following testimonials of the intrinsic merits of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, as a repository of important materials concerning "the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America."

It will be perceived that we have not hesitated to present, also, in their proper places, the outpourings of a very few who have found nothing in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE that is worthy of their commendation or approval. We have done so because the great body of our readers will not fail to perceive, from the judgment of the greater number and the stronger minds, the country over, that either ignorance, or bigotry, or some private grief, rather than intelligence and integrity, untrammelled, has controlled the adverse judgments; and because we have been taught that ignorance, and falsehood, and self-interest, even in their worst forms, are harmless while Knowledge and the Truth are free to combat them.

### I.—EXTRACT FROM THE RECORDS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, AUGUST, 1867.

"The following resolutions were proposed by the Rev. Mr. Dyke, and, on motion, were adopted.

"RESOLVED. That THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MAINE appreciates the value of 'THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,' published in New York, and desires to bear testimony to the zeal and ability of its present Editor, in collecting and preserving the materials for History, and the frankness with which historical questions are discussed and considered in its pages.

"RESOLVED. That the interests of history will be promoted by the wider circulation of 'THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE' in our State."

A true extract.

Attest,

EDWARD BALLARD,  
Recording Secretary.

Brunswick,  
Aug. 16th, 1867.

HIST. MAG. VOL. II. 21.

### II.—From the HON. E. E. BOURNE, President of the Maine Historical Society.

I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, from its commencement, and have found it a very efficient aid in my Historical pursuits.

Some have objected to the spirit of the later numbers. But it is only by the warmth and zeal of those who are endeavoring to ferret out the truth or to maintain conclusions to which their own researches have led them, that the real facts of History are to be established. A magazine which is spiritless is of little value and will do little for the object for which it is set on foot. In this monthly there is nothing exclusive. Its management is of the most liberal character. Every one disposed to contribute to its pages or reply to its editorials, may infuse as much spirit into his work as he thinks proper. No replication will be rejected on that account. This I understand to be the position of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and I believe that no historical student will fail to find in the numbers for a year much which will help him in his pursuits.

E. E. BOURNE.

Kennebunk, Me.,  
August, 1867.

### III.—From REV. EDWARD BALLARD, D. D., Secretary of the Maine Historical Society.

I fully concur in the expressions of commendation of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, as given by Hon. Mr. Bourne; and believing it to be a valuable repository of the ungathered facts of American History, and open for free discussion of controverted points. I wish it may have a wide circulation.

EDWARD BALLARD.

Brunswick, Me.

### IV.—From HON. WILLIAM WILLIS, formerly President of the Maine Historical Society, and author of The History of Portland, etc.

PORTLAND, July 31, 1867.

I do not lose sight of the MAGAZINE, having been an original subscriber and an occasional contributor. I can truly say that it has not been more ably conducted nor better filled with varied and valuable matter than since you have taken it into your hands. But I must say that your trenchant manner of treating New England, and especially Massachusetts, has given offence to many persons in this quarter, among whom are present and former subscribers to the work.

Your historical researches are varied and comprehensive, and your criticisms are honest, very often just, although as often sarcastic and severe. They give life and character to the MAGAZINE, but make enemies.

I am examining, as I have leisure, old MSS. relating to New York and Pennsylvania, and if I find anything that will be likely to interest your readers I shall not fail to communicate it.

I am truly,  
Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM WILLIS.

V.—From *Rev. N. BOUTON, D. D., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society; Author of The History of Concord, etc.; and Editor of The Collections of the N. H. Historical Society.\**

CONCORD, N. H., August 13, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

... I trust you will pardon me for saying, with all frankness and sincerity, that heretofore the criticisms in the *Magazine*, on New England, New England Institutions, and especially on Massachusetts men and books, have been so severe, and in my judgment, so unjust that I cannot endorse it for the future. I think a work of such a character as THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, should be eminently impartial and true.

Very respectfully,

I am Yours, etc.,

N. BOUTON,

Cor. Sec. N. H. Hist. Soc.

VI.—From *Captain W. F. GOODWIN, U. S. A. Librarian of the New Hampshire Historical Society.*

This valuable monthly, the only one of the kind published in America, has recently passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, N. Y., whose reputation as a historical writer and author is too well known to need mention. The *Magazine* has entered upon its tenth year, and has an established reputation among the best scholars of the world, sufficient to find a place in their libraries.

I can cordially recommend this *Magazine* to the favorable consideration of the members of our NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and hope that they will, one and all, subscribe for it. (*From The Statesman, Concord, Sept. 23, 1866.*)

VII. From *Rev. PLINY H. WHITE, D.D., President of the Vermont Historical Society.*

The undersigned having been a reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its beginning until now, takes pleasure in attesting to its great value as a repository of American History and Biography, in which is contained much that cannot be found elsewhere, as well as much that can only elsewhere be found in sources quite inaccessible to the great majority of the students of History.

PLINY H. WHITE,

COVENTRY, VT., 12th August, 1867.

VIII. From *Hon. HILAND HALL, late President of the Vermont Historical Society, and formerly Governor of the State.*

I have been a subscriber to the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for nine years past, and concur in the above statement of the Rev. Pliny H. White.

HILAND HALL.

NORTH BENNINGTON, VT.,  
August 22, 1867.

IX. From *SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Esq., late President of The New England Historic Genealogical Society; Author of The History and Antiquities of the City of Boston, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, etc.; and Editor of The Old Indian Chronicle, The N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, etc.*

Boston, 13th August, 1867,

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR:

Respecting the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, its great value and usefulness, there can be but one opinion among students in American History; and of your ability to conduct such a periodical, I do not think there has ever been a question. That there are those who express disapprobation of some of the statements and opinions is true; and I must confess I

am among that number. Yet, at the same time, such statements (by some termed "sectional aspersions") and opinions, have not sufficient influence upon me to cause me to undervalue any historical facts, nor to underrate the ability of an Editor who has shown an acumen in intricate historical investigations seldom equalled, and rarely surpassed.

With my best wishes for your health and prosperity,

I remain truly yours,

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

X. From *JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., late Secretary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, etc.*

Boston, August 1st, 1867.

I can only recommend the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to the patronage of the public. Its present editor, HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., possesses rare qualifications for that position, being a gentleman of extensive historical reading and great industry in research, while, at the same time, he possesses a clear and vigorous style. Though differing from him in some of his opinions, and disapproving the manner in which he has presented them to his readers, I believe him to be a conscientious writer, who, while bold in promulgating his own views, is always ready to open his pages to the communications of his opponents.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

XI. From *WILLIAM F. POOLE, Esq., Librarian of The Boston Athenæum, and Author of An Index to Periodical Literature, etc.—the celebrated "P" of The Evening Transcript.*

Nov. 9, [1866.]

MR. DAWSON,

DEAR SIR: I have received several times a Circular from you on the supposition that this Library did not take THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. This Library has taken the *Magazine* from its commencement, and we value it very highly. We do not propose to do without it.

W. F. POOLE, Librarian.

P.S. I have written the above that you might not think we were so stupid at "the Hub" as not to be aware of the merits of your *Magazine*.

W. F. P.

XII. From *J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Author of Landing at Cape Ann, etc.*

20 COURT STREET, BOSTON,  
Sept. 14th, 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

I assure you that no more welcome page comes to my table than that of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, with its rich unvaried miscellany of historical lore and monthly record of and dignified learning.

You rescue from oblivion original papers illustrative of every portion of our Republic, from the very beginning even until now. The existence of such masses of unused materials shows with what discrimination, if not skepticism, "historians" were compendiums as they must be, should be received; and no writer can prudently omit an examination of the pages of the *Magazine*. Of course a thorough index of names of places, persons, and things, is indispensable; and the omission of this, in some of the earlier volumes, seriously impairs their usefulness.

Your Book notices are admirable; they are honest; and though sometimes a dissent may be entered, you always give "a reason for the faith that is in you," if not always conclusive.

That the editorial pen is not nibbed in Boston, nor the editorial spectacles furnished by Boston opticians, is very apparent; but why Boston nifs and lenses—not all alike—may not be quite as true and trusty as those of New York, is not apparent.

Your harsh words to us in the East are useless, more than useless, and cannot be classed under what Disraeli calls the "Amenities of Literature."

Wishing you the full success which exact and thorough learning, untiring diligence, historical acumen, and honest conviction, may rightly challenge,

I am, yours sincerely,

J. WINGATE THORNTON.

\* *Vide, Historical Magazine* I, x, Supplement. 23, 24.

**XIII.—From Hon. J. RUSSELL BARTLETT, Secretary of the State of Rhode Island, Author of The Progress of Ethnology; Dictionary of Americanisms, Report on the Mexican Boundary Line, etc.**

The editorship of this periodical has again passed into the hands of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, a gentleman better qualified for the task than any of whom we have knowledge. Mr. Dawson has written and edited a large number of books and pamphlets upon American History, in which he has elucidated points which had previously been involved in obscurity; indeed, he seems to have a taste for those subjects of historical and antiquarian research which most writers avoid.—*From The Providence Journal, September 19th, 1866.*

**XIV.—From Professor GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE, Author of Life of Gen. Nathaniel Greene, etc.**

EAST GREENWICH, R. I. 18th Sept. 1867.

MY DEAR DAWS :

You ask me for my opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I give it without hesitation or reserve.

I think that the impulsiveness of your nature leads you at times into forms of expression which irritate without convincing, and awaken opposition where your real object is to invite impartial research. This is particularly apparent whenever you speak of New England or New England men. I feel it as a New Englander; and I deeply regret it as a student of History and your friend. The bitterness of opinions is a dangerous element in the discussion of historical truth.

I have told you candidly what I disapprove in the Magazine. I will tell you with equal candor what I admire. I admire your vigor, your industry, the depth and the range of your inquiries. I think that you have succeeded in bringing together a large number of important documents which might otherwise have been lost—or what is equivalent to lost—have remained buried in private collections. I think that as a medium of enquiry upon historical questions your work is of inestimable value; and I should regard the suspension of it as a literary calamity.

Very truly yours,

G. W. GREENE.

MR. H. B. DAWSON.

**XV.—From the late WILLIAM L. WEAVER, Esq., the Genealogist of Windham County, Conn.**

The Magazine contains articles of real historical value, *From The Willimantic Journal, Sept. 20, 1866.*

The improved character of the work under the new management noticed in the August number, is continued. They contain much curious and valuable historical information. *From the same paper, Nov. 1, 1866.*

**XVI.—From Officers and Members of THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, now in its tenth volume, has always had a special interest for me, and I therefore most willingly recommend that the members of the Long Island Historical Society should give it their support, particularly as the Editor proposes to report the meetings of our Society.

J. CARSON BRKVORST.

BROOKLYN, October 13, 1866.

HEN. C. MURPHY,  
GEO. S. STEPHENSON,  
JOSHUA M. VAN COTT,  
A. COOKE HULL,  
E. S. MILLER,  
CHAS. E. WEST,

J. GREENWOOD,  
ALDEN J. SPOONER,  
R. S. STORRS, JR.,  
JOHN BLUNT,  
CHARLES CONGDON,  
A. M. WOOD,

THOS. W. FIELD.

From the testimony of the gentlemen signing above, I feel free to commend the Magazine.

H. W. BROOKER.

**XVII.—From Officers and Members of THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

The undersigned have great pleasure in recommending to the favor and support of the public, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which, under its present management, promises to

surpass its former high reputation, and which, by reason of its Reports of Meetings, will be especially interesting to the members of The New York Historical Society.

New York, September, 1866.

FREDERICK DE PEYSTER,  
BENJ. R. WINTHROP,  
ANDREW WARREN,  
GEORGE H. MOORE,  
CHARLES P. KIRKLAND,

THOMAS DEWITT, D. D.,  
JOHN ROMFYN BRODHEAD,  
BENJ. H. FIELD,  
ISAAC FERRIS, D. D.,  
E. C. BENDIRIOR,  
JAMES LENOX.

**XVIII.—From Officers and Members of THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**

The undersigned cheerfully concur with the officers and members of The Long Island and The New York Historical Societies, in their good opinions of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and in their commendation of it to the favor and support of every scholar in the country.

THOS. EWBANK,  
E. H. DAVIS, M. D.  
HENRY T. DROWNE,  
H. R. STILES, M. D.

**XIX.—From THE CLERGY, in the City of New York.**

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, under the editorial charge of Mr. Dawson has been enlarged and greatly increased in value. It is a periodical much needed, and in the collection of materials for History much industry and research are manifested. It has deserved claims upon a liberal and increased patronage in our community.

THOMAS DEWITT,

[Senior Pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, N. Y.]

I concur in the foregoing recommendation of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, considering it to be a very valuable and important work, and deserving of a liberal support.

MORGAN DIX,

[Rector of Trinity Church, New York.]

We concur with the foregoing recommendations.

E. H. CHAPIN,

[Pastor of the Fourth Universalist Church, New York.]

EDWIN F. HATFIELD.

[Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.]

SAMUEL ORGOOD,

[Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York.]

HOWARD CROSBY,

[Pastor of Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church.]

JOHN C. LOWRIE,

[Secretary of Board of Foreign Missions.]

THOS. D. ANDERSON,

[Pastor of First Baptist Church.]

**XX.—From well-known Gentlemen residing in the city of New York.**

NEW YORK, Aug. 19, 1867.

I have for some years been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

It contains a great amount of interesting and useful historical information, and may be consulted with advantage by all students of History, especially of the History of the City and State of New York.

Its present Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is fully qualified by his tastes, acquirements, and studies to render the Magazine hereafter, as it has been heretofore, a valuable acquisition to the student and the lover of our History.

CHARLES P. KIRKLAND.

We fully concur in the expressions of opinion of Mr. Kirkland, both as to the merits of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and of its present Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson.

JOHN COCHRANE,

[Late Attorney-General of New York.]

GEORGE ODDYKE,

[Late Mayor of the City of New York.]

HAMILTON FISHL.

[President of the N. Y. Historical Society, late Governor of the State and Senator in Congress.]

NEW YORK, Sept. 20, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its beginning; and regard it as a most useful and val-

uable publication. As a permanent record of facts in respect to the early history of this City and State, which, if not now collected and preserved, would be liable to be lost forever, it supplies a necessity which no other journal fulfils; and deserves the encouragement and support of all who take an interest in historical researches, or feel a patriotic pride in the great Commonwealth or in the great Continental Metropolis to which we belong.

With much respect, and with cordial regard,  
I remain, very truly yours, etc.,  
HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq. S. J. TILDER.  
I concur in the above. JOHN T. HOFFMAN,  
[Mayor of the City of New York.]

I also concur. The Magazine has greatly improved under the management of Mr. Dawson, and in addition to being a vehicle for the publication of valuable papers and historical documents, it seems destined to become the substitute in this country for *Notes and Queries*.

CHAS. P. DALY,  
[First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.]  
I fully concur with Judge Daly in the above recommendation.  
G. C. VERPLANK.

XXI.—From Hon. JOHN V. L. PRUYN, *Chancellor of the Regents of the University of the State of New York*.

ALBANY, August 19th, 1867.  
The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a publication of great interest to all who are desirous to acquaint themselves with the History of our Country, and especially that of the State of New York. Great research is evinced in many of its articles, and its tone is manly and independent.  
I hope that it will receive a liberal support from the public.  
JOHN V. L. PRUYN.

XXII.—From BENSON J. LOSSING, Esq., *Author of The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, History of the United States, etc.*

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Feb. 18, 1867.  
FRIEND DAWSON:  
It will give me great pleasure, I assure you, to contribute any way that I may to the columns and the support of the Magazine. You are doing a great public service in saving from possible annihilation valuable papers relating to the early History of our State. Fire might strike those documents out of existence in MS. state: it would take many fires to annihilate them in your printed form.  
As ever, your sincere friend,  
BENSON J. LOSSING.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1867.  
H. B. DAWSON, Esq.:

I have been a careful reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its commencement in 1857 until now, and I regard it as one of the most useful publications of the day, for it is a repository and safe custodian of some of the rarest treasures of American History. But for its service these might be lost or remain forever unknown.

I heartily concur in the commendatory words of the officers and several distinguished members of The New York Historical Society, saying that "under its present management THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE promises to surpass its former high reputation, and which, by its reports of meetings, will be especially interesting to the New York Historical Society." I will add that it is equally interesting to every student of American History.

BENSON J. LOSSING.  
XXIII.—From EVERET A. DUYKINOK, Esq., *Author of Cyclopædia of American Literature, late Editor of The Literary World, etc.*

20 CLINTON PLACE,  
NEW YORK, August 13, 1867.  
MY DEAR SIR:  
I learn with pleasure that you are continuing your efforts for the improvement and permanent establishment of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I have always regarded it as an important enterprise, and heartily wish for its success. The series has already much valuable matter, which will in vain be looked for elsewhere. You have recently added to it

many features of interest, in Reports, Reviews, the publication of original Essays and rare Documents. Such results challenge the support of all interested in American History and Literature. The value of the volumes must increase with time. A subscription, in fact, will be in more senses than one a sound investment.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,  
EVERET A. DUYKINOK.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.  
XXIV.—From DAVID T. VALENTINE, Esq., *the well known Antiquary; Author of The History of the City of New York; and Editor of the series of The Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, etc.*

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE COMMON COUNCIL,  
8 CITY HALL, NEW YORK, Sept. 11, 1867.  
HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., *Editor of Historical Magazine*.

DEAR SIR:  
I have been a subscriber for, and a careful reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for many years, and have been highly gratified to witness the display of talent, energy and industry exhibited in each successive number by its Editor. I sincerely trust the research, ability and impartiality manifested in the conduct of the work, meet with just appreciation from a discerning public, and that the pecuniary reward is fully commensurate with the value of the Magazine as a standard work of reference to the students and admirers of authentic American History.

Wishing you success, and a brilliant future for your valuable publication,

I am, dear Sir,  
Truly yours,  
D. T. VALENTINE.

XXV.—From JAMES PARTON, Esq., *the distinguished Biographer of Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Franklin, etc.*

NEW YORK, 303 E. 18th Street, Sept. 17, 1867.  
MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

My opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE can not be of very much value, for the reason that I am an interested party. Not one number has appeared in five years which did not contain at least one thing of use to me in my vocation. You might as well ask a carpenter what his candid opinion of the hammer is. All he could say would be, that he could not do without it.

Of all the persons connected with literature whom I have ever known, you are by far the most industrious and persevering. Often you say things in the Magazine from which I most vehemently dissent, but I like it all the better for that. It is always a comfort to find any one who has an opinion—whether wrong or right—and this is a solace which you afford your readers every month. I do not see how any one occupied with historical pursuits, either as writer, student, or collector, can afford to do without the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Very truly yours,  
JAS. PARTON.

XXVI.—From JAMES RIKER, Esq., *Author of Annals of Newtown, Queen's Co., N. Y.*

HEKIMER, N. Y., August 24, 1867.  
MY DEAR DAWSON:

Your favor of August 10th was delivered at my residence after I had left the city for a tour in the country, and has finally reached me at this place. I beg you to accept this apology for my delay in answering it.

I fancy THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has gained a reputation in the field of choice historical literature which cannot be essentially affected by anything which I may say in its behalf. But if my humble testimony to its permanent excellence be worth anything, I can give it very cheerfully and very honestly, too. Having taken the Magazine from its first issue, I have learned to appreciate it as an invaluable repository of rare facts relating to American History, culled with care and discrimination, and, I may be permitted to add, never more so, nor with more editorial ability, than under the present management. Its articles are uniformly interesting and of marked intrinsic worth, and its faithful reproduction of our early Records adds a feature to the

Magazine of inestimable value to the student and lover of ancient historical lore.

I trust the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE may ever enjoy a generous patronage, and its worthy and accomplished Editor be abundantly rewarded for his painstaking labors in the cause of historic truth.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

JAMES RIKER.

XXVII.—From Rev. E. H. GILLET, D.D., *Author of The Life and Times of John Huss, History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, etc.*

HARLEM, N. Y. CITY, August 12, 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

My heart is with you in your enterprise for extending the circulation of the Magazine. I regard it as indispensable to all historical students, and many a single article like that of Mr. Moore in the June number is worth, to persons investigating the facts of our Colonial History, ten times the amount of a year's subscription to the Magazine.

I do not know that I can say anything worth your using. But if a stranger asked me for my opinion, my reply would be something like this:

Mr. Dawson is an enthusiast in historical studies, with clear and definite opinions of his own, not by any means always accordant with those of perhaps the mass of his readers, and yet withal resolutely and boldly honest, disposed to give every one a fair hearing, and let the facts of History cut their way right or left, as Truth demands. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, under his management, has become a valuable repository of curious and important matters, bearing upon the various phases of our Civil and Ecclesiastical History. No one who wishes to keep pace with the progress of historical investigation in this country, can afford to do without it. He has enlisted as collaborators in his work a large number of the ablest of our historical writers, and his enterprise should receive a hearty support and large patronage throughout the entire country.

Very truly yours,

E. H. GILLET.

XXVIII.—From FRIEDRICH KAPP, *Esq., Author of Life of the Baron Steuben, The Life of General De Kalb, etc.*

4 WALL STREET, N. Y., Aug. 24, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I have always considered it my duty, and much more considered it so since your accession to the editorship, to do all in my power for increasing the number of the subscribers to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

I am sorry that you are thus bound to look out for new subscribers, as your able and energetic efforts ought to have secured to you the sympathy and coöperation of all students of American History.

Even in Germany, where they buy less books than in this country, almost every Province has its Historical Magazine, and besides, there is published an excellent Historical Quarterly—Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*—which outshines all similar publications known to me, by the brilliancy of its Essays and Reviews, and by the completeness of its criticisms and materials.

It ought to be the aim of every student to join you, and to make your paper, which is the only medium of historical reference in this country, still more interesting—more perfect—and an absolute necessity to every lover of History.

I thank you for your past services and trust that the future will bring you a greater success than the past.

Yours truly,

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

XXIX.—From CHARLES H. HUNT, *Esq., the Biographer of Edward Livingston.*

MORRISTOWN, N. J., August 15, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I trust the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is prospering in a business sense. Surely there are enough scholars and students in the country to give it good support; and what student or scholar can dispense with it? There is no other man who could fill your place as its Editor; and I am therefore anxious

to hear that you are so satisfied with its prospects that there is no doubt of your perseverance in its publication.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. HUNT.

HENRY B. DAWSON, *Esq.*

XXX.—From JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D., *Author of Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, History of the Catholic Missions, etc.; Editor of the series of American Linguistics, the Cramoisy series of Jesuit Relations, CHARLEVOIX's History of New France, etc.*

NEW YORK, Sept., 1867.

The successful manner in which Mr. Henry B. Dawson has not only sustained, but enlarged THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, demands the hearty support of all who take an interest in the History of the country; and who will say that the subject is indifferent to him? The increased amount of matter is not the only service rendered by the present Editor. He brings to the examination of historic questions a fearless, pertinacious research, that must tend to bring up the real facts of History, and in his pursuit of Truth knows no partiality or bias.

Yours truly,

J. G. SHEA.

XXXI.—From FREDERIC S. COZZENS, *Esq., Author of The Sparrowgrass Papers, etc.*

CHESTNUT COTTAGE, YONKERS, Aug. 15, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, *Esq.,*

*Editor of Historical Magazine:*

MY DEAR SIR:—I have not yet received the July and August numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Will you please forward them to me? I take a peculiar pleasure in reading this peculiarly American book. Although its criticisms are sometimes severe, yet one cannot help but admire its candor and courage. The old Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, when they hewed down some of the most magnificent sculptures of the Roman Church, managed to let in some chinks of light through the crevices of their destruction; and that light has illuminated the world, from their time down to ours. If you have broken down some of our American idols, with a little too zealous severity, yet on the whole, the air has become purer, and the tottering steps of American History are not a little firmer placed upon the eternal foundations of Truth! None of us like to accept unpalatable facts, especially those that contravene long-cherished opinions as to men and events of former days. But the mind of mankind finally adopts them, if urged with sincerity and supported by undeniable proofs.

Truly yours,

FREDERIC S. COZZENS.

XXXII.—From H. R. STILES, M.D., *Author of History of Ancient Windsor, History of the City of Brooklyn, etc.*

NEW YORK, Aug. 12, 1867.

FRIEND DAWSON:

I am especially pleased with your new department in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE of OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS, which you have so happily inaugurated with a pleasant biography of the late David Dudley Field, D. D., Annalist and Historian. There is, as you know, much of interest and of profit in the lives of these humble laborers, who deal with the dry bones of Genealogy, and who wander, at will, among the byways and hedges of Local History—unknown to the public at large—but happy in their work, and in their modest thought that their toil is appreciated by a chosen few, and that it may, perchance, smooth the path of some greater and more famous scholar. I must confess no page of your Magazine will have so keen a relish for me, as those in which, from time to time, you enshrine the memories of the "rank and file" of our historic Brotherhood.

I must take this occasion, also, to say, that I am well pleased with the Magazine since you took charge of it, a year ago. Its old friends, many of whom, like myself, have read it constantly since its initial number, and who have known of all its ups and downs, have drawn pleasant auguries from the past year's pages, of its future success in your hands. You know we workers in historic matters cannot

well dispense with its monthly visits—its eleven volumes are among the best-thumbed volumes upon our shelves—we look to its past with confidence, and we “hanker” after its editorial visits as one waits impatiently for a chosen friend. This, I know, is the feeling with which it is regarded by many others. Success to you in your endeavors to make it what you propose.

Yours truly,

H. R. STILES, M. D.

**XXXIII.—From JEPHTHA R. SIMMS, Esq., Author of Trappers of New York, History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York, etc.**

PORT PLAIN, N. Y., August 14, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me to say that any necessity that should compel you to discontinue the publication of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I should look upon as a public misfortune. Under your able and fearless management of it, it is becoming invaluable to the historical student; and almost any late number is worth a year's subscription. The Magazine seems to supply a long-needed repository of historical questions and answers, memoranda of increasing interest, etc., and not a few of them, indispensable to the American writer, will of necessity find their way into it.

The inquiry arises in the mind—who should aid in sustaining the Magazine? I answer, every individual who would garner up the odds and ends of historic lore; every newspaper Editor; every Historical Society; every collegiate and classic School; as also every literary Institute in the land; for they all will derive more or less benefit from its perusal. Indeed, every antiquarian needs it: besides, all who can afford to do it, should feel morally bound to aid in promoting so laudable an enterprise, and one calculated so liberally to benefit posterity.

Trusting that your ability, untiring industry, and devotion to the service of your country may meet with the recompense it deserves, I remain,

Your friend,

J. R. SIMMS.

**XXXIV.—From FRANK MOORE, Esq., Editor of Specimens of American Eloquence, The Diary of the American Revolution, The Rebellion Record, etc.**

OFFICE OF THE “REBELLION RECORD,”  
NEW YORK, Sept. 27, 1867. }

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.:

SIR: I congratulate you upon the success of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, since you assumed the editorial chair of that periodical, and hope you will meet with that further success which it really deserves. The material you are now garnering up is of the highest importance to those who desire to know the truths of History, not its special pleadings, and your associates in historical study must ever give you not only substantial encouragement but most earnest wishes.

Your friend,

FRANK MOORE.

**XXXV.—From HENRY O'REILLY, Esq., the celebrated Pioneer Telegraphist, and Author of Sketches of Rochester, etc.**

24 PINE STREET, NEW YORK, Oct. 17, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,

Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

MY DEAR SIR: Many of your friends, as well as myself, are highly gratified with the arrangements you are making for increasing the usefulness and circulation of your valuable Magazine. The new Departments of Antiquities and Biography cannot fail to awaken additional interest in historical research. The frankness and fearlessness with which you discuss all relevant questions, indicate so plainly a desire that nothing but the truth and the whole truth shall be allowed to pass under your imprint, that all minor differences of opinion should be merged in the respect due to your Magazine as a trusty repository of historical data.

With great regard, yours truly,

HENRY O'REILLY.

**XXXVI.—From WILLIAM SWINTON, Esq., Author of The History of the Army of the Potomac, The Seven Decisive Battles, etc.**

NEW YORK CITY, September 23, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been an attentive reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE ever since you took its management, and have derived so much pleasure and instruction from its perusal that I cannot refrain from expressing to you my satisfaction. You have the courage, without fear or favor, to give a hospitable reception to whatever bears the impress of historical truth; while your bold, incisive editorial comments are of a character to shame our milk-and-water literature. Though it must need be that offence come to some of the weaker sort from your outspoken utterances, I know well that your course gives a lively gratification to all independent minds. I trust the Magazine will prove a permanent success, for it deserves to be. I have in my possession a large number of original papers relating to the late war, and if there are among them any that you would like to republish, it would afford me much pleasure to furnish you with copies of them.

With respect and esteem, yours truly,

WM. SWINTON.

**XXXVII.—From CHARLES EDWARDS, Esq., Author of History of Finger-Rings, Pleasantries of the New York Bar, etc.**

NEW YORK, October, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE really requires no recommendation at the hands of its readers. Still, I can understand how its excellence may not have reached many who, on knowing of its worth, would eagerly take it.

I most readily, as follows, give my own certificate by way of encouraging its circulation: It is edited and got together with great fearlessness, truth, tact and historical knowledge. There is always in it enough for present useful and interesting reading; while it lays down lines of matter which will, in future time, make it eagerly sought after—in the same way as is the *Gentleman's Magazine* of England—by antiquarian and historian. Old volumes must become valuable.

I, unhesitatingly, say all this; and with my best wishes for and belief in the continued success of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE while in your hands,

I remain, your friend,

CHARLES EDWARDS.

**XXXVIII.—From E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL.D., Author of History of New Netherlands, etc.; and Editor of Documentary History of New York, Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, etc.**

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL RECORDS,  
ALBANY, 14th October, 1867. }

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR: I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its birth; and have so continued through all its vicissitudes.

England has its *Notes and Queries*; France, her *Intermédiaire*; Holland, its *Nieuwarchief*; and even Spain supports a similar periodical at Madrid.

The United States can and ought to support respectably a like publication, which has hitherto usefully served those engaged in Historical researches as a means of intercommunication; supplying, at the same time, Historical Documents not otherwise easy of access; and furnishing to all a neutral ground where they can meet for mutual enlightenment and instruction, free from the acerbities of Politics and Polemics.

As the merits of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE improve, so I am satisfied will your industry and perseverance be rewarded by a large subscription list, which is the sincere wish,

Dear sir, of

yours, most truly,

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

XXXIX.—*From WILLIAM L. STONE, Esq., Author of The Life of Sir William Johnson, and Editor of The Letters and Journals of the Baroness de Riedesel, etc.*

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 30, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I have your favor of the 28th asking my opinion of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. You say you wish me to answer frankly; and frankly I will try to reply.

I consider that it is, as at present conducted, an invaluable aid to every one of Literary and Historical tastes; one that no person who desires to form correct opinions upon the historical events of the past and present days can safely be without.

I have thought, at times, that its tone has been, perhaps, one of too much acerbity, and that the ink with which the Editor's pen has been filled, has contained too great a proportion of gall. Still, in this age, which seems to be, *par excellence*, one of fulsome eulogy and flattery, this very characteristic may serve as a timely balance-wheel, or, to change the metaphor, as a wholesome correction to a false public sentiment.

Wishing you success in your laudable endeavors, believe me,

Cordially yours,

WM. L. STONE.

XL.—*From Hon. THOMAS EWBANK, First Vice-President of the American Ethnological Society, formerly Commissioner of Patents of the United States.*

NEW YORK, October 7, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

It gives me pleasure to hear of the continued encouragement *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* receives under your management. Your industry, learning, and acumen are shown in every number. The work increases in interest; and I trust the support of those engaged in Historical studies will enable you to prosecute your plans with every advantage of success.

Yours truly,

THOS. EWBANK.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

XLI.—*From Hon. MILLARD FILLMORE, President of the Buffalo Historical Society, late President of the United States.*

BUFFALO, Oct. 8, 1867.

MR. HENRY B. DAWSON:

DEAR SIR: I have your note of yesterday requesting my opinion of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, and I take great pleasure in stating that I have the work from its commencement, and although I take several periodicals, there is none that I read with more pleasure and satisfaction than this. I regard it as a very useful publication, and should be happy to see its circulation extended.

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

XLII.—*From Doctor D. G. BRINTON, the celebrated Ethnologist.*

With the number for July commences the twelfth annual volume of this most interesting and valuable periodical. We doubt not many of our readers are familiar with it, and those who are not, and who take any interest in the History or Antiquities of their country, we earnestly counsel them to become so at once by sending in their names as subscribers. For many years it has been the chief and only repository of American Historical and Antiquarian knowledge. Bancroft, Everett, Sparks, Parkman, Shea, Schoolcraft, and nigh all the other distinguished writers on such topics have been contributors to previous volumes; and we venture nothing in saying that now no one can claim to be acquainted with the past of our country, who has not long and closely consulted its pages. Its present Editor is well known for his uncon-

promising impartiality and minute accuracy in the search for historical truth, and we need not fear for its continued excellence in his hands. (In the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, for June 29, 1867.

XLIII.—*From Rev. HOWARD MALCOM, D.D., President of The American Baptist Historical Society.*

AMERICAN BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 16, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

No other periodical which comes under my notice can be relied on for honest notices of new publications. I rejoice that you dare to be singular.

Your fellow laborer,

HOWARD MALCOM.

XLIV.—*From HORATIO GATES JONES, Esq., Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, etc.*

PHILADELPHIA, August, 1867.

I have been a subscriber to and a constant reader of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* from its commencement; and I regard its continuance as of great value to all who are interested in the History of America. As a means of intercommunication, it is of the highest importance to historical students.

HORATIO GATES JONES.

XLV.—*From Hon. BRANTZ MAYER, President of the Maryland Historical Society.*

BALTIMORE, 19th August, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber to *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* since its commencement, and prize the whole series very much, though a part of it was not equal to the promise of the beginning. But I must especially thank you not only for the revival of the Magazine's high character, but for the additional interest and permanent value of the papers you are now rescuing from destruction. The original articles contributed by yourself and your industrious correspondents, by your brave and candid criticisms, have given force and authority to the Magazine; and I cannot doubt that it will continue to receive a prompt and remunerative support from the students of local and national History, who are so greatly your debtors.

Most respectfully, your obt.,

BRANTZ MAYER,

President of Maryland Historical Society.

XLVI.—*From GEORGE GIBBS, Esq., the well-known Ethnologist, Author of Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams, etc.*

WASHINGTON, 24th Aug. 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR:

I am very glad to hear that you are about to push vigorously your periodical. It has always been a valuable one: it may be made invaluable. Very few even of our historical and literary students, comparatively speaking, are, I imagine, aware of the facilities that it affords for an extensive correspondence; that in a few brief lines of inquiry one can reach thousands of persons, some of whom can probably throw light on the desired point; or that it is an admirable receptacle where may be preserved detached facts.

It often occurs to every student to stumble upon important statements or incidents, not in themselves warranting an essay, or perhaps himself indifferent to the production of one, but none the less valuable to have preserved somewhere. In these two respects, independent of its record, it has no competitor in this country, and for these alone it deserves support.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE GIBBS.



**XLVII.—From Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY,**  
Clerk of the House of Clerical and Lay Dele-  
gates of the General Convention of the Pro-  
testant Episcopal Church in America.

LITCHFIELD, Ct., Oct. 31 '67

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

Yours of the 7th came during my absence from home and I take great pleasure in acknowledging its receipt at the earliest possible moment.

For the variety and value of its articles, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE deserves the hearty and united support of all interested in historical studies. Under its present management, each number adds to the permanent value of the series, and no one who would keep up with the progress of historical investigation can afford to be without it.

With the assurance of my hearty regard and sympathy,  
I am  
Very truly Yours

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,  
MORRISANIA, NEW YORK.

**XLVIII.—From B. H. HALL, Esq.; Author of**  
The History of Eastern Vermont.

TRIOY, N. Y., Oct., 17, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am in receipt of yours of the 7th inst, and at my earliest leisure have much pleasure in returning a reply. I have been a subscriber for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE since its begin-  
ing, and have received more general satisfaction from its perusal than from any periodical I have taken in, during its life.

The necessity for such a Magazine was very apparent to my mind when the HISTORICAL was undertaken, and that necessity not only continues but has increased ten fold.

When the January number appeared, in 1857, we as a nation had made, comparatively, but very little history. Since that time, in ten years, we have filled a page in the History of the World, which will be forever turned and read by all mankind. The little incidents, which are the unintentional but certain manifestation of men's motives, and which strewn along the pathway of this rebellion lie all ungathered, are in the future to be collected, and in this work THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE should properly take the foremost place.

In the treatment and discussion of Historical matters, fairness of statement, and a regard to the time, the circumstances, and to reason in reaching a conclusion, are absolutely necessary. During the greater portion of its career such a course has prevailed in the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and a continuation in this course cannot but be rewarded with abundant success.

If I can be of service to you in increasing the circulation of the Magazine, I shall be glad to assist in this particular, and am  
Very respectfully yours

B. H. HALL.

**XLIX.—From S. S. RANDALL, LL. D. Super-**  
intendent of Public Instruction in the City of  
New York.

NEW YORK, Oct., 21, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me, as a subscriber and constant reader of your Magazine, to express my high appreciation of the ability with which it has uniformly been conducted while under your editorial supervision; and of the value and importance of its contributions to the past and present history of our Country.

Yours very truly,

S. S. RANDALL.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

**L.—From Major-general JOHN E. WOOL, U.S.A.**

TRIOY, 11th November, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Some time since I received the back numbers of your His-

torical Magazine. These I have perused with great interest. They prove what has been frequently asserted that it requires many years to arrive at the truth of history. The many reminiscences and letters which your HISTORICAL MAGAZINE contains, relating to those who occupied positions and rendered important services during the period of our revolutionary struggle, prove conclusively that we have yet much to learn of those who offered "their lives, their fortunes, and "their sacred honor," to secure freedom and independence to the people of the United States.

A periodical, the object of which is to maintain and secure the truth of history, deserves to be encouraged by all who desire the correction of historical errors and the interstices of history to be filled, and, above all else, the history of the causes which led to the recent bloody rebellion—the end of which is not yet. The pillars of our once prosperous Union are crumbling. Ten States have been declared out of the Union and placed under Military rule. How long will it be before the thirty-six States are placed in a similar position?

Very Truly Yours

JOHN E. WOOL

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,  
Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

**LI.—From Hon. WILLIAM B. REED. Author of**  
The Life of President Reed, etc., and recently  
Minister of the United States to China.

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 8, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me to add my testimony to that of many better witnesses to the value of your Magazine. You know very well how highly I estimate it. As an editor and historian, I am sure you are honest and more than that, brave. Social influences do not controul you; and even in your Anti-New-England tendencies, which I admit should not be carried too far, and of which some of your friends complain, you show courage. I sincerely wish you all manner of success.

Very truly yr

WILLIAM B. REED.

H. B. DAWSON Esq.

**LII.—From Professor WILLIAM C. FOWLER, LL. D. Author of History of Durham, Sectional Controversy, etc.**

DURHAM CENTER, CONN.  
Oct. 19, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON Esq.,  
DEAR FRIEND:

The periodical arrival of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is always welcomed, freighted as it is with facts which would be lost, many of them, if not recorded in your bill of lading. In your own reasonings, speculations, and descriptions, you furnish proof that the muse of history is your muse, inspiring you with her own love of truth.

Very Sincerely, yours,  
W. C. FOWLER.

**LIII.—From Doctor THOMAS H. WYNNE, Editor**  
of The Wendover Papers, etc.

RICHMOND VA., NOV. 8, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have read every number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE which has been issued since the war with an amount of satisfaction and pleasure which I do not enjoy in the perusal of any other Journal. So far as it is possible, it seems to be edited with a degree of fairness towards all persons and parties of whom it treats, and evidently aims to assist those who are in the search of the truth in regard to disputed points in our country's history.

Wishing you and it all possible success, I am

Very truly

THOMAS H. WYNNE.

## What the Press Says.

### I.—From THE PRESS of Maine.

1.—Established first as a medium of intercommunication between historical students and scholars interested in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our Country, it has come to be a necessity, and we are glad to learn that its subscription list is largely increasing. In its pages will be found a large amount of information, upon the neglected, though important points, of American History and Antiquities, Biographies of eminent Americans, &c.—*Maine Farmer* (Independent), Augusta, March 31, 1867.

2.—We have perused it with much interest, and commend it to the attention of those who take an interest in the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America.—*Daily Eastern Argus* (Democratic), Portland, August 27, 1867.

3.—It continues to show the marked improvement in interest and value which has characterized it since it came into the hands of the present Editor.—*The Portland Daily Press* (Republican), August 24, 1867.

4.—The *Historical Magazine* for February contains a great amount of interesting historical and antiquarian matter, together with the usual Notes and Queries. \* \* \* This Magazine is a valuable publication, and should receive the hearty support of all interested in historical pursuits. It is well conducted, though we notice that its Editor seems to have a spite against Massachusetts, and is disposed to go out of his way to gratify it.—*Portland Transcript* (Republican), March 14, 1867.

5.—We find it full of interesting matter.—*Waterville Mail* (Republican), Waterville, Aug. 30th, 1867.

6.—This Magazine belongs to no party nor clique, but aims to be just to all without fearing any, which is the only way to conduct any periodical. *The Evening Star* (Republican), Portland, Aug. 30th, 1867.

7.—This Magazine is of peculiar interest to the Antiquarian. To those who would know the History of America, its Antiquities, and other points of interest, it is indispensable.—*Evening Journal* (Republican), Lewiston, August 28, 1867.

### II.—From THE PRESS, of New Hampshire.

1.—Mr. Dawson has had the editorial charge of the Magazine for the past year, and has conducted it with equal ability and independence. We say, *independence*, because that quality is required in managing such a periodical as well as in those of an unhistorical character. Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society should have it.—*Nashua Gazette* (Democratic), June 12, 1867.

2.—It contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*Portsmouth Journal* (Republican), August 31st, 1867.

### III.—From the PRESS in Massachusetts.

1.—The Magazine contains much interesting and valuable matter relating to early American history.—*The Daily Spy* (Republican), Worcester, Sept. 17, 1866.

2.—Mr. Dawson is placing on permanent record in this Magazine a mass of perishable material relating to American annals, which without the thoughtful care he has exercised would soon be utterly lost.—*The same paper*, Worcester, October 27, 1866.

3.—THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE always has a valuable table of contents, but the pleasure we should otherwise take in its perusal is greatly marred by the anti-North, or more especially, anti-Massachusetts tone which pervades it. The Editor's bitterness toward Boston betrays singular weakness, and the Preface to its last volume is in exceedingly poor taste.\* With these exceptions we esteem the Magazine highly, and are always repaid for reading it.—*The Congregationalist* (Orthodox), Boston, March 1, 1867.

\* In that Preface we referred to the *reputation of their debts* by some of the leading men in Massachusetts, because the Magazine had ceased to flatter Boston and Massachusetts. THESE DEBTS HAVE SINCE BEEN PAID, with here and there an exception.—*Ed. Hist. Mag.*

4.—Some very instructive excerpts of a fragmentary sort, and some more elaborate and exhaustive pieces of historical interest fill up the number of the Magazine before us. It is evident that many diligent pens are engaged in providing for the monthly contents of these pages, which are most sure to engage the gratitude of readers the more free they are from especial pleading in behalf of the wrong side of our living politics.—*The Evening Transcript* (Radical), Boston, Nov. 30, 1866.

5.—\* \* \* This sketch of the contents of this single number will convey to our readers some idea of the quality of the Magazine, which, albeit, sometimes to our taste, over sharp, and scarcely fair in some directions, has yet a recognized, and, indeed, unique value, in our literature.—*The Congregationalist and Recorder* (Orthodox Congregational), Aug. 30, 1867.

6.—The enterprising and very able Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has given us the memorable sermon of Rev. John Wheelwright, one of the ministers of New England in its earliest history. In so doing he has conferred a great obligation not only upon the historical public, but especially as it enables us to see more clearly the grounds of the great Antinomian contention, which so agitated and rent the Churches of Boston and its vicinity.

We greatly regret that we are obliged to omit Mr. Dawson's learned Introduction which fastens severe censure on Winthrop and his party.—*The Panoplist* (Religious), Boston, July, 1867.

7.—THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is now in able and accomplished editorial hands, in correspondence with the best historical writers in all parts of our country, and conducted as it will be without any taint of partisanship, it is of the first value to every historical scholar and student.—*Watchman and Reflector* (Baptist), Boston, May 9, 1867.

8.—This valuable periodical has again passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, as Editor and Proprietor. Its speciality is the discussion of topics relating to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America. In carrying out this, it publishes much that is interesting, curious, rare, and valuable, and which is not easily to be obtained in any other source.—*Roxbury Journal*, Sept. 15, 1866.

9.—This Magazine contains much valuable historical reading, and is well conducted. It preserves many historical papers of value that would otherwise be buried in oblivion.—*The Salem Gazette* (Republican), August 27, 1867.

### IV.—From THE PRESS of Rhode Island.

1.—This Magazine cannot fail to please a large circle of readers.—*Newport (R. I.) Daily News*, Oct. 26, 1866.

2.—We have perused its contents with great interest and pleasure.—*Providence Press*, Sept. 15, 1866.

### V.—From THE PRESS of Connecticut.

1.—If rightfully conducted, (and it seems to be now) it cannot but form an addition to the Magazine literature of the world.—*New Haven Palladium* (Republican), Aug. 13, 1866.

2.—The *Historical Magazine*, as usual, is full of interesting matter.—*The same*, Jan. 26, 1867.

3.—This Magazine fills a very valuable place in our current literature, and deserves a generous support. It is calculated to achieve a very wide circulation. Americans care too little for History; and this fact makes it the more incumbent on those who properly appreciate the value of a periodical devoted to so important a subject, to properly sustain its Editor in his conscientious and successful efforts to make a valuable historical magazine.—*The same*, Sept. 27, 1867.

4.—As we have before said, this work has a field unoccupied by others, and is doing good service by placing on record waifs of History and Biography, which otherwise would be lost.—*Evening Farmer* (Democratic), Bridgeport, Nov. 13, 1866.

5.—The Magazine is of great value to all interested in historical antiquities.—*Bulletin* (Republican), Norwich, Sept. 17, 1866.

6.—It is full of very interesting matter relative to our earlier history.—*The same*, Feb. 19, 1867.

7.—Of the usual interest to delivers into old historical matters.—*The same*, Mar. 23, 1867.

8.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, brings together a great deal that is curious and interesting to historical students. The Notes and Queries are the most entertaining part of the Magazine.—*Evening Press* (Republican), Hartford, Oct. 31, 1866.

9.—*The Historical Magazine* for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest.—*The same*, Jan. 24, 1866.

10.—The industrious Editor of *The Historical Magazine* constantly digs up interesting material and makes each number lively and readable.—*The same*, Mar. 8, 1867.

11.—The contents of *The Historical Magazine* for March will interest and "strut up" as many people as its issue usually does. . . . The Magazine shows continued industry.—*The same*, Mar. 26, 1867.

12.—Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research.—*Daily Courant* (Republican), Hartford, November 24, 1866.

#### VI.—From THE PRESS of New York.

1.—*The Historical Magazine*, under its new Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune* (Radical), Sept. 18, 1866.

2.—*The Historical Magazine* for July contains numerous articles of antiquarian and historical interest, combined with frequent incidental political discussions and allusions, strongly reflecting the personality of the Editor, who is a zealous advocate of the theory of State Sovereignty.—*The same paper*, Aug. 24, 1867.

3.—Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post* (Republican), New York, Sept. 18, 1866.

4.—*The Historical Magazine* has for its second title "Notes and Queries," but in its general character has more merits than the English journal of that name, dealing less in trivial matters, and giving better considered and more important papers. It is an excellent Magazine, and is necessary to the student of history.—*Day Book* (Ultra-Democratic), New York, Oct. 6, 1866.

5.—*The Historical Magazine* is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*The same*, Dec. 23, 1866.

6.—The January number is beyond doubt a "golden number." . . .

Following Brodhead's article, we have a reply by the Editor to some strictures of *The Boston Transcript*, which is less a dissection than a flaying of the subject—a flaying in which a considerable portion of the flesh is taken from the bones of the victim, leaving him writhing in terror.—*The same*, Mar. 23, 1867.

7.—Mr. Dawson's Magazine is worthy of the support and confidence of students of American history. There is no substitute for it.—*The same*, June 15, 1867.

8.—A more useful, interesting, and truly valuable Magazine is not to be found either in Europe or America. Its editor is Henry B. Dawson, Esq. so long, well, and favorably known to his fellow-citizens of this town and to the public at large, as a gentleman and scholar. . . . We cordially recommend it to the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public.—*Westchester Journal* (Democratic), Morrisania, Feb. 16th 1867.

9.—Mr. Dawson is an indefatigable worker in the department of history to which he has devoted so large a share of his life; and we cannot doubt the readers of the early history of our country—and all should be readers and students of it—will find this Magazine a mine of most valuable information.—*Poughkeepsie Messenger* (Republican), Feb. 2d, 1867.

\* Vide *Revised Statutes*, Part I, Chap. I, Title II, Sec. 1, 2, 3.—Fourth Edition, 177.—Ed. Hizez. Maca.

10.—*The Boston Transcript* is not pleased with Mr. Dawson's *Historical Magazine*. . . . The trouble with the Magazine seems to be that it has mistaken the object of history, and conceived it to be to throw dirt at Massachusetts—a Commonwealth that can stand the operation better than any other State on the globe, and much better than the Editor of the Magazine.—*Daily Union* (Radical), Brooklyn, Feb. 25th, 1867.

11.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorial direction of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is filling an important place in periodical literature.—*Daily Eagle* (Democratic), Brooklyn, July 16th, 1867.

12.—Its great forte is the correction of History and the furnishing of Documentary evidence elucidating historical statements. Mr. Dawson is a careful writer, and is well "posted," as the phrase goes, in American History.—*Daily City Press*, Newburgh, Aug. 7, 1866.

13.—It contains matter very important to all who would have correct knowledge of the History of our Country.—*Troy Press*, Aug. 11, 1866.

14.—We advise all who are interested in Antiquities to take it.—*Journal*, Fishkill, Oct. 18, 1866.

15.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, increases in interest with every number. Mr. Dawson is perfectly at home in historical matters, and considers anything in that line as a labor of love. He could not fail, therefore, to infuse new life into *The Historical Magazine*. The first number issued under his superintendence, evinced the presence of a new and experienced hand in the chair editorial, and in each succeeding number the interest has been kept up. *The Historical Magazine* should have a place in every library.—*Yonkers Gazette* (Democratic), Nov. 3, 1866.

16.—This Magazine is now edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, who has made this particular line of literature his study for years, and has gained a high reputation for his historical researches. . . . The Magazine deserves success, and should be in every scholar's library.—*Yonkers Statesman* (Republican), Nov. 22, 1866.

17.—It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. . . . The number altogether recommends itself to the student of American History.—*The same*, Jan. 31, 1867.

18.—There are few if any persons living better qualified in every way for the compilation and editorship of such a magazine, than is Mr. Dawson. The subject of History has been his study for years, and he has consequently become perfectly conversant with everything in connection therewith. In his own article he fearlessly tells the truth about men and their acts, though to do so may to some seem irrelevant.

The Magazine itself is worthy the support of all lovers of History; and we believe that none of this numerous class would be without it if they could peruse the number before us.—*Westchester Times* (Republican), Morrisania, Feb. 15, 1867.

19.—No student of History should be without this work. Its researches are truly wonderful.—*The same*, Aug. 23, 1867.

20.—From the appearance and contents of the July number, which is before us, we have formed a high opinion of its character and value.—*Christian Enquirer* (Unitarian), New York, Sept. 6th, 1866.

21.—This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but almost neglected field of American Antiquities is a gleaner whose monthly ah. af. is more than welcome.—*The same*, Sept. 20th, 1866.

22.—*The Historical Magazine* is now under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, than whom no one is more competent for such a task. It appears in the handsomest typography, and its contents, which are exactly the sort for which there is never any place in a daily newspaper, are in their kind, fresh and interesting to a degree never reached in former numbers of that old and valuable periodical.—*Daily World* (Democratic), New York Nov. 3d, 1866.

23.—Bancroft is skinned alive and likewise grilled in the June number of *The Historical Magazine*, which periodical, Mr. Dawson makes as readable as a daily newspaper, by

treating the dead as if they had once lived, and were of flesh and blood and human passions, and by treating the living, who ought to be dead, in a way that must assist them in the discharge of that duty.—*The same*, New York, July 23d, 1867.

34.—Under Mr. Dawson's judicious management this publication has greatly increased in interest.—*Journal of Commerce*, (Commercial), New York, Oct. 30th, 1866.

35.—It is a well-conducted monthly periodical, devoted to the exposition of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America. It lately passed back under the control of Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania. With him are associated many writers of eminence, who have the ability to render this magazine very useful to the progress of historic research. It is handsomely gotten up, and each number contains a large amount of curious and interesting matter.—*Christian Intelligencer*, (Ref. Dutch) New York, Nov. 1st 1866.

36.—*The Historical Magazine* edited by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., has a peculiar value, and is entitled to the particular patronage of that large public which is interested in historical inquiries.—*The same*, Aug. 1st, 1867.

37.—It is full of interest and variety.—*Episcopalian*.

38.—This is a very interesting and valuable periodical, and one which must find an entrance to every library.—*The Sunday Mercury*, New York, Feb. 3d, 1867.

39.—This important periodical, which is devoted to the collection and preservation of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our country, has recently passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, Esq., who is devoting himself to its interests with all the enthusiasm of a genuine antiquary. The volume which was closed with the December number, has many original historical papers of great importance, which but for this channel would probably have perished. The Magazine is one which, for the general interests of National Literature and History, should be sustained by the pens and the subscriptions of men of letters.—*Observer*, (Presbyterian) New York, Feb. 7th, 1867.

30.—The publication now commences its eleventh year with a new series; and the lovers of true History and valuable Antiquities will do well to subscribe at once.—*American Baptist*, New York, Feb. 19th, 1867.

31.—It is a valuable publication, and shows great research.—*Turf, Field and Farm*, (Sporting), New York, March 30, 1867.

32.—A very useful, and, we are glad to learn, peculiarly successful work.—*Daily Times*, (Republican), Jan. 21st, 1867.

33.—The Editor of *The Historical Magazine*. Mr. Dawson, of Federalist, is displaying a good deal of enterprise in making that publication a repository of things rare and curious. He is exhuming from their archives ancient documents which throw new light on the history of the past.—*Evangelist*, (Presbyterian) New York, May 23d, 1867.

34.—The Magazine is well worthy of an extended patronage. The Editor has some theories not very generally shared by the community, but he gives every party a fair hearing, and succeeds in bringing together a large mass of curious and valuable historical material from a great variety of sources.—*The same paper*, Sept. 5, 1867.

35.—This Magazine contains much curious and valuable information.—*Protestant Churchman*, (Episcopalian), New York, July 18, 1867.

36.—It shows the careful and enterprising editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson. The number contains many very valuable papers, and a mass of interesting facts.—*Commercial Advertiser*, (Republican), New York City, Aug. 23, 1867.

37.—This Magazine very faithfully adheres to its own speciality, which, however, is a subject of such extent and variety that there is no danger of necessary sameness in its matter. The Editor is not at all deficient of positive opinions nor of the courage to assert and maintain them. It is a publication that evinces real ability. Altogether the Magazine is a work that no one who is interested in American History can afford to do without.—*The Christian Advocate*, (Methodist Episcopal), Aug. 29, 1867.

38.—It is difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of many of the original documents gathered up from unexpected quarters and preserved from oblivion in the pages of this Magazine. To those who desire to acquire a correct knowledge of facts relating to the early history of the country without taking the trouble of consulting old authorities and musty volumes, to those who find amusement in contrasting the homely dwelling-places and familiar haunts of their forefathers with the changed aspects wrought in these localities by wealth and civilization, and to others whose pride of family leads them to find gratification in seeing the names of their progenitors honorably mentioned in records dating back two centuries ago, the present work will prove an interesting repository, which will become every year more valuable. \* \* \* The selections are carefully made, and there is a mass of information collected in this work which may be referred to in after times by all who seek for archeological information about persons, places, and things belonging to New York.—*The Round Table* (Bibliographical), New York City, Aug. 31, 1867.

39.—It is now a valuable repository of many original papers, printed for the first time, and of articles and notes relating to disputed points in the history of this country that find no place so proper elsewhere.—*The Nation*, (Republican), New York, January 31st, 1867.

40.—The contents will compare favorably with those of any other publication of its class in the country.—*Daily Register*, Hudson, Aug. 6 1866.

## VII.—From the PHILADELPHIAN PRESS.

1.—It especially recommends itself to those who take an interest in our own country's past history.—*Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 13, 1866.

2.—One of the most useful of American publications. \* \* It contains a large amount of most interesting, curious, and rare information. It is a Magazine which should be subscribed for by every scholar and gentleman of literary attainments.—*Sunday Dispatch*, (Literary) edited by Thompson Westcott, Esq., the Historian, February 17, 1867.

3.—It is one of the best, most useful, and instructive periodicals issued in this country.—*The same paper*, Sept. 21, 1867.

4.—We are glad to call the attention of those of our readers, who take an interest in such matters, to this valuable periodical. It is, by all odds, the best publication of the kind that has appeared in this country, more nearly resembling, in a single department, the English *Notes and Queries*, than any other. It appears monthly. Its Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania, is a thorough master of the details of American History, and entirely free from those social and political influences which have twisted the judgment of many a student. If he encounters a stubborn, well-attested fact, he gives it. He is entirely catholic in his judgment; and, best of all, he is absolutely free from the wretched New England influence which has done so much, and will, if not checked, do more, to poison the wells of historic Truth.—*The Age* (Democratic), Philadelphia, March 16, 1867.

5.—One of the most interesting publications of the day is *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. \* \* It is a handsome square octavo, of sixty-four pages, and the typography is all that could be desired by the most fastidious. Henry B. Dawson is the Editor, and strives with his utmost power to make the Magazine acceptable to its patrons. Such a work cannot be too widely extended, when the small price of the annual subscription—five dollars—is considered. We commend it to all who have any interest in American History.—*The Daily Press*, edited by Col. J. W. Forney (Republican), Philadelphia, March 26th, 1867.

## VIII. From the SOUTHERN PRESS.

1.—This monthly is specially valuable as discussing and settling questionable statements that may have become current as History. While dealing with subjects that may not attract popular attention, it must, if it fulfils its peculiar mission, be regarded as a valuable Periodical among literary persons. It is very difficult to make such a Magazine what it ought to be. We wish it abundant success in its laudable labors in behalf of Truth.—*Christian Advocate*, (Methodist) Richmond, August 23d, 1866.

2.—The December number is on our table, so beautifully printed that the very types seem to say, "Read," "Read." The other articles have interest; and there is many a dainty morsel for bookworms scattered through its pages.—*The same*, January 31st, 1867.

3.—It is indispensable to all historical students.—*The same*, August 15th, 1867.

4.—We have no hesitation in strongly recommending this Magazine to our readers. It is always full of information that cannot be got elsewhere, and it is of an impartial and honest tone that is wholly relieved of sectionalism and prejudice. We know of no Northern publication more fair toward all parts of the country than this. It is a high ascription of praise to say this in these days of partisan and sectional malignity.—*Daily Examiner*, (Democratic), Richmond, September 18th, 1866.

5.—This Journal being National in its character and patriotic in its spirit, and with an eye single to Truth in all its investigations, is entitled to the patronage of all who desire to see the scattered fragments of our History garnered up and preserved.—*The same paper*, February 19th, 1867.

6.—In the notices of new publications the Editor deals severely but justly and fearlessly. This sterling Magazine is admirably conducted, and it should be patronized by every one who feels the least interest in his country's history.—*The same*, June 12th, 1867.

7.—An admirable periodical. We with pleasure recommend it to the Public, and to Southern readers in particular. \* \* The design and scope of the work are admirable; and it seems to be edited with industry and discriminating ability.—*Daily Enquirer*, (Democratic), Richmond, September 20th, 1866.

8.—It pleases us. We like its style of getting up. Many of its papers are selected, and prepared from rare historical volumes and manuscripts, and evince care and research. \* The design of this Magazine is good. Its numbers are not only worth reading as they are issued, but valuable to file.—*Field and Fireside* (Literary), Raleigh, N. C., September 29th, 1866.

9.—An able and highly valuable periodical. \* \* \* The American public owes to Mr. Moore and to Mr. Dawson, the trenchant and most vigilant Editor of this Magazine, its most grateful acknowledgments for their good services in the cause of Justice, History, and Truth.—*The Mercury*, Charleston, February, 1867.

10.—It is worthy of the support of all who are interested in historical truth; and the Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is in every way admirably well qualified for his position.—*The same paper*, Sept. 4th, 1867.

11.—It makes valuable contributions to the historical literature of the age. It is not the organ of any party or clique, and deserves, we think, the most generous support. \* \* \* The Book Notices also are particularly clever, generally discriminating, and therefore a valuable feature of the Magazine.—*Daily Enquirer and Examiner*, Richmond, Va., August 26th, 1867.

12.—We have watched this periodical with great interest, and have to express our high appreciation of the eminent judgment and general ability with which it is conducted. It deserves the warm support of all the friends of American

historical and antiquarian research; and no person claiming special interest in this department of knowledge can afford to do without it. It seems to be managed with the greatest independence, every subject entertained in its pages receiving that calmness and carefulness of consideration which belongs to historical research. We commend this Magazine to the attention of all historical scholars in an especial manner; and to all the cultivated public as well.—*National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., September 16th, 1867.

13.—THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE comes to us freighted with its usual sterling variety of American History and Biography.


Mr. Dawson, the editor, is as indefatigable as he is judicious and penetrating in his analysis. There are in the present issue no less than eighteen different captions, representing as many different topics, and these in their turn, representing almost as many different sections of country, all of which appeal, in interest, more or less to the nation at large. We repeat our recommendations to the students of American history, by all means to possess themselves of this valuable periodical.—*Charleston (S. C.) Courier*.

14.—THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, conducted by Henry B. Dawson, of New York, is a monthly, comprising notes and queries concerning the antiquities, history and biography of America. This book is essential to the statesman, the politician, and the historical student. Its collection, already made, of American materials, ancient records, documents, correspondence, etc., is of singular value. Its editor, Mr. Dawson, has greatly distinguished himself as an antiquarian and historical critic, and, with a dissecting process wholly his own, not forbearing the scalping knife and tomahawk, has served up a goodly host of the humbugs in our history, who, under false pretences and by the trickeries of certain sections, have acquired a celebrity and a reputation for good performances of which they were wholly innocent. It is delightful to see how deftly he can strip the barn door fowl of all its peacock feathers.—*Southern Society*, Baltimore, Md.

### Addenda.

1.—The good opinions that have greeted THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from learned societies and scholars all over the country, are familiar to all who have taken even a moderate interest in the details of American history. The nation's history is crowded with events from its earliest days; it has run through a period so marked by strong opinions, free intelligent criticism of men and ideas, and with these such novel governmental problems have been in process of solution, that the documents illustrative of this history deserve most careful preservation. The collation of these documents, so as to display conflicting opinions with fairness, is the chief duty of an Historical Magazine. Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, who assumed the charge of the Magazine with the new series, is a gentleman whose scholarly acquirements and candor are unquestioned.—*East Brooklyn Gazette*, November, 1867.

2.—We have read a large majority of the articles and find them of exceeding interest, discussing, as do their authors, subjects not only of the past but of the present. Such a magazine is of great value, not only in bringing to light the occurrences of days gone by, but in setting right many controverted points. Historical students are great workers and great controversialists as well.—*Brunswick (Me.) Telegraph*, October 4, 1867.

 See next three pages for specimens of this work.

Camp; and that, until Washington had been formally invested with authority to command the troops from Rhode Island, by Rhode Island's own local authorities, he had less authority among them than any Corporal of their number. Yet such were the facts.

Again: when General Greene would arrest David Mathews, a prominent Loyalist of New York, he did not presume to do so, even by his own troops, until he had obtained a warrant for the arrest, from the local civil authorities; yet the Author of this work sees nothing in that notable instance of his grandfather's recognition of the supremacy of the civil over the military power, even in the midst of a war, as worthy of a syllable of comment, notwithstanding he is very profuse in his admiration of what, in the same case, he regards as "the domination of the strong" "hand and absolute will" of his ancestor. Very much stronger than "the strong hand," in this instance, we submit, was General Greene's implicit obedience to the Civil law, even when dealing with a public enemy, in time of Civil War.

We will mention only another instance—that, on page 193, in which the Author speaks of "the 'Park, then open ground and frequently used 'for drill and parades,' on which the General is said to have first seen Hamilton; without indicating *where* that 'Park' was. As New York City had not been referred to, for many pages, no one who was previously unacquainted with the facts would have suspected that that acquaintance was formed, if Professor Greene is correct, on what was then the Common, now "the Park," in New York City.

We mention these as instances of the Author's forgetfulness that the usefulness of his volumes may be greatly impaired by the omission of a very few lines, which are absolutely necessary to enable the general reader to understand the details of the narrative; and we venture to express a hope that this fault may be avoided in the volumes which are to follow.

The typography is very good; but a work of this importance, one would suppose, might have secured a steel-plate portrait of its subject, instead of an ordinary photograph.

6.—*Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861, to April, 1865.* By Adam Badeau, Colonel and Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, Brevet Brigadier-general U. S. Army. Volume I. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1865.

This volume is the first of a series in which only the professional career of General Grant is to be noticed; and it is from the pen of a member of his personal staff having the free use of all the correspondence and documents at Headquarters and the War Department, including the

papers of the enemy which were captured at the close of hostilities. It brings the subject down to the promotion of Grant to the Lieutenant-generalship; and as it is issued with the General's entire personal approbation, it may be considered as nearly Autobiographical.

The authority of this volume, under these circumstances, as far as its relation of facts is concerned, cannot be disputed, even if the expressions of its Author's judgment shall sometimes be open to dissent; and it will continue to be regarded through all time to come, as one of the leading authorities concerning the War of Secession.

It is very beautifully printed, on good paper; and the profuse use of authoritative Maps renders the text much more intelligible to the non-professional reader than is usually the case.

7.—*History of the American Civil War.* By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. In three volumes. Volume I. containing the Causes of the War, and the events preparatory to it, up to the close of President Buchanan's Administration. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867. Octavo, pp. 567. Price \$3.50.

In this handsome volume, we have the first of a series in which the learned Author proposes to treat of the causes which led to the recent Civil War, and of the events connected with it, not, he says, in a partisan, but in a philosophical and impartial spirit; which every one will admit is as unusual as it is commendable.

Although this volume is merely introductory, the learned Author unfolds in it the leading features of his system; and, except in his description and discussion of military affairs, we are already enabled to judge of the general course of his reasoning and the general character of his work.

The Doctor maintains, for instance, that the History of the United States may be divided into three distinct Divisions, each relating to a distinct period of what he styles the "American National 'Life'"—the first concerning the period during which the leading feature was "an earnest acceptance of the Idea of Political Unity;" the second concerning the period in which was manifested a tendency to a "Decomposition of the 'Nation which had arisen from that Idea, into 'two Geographical and Opposing Political powers, the North and the South, or the Free and 'the Slave;' and the third concerning 'the Conflict of those two Powers for Supremacy.'" In the volume before us, the Doctor discusses the first two of these subjects; and that of the third is left for the second and third volumes of the series.

In the consideration of this work it may be well to ascertain, *First*, the standpoint from which the Author has surveyed the Past of our Country and undertaken to describe it, *historically*—for this work claims to be a "History of

**TAMMANY SOCIETY.**—I find in the *New York Daily Gazette*, for May 12. 1790, the following item of intelligence:

"The Society of St. Tammany being a national Society, consists of Americans born, who fill all offices, and adopted Americans who are eligible to the honorary posts of Warrior and Hunter.

"It is founded on the true principles of Patriotism, and has for its motives, charity and brotherly love.

"Its officers consist of one Grand Sachem, twelve Sachems, one Treasurer, one Secretary, one Door-keeper; it is divided into thirteen tribes, which severally represent a State; each tribe is governed by a Sachem the honorary posts in which are one warrior and one hunter."

Is this organization still kept up, in its original form? G. S. U.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

### XXI.—REPLIES.

THE HOMESTEAD OF ETHAN ALLEN (*H. M.*, II., ii., 177.)

NORTH BENNINGTON, VT., }  
January 17, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring me to page 177 of the September number of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, you inquire if the statement is correct that Ethan Allen's house is still standing in Bennington Center? I answer it is not.

I am quite sure Colonel Allen never owned a residence in Bennington, and I do not think his family ever lived in the town; if they ever did it was but for a very short period. He came to Bennington about 1770, and spent most of his time here until he was made prisoner at Montreal, in September, 1775—his Bennington home being at the public house of Captain Stephen Fay—his family remaining at Salisbury, Connecticut, or Sheffield, Massachusetts. In 1777, during his captivity, his family removed to Sunderland, fifteen miles North of this town, near the residence of his brother, Ira Allen. Colonel Allen was exchanged in the spring of 1778, and from that time his residence is understood to have been in that town until 1787, when he went to live at Burlington, where he died on the tenth of February, 1789. He built a house in Sunderland, which is said to have been taken down about 1845.

While superintending the publication of his *Oracles of Reason*, in 1784, he spent some months, probably without his family, at the house of his friend, Joseph Fay, and was frequently there afterwards, until he moved to Burlington. From this circumstance the house of Mr. Fay has sometimes been spoken of as having been the residence of

Colonel Allen. It is doubtless the house which gave rise to the statement which has been noticed in your Magazine. It could, however, in no proper sense have been called Colonel Allen's homestead. It was a first class house for the time and place of its erection—its length fronting the street, a wide hall through the center, one story high, with gambrel roof and dormer windows. It is still standing in a dilapidated condition, turned into a tinner's shop.

The tavern-house of "Landlord Fay," sometimes called "the Green Mountain Tavern," which was Allen's headquarters previous to his captivity, and the headquarters of the "Green Mountain Boys," in their contests with the "Yorks," as it was also of the Vermont Council of Safety, during the trying campaign of 1777, is still standing at Bennington Center. It is a two story house, some forty feet square, substantially built, but fast going to decay. Until within the past year, it has been used and occupied as a private dwelling by descendants of the original proprietor.

I am, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

HILAND HALL.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Editor }  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

**COMMODORE TUCKER.**—In answer to the Query of J. W., in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* of January last (II., iii., 51), "A Life of Commodore Tucker," is now in press, and will be published early in March. It will be a volume of three hundred and eighty-four pages, handsomely printed, and containing an account of the principal Battles and achievements of this hero of the Revolution, from authentic sources.

J. H. S.

BOSTON, February 24, 1868.

**MR. SUMNER ON SENECA'S PROPHECY CONCERNING AMERICA.** (*H. M.* II, ii, 192.)

I.

EAST GREENWICH, R. I., January 27, 1868.

MY DEAR DAWSON: I have not seen Doctor Hedge's note to *The Transcript*, but Sumner's article is before me, and I am at a loss to understand the ground upon which the charge of confounding the two Senecas and mistranslating the well-known lines of the *Medea* is founded. His words are—"Foremost among all those were the well-known verses of the Spaniard, Seneca, in 'the chorus of his *Medea*.'"

Now, as this is the only mention which he makes of Seneca, and both the Senecas, father and son, were natives of *Cordoba*, in Spain, how has he confounded the philosopher and the tragedian?

I am equally at a loss to discover in what the

## I.—A LEAF OF MASSACHUSETTS HISTORY.

## PURITANS, INDIANS AND DOGS.

"Επὶ θηραν καὶ κυνηγεσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξήλασε."—  
PLUTARCH: *Alexander*.

"Cry Havock, and let slip the dogs of war."—SHAKESPEARE.

IN 1656, John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, appealed to the Commissioners of the United Colonies for the appointment of some agents "in the Massachusetts to promote and forward the worke among the Indians; both in respect of their gou'ment & Incurriging meet Instruments or their further healp and Instruction." The Commissioners, conceiving the said Indians to belong to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, referred the matter, with power, to the wisdom and care of that government.

The next topic of consideration is so graphically stated in the Act by which it was disposed of, as to need no further comment by way of introduction. The reader may refer it to any branch of the "Indian worke" of that generation which he may "thinke meete."

"**W**HERAS it was p<sup>r</sup>sented to the Commissioners by M<sup>r</sup> hollihock of Springfield that Mastiffe Doggs might bee of good vse against the Indians in case of any desturbance from them which they Reddily apprehending thought meet to comend the same to the seuerall Generall Courts to take care and make prouision thereof accordingly."—*Plymouth Colony Records*, x., 168; *Hazard*, ii., 359.

A marginal note in the Plymouth Colony Records is—"this to be propounded to our Court." Doubtless the "seuerall Generall Courts" did act with due promptness and discretion in the premises, but we find no traces in the published records of any separate action at that time. It had been the practice previously for the town at any rate not restricted to the particular towns. Whether the "*Hunt Serjeant*" was the highest in command, when the "hunt was up," is a question which we are unable to solve, and must refer to those who have access to the original documents in the Archives of the State. We have heard Mr. Bancroft speak of having met with accounts of parties going out against the Indians, "*double-dogged*."

We have met with a Law of the Province "concerning dogs," which is interesting and perhaps unique in the history of American Legislation—although it may have its parallel in later provisions of Southern Codes for improvement of the

means of hunting for fugitive slaves. It was passed at the October Session of the Great and General Court, 1706; and appears among the printed Laws of that period.

The first Act of the Session was "*An Act for Maintaining and Propagating of Religion*." It re-inforced, by suitable enactments, the previous laws for securing to all the towns in the Province, an "able, learned and orthodox" ministry, with a view to rendering the said Laws more effectual, thortities to procure hounds for the use and at the expense of the towns. The object was to improve all means for the destruction of wolves; and no dog could be kept without the approbation of the Selectmen, who were also authorized to quarter the town dogs on any of the inhabitants they should choose, excepting Magistrates, who could keep dogs of their own or decline to board the public dogs, at their pleasure.

From the character of the proposition of "Mr. hollihock," it is apparent that the use of their hounds against Indians, was a novelty in 1656—at any rate was not a general custom, however successful it might have been previously in private practice. There is no room for doubt, however, that the suggestion was "improved," or that these four-footed auxiliaries played an important part in the long Indian Wars which fill so much of the Colonial and Provincial history of the Country.

The business was reduced to a system, and an organization is indicated, in subsequent legislation, which employed officers whose jurisdiction appears to have been general in the Frontiers, or and "to prevent the growth of Atheism, Irreligion and Prophaneness."

On the next page—barely separated from the foregoing by a brief Act to revive a former Statute to protect her Majesty's soldiers and seamen from Arrest for debt, etc.—is the following:

### An Act for the Raising & Increase of Dogs, for the better Security of the Frontiers.

**W**HEREAS upon Tryal lately made of Ranging and Scouring the Woods on the Frontiers, with Hounds and other Dogs used to Hunting, It has proved of great Service to discourage and keep off the Indians,

For Encouragement therefore to Raise and Train up a greater number of Dogs, to be improved.

**Be it Enacted by His Excellency the Gubernour, Council and Rep=**



THE  
**HISTORICAL MAGAZINE;**  
 AND

**Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America.**

THIS Magazine was commenced in January, 1857, for the purpose of furnishing a medium of intercommunication between Historical Societies, Authors, and Students of History, and supplying an interesting and valuable journal—a miscellany of American History. On the first of July, 1866, it passed into the hands of the undersigned, by whom it is still conducted, with the support and aid of a large body of intelligent readers, and the assistance of the foremost historical writers in the country.

Among the contributors to the past volumes are Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. George Bancroft, Jared Sparks, LL.D., Hon. Peter Force, Hon. James Savage, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Wm. Gilmore Simms, Esq., Henry R. Stiles, M.D., Geo. Gibbs, Esq., Hon. John R. Brodhead, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Benson J. Lossing, Esq., Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Samuel G. Drake, Esq., Sebastian F. Streeter, Esq., Alfred B. Street, Esq., E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., Prof. W. W. Turner, Buckingham Smith, Esq., Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., Brantz Mayer, Esq., Hon. John R. Bartlett, Samuel F. Haven, Esq., Dr. R. W. Gibbs, John W. Francis, M.D., D. G. Brinton, M.D., George H. Moore, Esq., John G. Shea, LL.D., Rev. E. H. Gillette, D.D., John Ward Dean, Esq., Henry O'Reilly, Esq., Rev. Pliny H. White, Hon. E. E. Bourne, and Hon. Thomas Ewbank.

The eleven volumes already published contain an immense mass of matter relating to American History and kindred studies, such as cannot be found collected elsewhere, rendering it a work absolutely necessary in all libraries. Few historical works now appear that do not acknowledge indebtedness to it.

The Contents of the Historical Magazine may be generally classed under the following heads:

I. Original Papers, involving points of research in historical studies, presenting new facts, or the discussion of Federal and Local topics of interest, in Essays, by writers versed in American History.

II. The Collection of Original Letters, Correspondence, Diaries, &c., hitherto unpublished, of Americans of Eminence.

III. Biographical and Obituary Notices of persons distinguished in the service of the country, whether in office, political life, literature, or science.

IV. Accurate reports of the proceedings of the numerous American Historical, Antiquarian, Geographical, Numismatic, and other kindred Societies.

V. Notes and Queries of curious and important topics, new and old, with replies, by a large body of contributors.

VI. Reprints of rare and interesting Tracts, old Poems out of print, &c., &c.

VII. Miscellany and Anecdotes.

VIII. Carefully prepared and impartial Notices of New Books and Engravings, especially those relating to the History, Antiquities, or Biography of America.

IX. Historical and Literary Intelligence, Announcements, &c.

The Historical Magazine is printed on fine quality of paper, similar in form and size to this sheet, and published in monthly numbers, of sixty-four pages each, at FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR. Single numbers SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Morrisania, N. Y.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. SECOND SERIES.]

DECEMBER, 1867.

[No. 7

L.—THE RICHARDSONS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

A LETTER FROM JOHN P. RICHARDSON TO DOCTOR JOSEPH JOHNSON.

CLARENDON, September 29th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR :

Allow me to offer you a very sincere apology for so long an interval as has elapsed, between the date of yours of the 4th ult. and this reply.

In addition to other circumstances, which I will not trouble you by stating, a very severe attack of bilious fever, from which I am but still partially recovered, has unavoidably increased the causes of delay.

No subject, I assure you, could be more interesting to me, than that to which you have adverted ; and there is no one into whose hands I would more cheerfully confide the record of my ancestor's revolutionary services and merits, than in yours.

As full as our family chronicles are, of legends and traditionary incidents of the most important and interesting character, yet, in the absence of all living testimony, and received as they now necessarily are, from secondary or hearsay witnesses, I exceedingly regret my inability at this instant, to present them to you in that authentic and historical form, in which it is most desirable they should be published.

In the meantime, I feel sufficiently authorized by all concurrent evidence to give you the following brief sketch of my grandfather's biography and public services :

General RICHARD RICHARDSON, Senior, was by birth a Virginian ; of highly respectable parentage ; with large family connections in that State ; possessed of as good an education as the times and circumstances of the country then afforded ; and, like General Washington and most of the youth of *that day and State*, more particularly qualified by the character of his studies, to pursue the occupation of a Surveyor, at that time regarded the most honorable as well as the most useful.

His habits and predilections in that line of life, first induced him, perhaps, to visit South Carolina,

as the best field to gratify both his professional and speculative ardor, and where the spirit of enterprise and emigration in Virginia were then chiefly directed. His judgment wisely and happily guided him in the choice and location of lands, so large in extent, and so valuable in quality, as at once to elevate him to wealth ; and which, even in the long culture and multiplied subdivisions of his numerous descendants, are still possessed of adequate and exhaustless resources of fertility. His remarkable qualities of prudence, firmness, dignity, benevolence, frankness, and self-possession, united to a fine and commanding exterior, agreeable temper, and amiable and courteous, but grave, deportment, soon won for him the confidence of the whole interior of the State, a large portion of which was then comprised in the "County of Craven," in which his residence was situated. Perhaps no one but General Washington himself, at that time, possessed the affections and confidence of his fellow-citizens in this portion of the State, to the same profound and unlimited extent as General Richard Richardson. He was often the voluntarily selected judge and arbiter of most of the feuds, strifes, bickerings, and dissensions among his fellow-citizens, embracing a sort of judicial jurisdiction, extending from the Santee River to the North Carolina Line.

His dwelling frequently presented the aspect of a place of Assizes ; and few if any were ever known to possess the moral hardihood to appeal to another or higher tribunal. The remains of that strong personal impression, made on the minds of men by the force and rectitude of his character, is still remembered by many of the older inhabitants of Lancaster, and has often been kindly and favorably manifested towards his descendants, on occasions of seeking the confidence of that People.

He commanded the military forces of the State, in several Campaigns against the Indians, where his reputation as an officer was first acquired.

In addition to the services recorded in DRAYTON's *Memoirs*, his influence, both as a citizen and an officer, was actively exerted in counteracting the Tories of the interior, and rallying assistance for the protection of the city.

He held a high and distinguished command under General Lincoln, in the Campaigns succeeding the capture of Savannah; and which, disastrous and discouraging as was their commencement, and dark as the fortunes of the South then were, finally terminated in raising the first Siege of Charleston, and the retreat of the British forces under General Provost to the Islands on our Southern Coasts.

In the capitulation of Charleston, he was made a prisoner with other General officers in command of that station, and was permitted to return under a Parole to his family and his residence.

The forced construction of allegiance, subsequently placed by the British Commander on these terms of capitulation, revolted his sense of duty and good faith, and added energy and bitterness to the counsels which he imparted to his countrymen. When Lord Cornwallis, therefore, in the military excursion of the ensuing summer, discovered that the presence and counsels of General Richardson among his fellow-citizens of the interior, were still exerting an unhappy influence on the Royal cause, he proposed, in a conference held with him in the presence of his family, that he should either unite himself to the Royal standard, with a *Carte Blanche* for any baronial possessions, or titles, or offices, in the power of the Crown to bestow; or that he must otherwise submit to the alternative of being subjected to close confinement. The former was rejected with disdain, and in such dignified terms as to elicit an involuntary expression of respect and admiration from his Lordship, for the character of a man so sternly adhering to his principles. His reply is *authentically* reported in these words:—"That he had, from the best convictions of his mind, embarked in a cause which he believed to be righteous and just; that he had knowingly and willingly staked life, family, property, and *all* up on the issue; that he was prepared to suffer, or triumph with it; and that he would rather die a thousand deaths, than betray his country or deceive his friends."

In submitting to the alternative, his health pined away under the influence of a sickly climate and a loathsome prison-house; the infirmities of old age (then in his seventy-sixth year), increased rapidly upon him; and death was so near and so inevitably approximating, that he was permitted, in the September following, to leave the Island, to linger out his last remaining hours at his residence in Clarendon.

His remains had been interred but a short time before Tarleton established his Head-quarters on the premises, and disinterred the body, under the double pretext of gratifying his curiosity by examining the features of a man of his reputed character and of searching for hidden treasures. After this inhuman and brutal desecration, he per-

mitted it, at the entreaties of his family, to be again sepulchred.

Such property as could not be pressed into the British service, was wantonly and sedulously destroyed. Provisions and Houses were burnt; stock of all descriptions slaughtered or driven away; negroes captured or decoyed; until, at last, nothing but the dwelling-house remaining, he *personally* directed the torch to be applied to it, with the avowed intention of making it the funeral pile of a widowed mother and her "three young rebels." The humanity of one of his officers interposed to rescue them from the flames; and his earnest remonstrance finally succeeded in allaying the savage determination of his superior.

During the sojourn of Tarleton and his Corps in the neighborhood, with a view of counteracting the operations and influence of General Marion, the family of General Richardson were obliged to subsist on the voluntary charity of a few faithful and affectionate servants, leaving their hiding places at night, to furnish them food by stealth. Greater instances of kindness, disinterestedness, fidelity, and devotion, were never, perhaps, exemplified in any of the relations of life.

Colonel RICHARD RICHARDSON, JUNIOR, was made a prisoner with his father, but immediately after the death of the latter, escaped from the Island where he was confined, and joined the American forces under Marion.

Having for the reasons that actuated many others (arising out of the constructive allegiance, which the British Commander pretended to regard all prisoners under Parole as resuming to the Crown), violated the bounds and terms of his imprisonment, his life was, of course, forfeited and by the direction of the officer in command of the station from whence he escaped, diligently sought after by the Tories and Loyalists in the vicinity. And never was search after the life of human victim quickened and impelled by a more vindictive and persecuting spirit. Surprise, treachery, and death lurked everywhere around him; and the only places of comparative safety were the Camp and the Battlefield.

Hence he was always and unremittingly in the service; in every action or skirmish with the foe, in which Marion was engaged; and even in the intervals of relaxation, when the great body of that officer's Troops were obliged for security, by surprise, the scarcity of provisions, or in the absence of any pressing service, to be temporarily dispersed, he was still among the few to remain with the General, ready for future enterprise or organization.

On one rare occasion of indulgence to his domestic feelings, being permitted to pay a short visit to his family, he was directed by General Marion to be accompanied by a small guard, for greater security and protection. He had scarcely

arrived at his dwelling, before a large force of British Troops and Tories was discovered advancing rapidly down the avenue, in hot and eager pursuit of their hated victim.

To remount the wearied steeds from which they had just alighted and rush precipitately down the steep acclivity at the opposite side of the House, with the almost impervious swamps at its base, were the only means of safety left to them. *One* only of the small party, (a man by the name of Roberts) was captured in the effort to escape; and while being summarily executed on a walnut tree but a few paces from the door, the wife and family of Colonel Richardson were rudely forced out of the house to witness the terrifying spectacle.

In the savage gratification of the moment, she was directed to behold the dying struggles of one of her husband's partisans, and to meditate on the doom which, they assured her, they designed very soon to subject him. She replied "that she did not doubt the capacity of men who could deliberately outrage the feelings of a woman, to perpetrate any act of cowardly treachery or inhumanity on a brave but unfortunate foe. But conquer or capture my husband first, if you *can, or dare*, before you presume to boast of your savage triumph and cruelty; and let me tell you in the meanwhile, that many or most of you will be in the condition to implore his mercy, long before he will ever have need to supplicate, or will deign to accept yours." And it did indeed retributively and historically so happen in the stirring and changeful incidents of the times, that the lives of some of these very brutal and inhuman monsters were generously spared and protected by the clemency of Colonel Richardson, from the revenge and retaliation of his own zealous and excited partisans.

During this scene of horror and suffering, Tarleton was present, and apparently a pleased, although a silent spectator. His only remark was, "that he commiserated the trials and endurance of the heroic women; but that his sanction of such acts of signal and exemplary severity was necessary to the success of the Royal cause."

In the progress of his useful and active service, Richard Richardson rose to the rank of Colonel, under Marion, and was always regarded as one of his most cool, daring, and confidential officers.

At the Battle of the Eutaw when the Militia under Marion was deputed to commence the action, Colonel Richardson was posted on the right of his line, as the place of honor and of danger.

To the surprise of the whole army, these comparatively undisciplined troops, urged by the voice and example of their officers, withstood the hottest and most galling fire of the enemy, and

not only spiritedly commenced, but gallantly sustained, the brunt of the action to its successful termination.

During the trying incidents of this (perhaps the best and hardest fought) battle in the South, Colonel Richardson was seen encouraging and leading on his troops with a cool and desperate valor, that won for him the personal admiration of the whole American Army, and the distinction of being one of the most conspicuous heroes of the day. In the course of the engagement, he was wounded in the leg with a musket ball, by which his horse was at the same time killed.

But he had scarcely been disentangled from his dead steed, before he mounted another, and regardless of suffering, as he was reckless of danger, resumed his active and zealous participation in the contest, with apparently greater ardor and effect.

He reached a ripe old age; was always unambitious; would never voluntarily allude to his personal adventures or interest in the important events of the war; heartily forgave the persecution of his adversaries; often protected them in after times from the vindictive feelings and criminations of his less generous Whig friends; and always endeavored to palliate the motives of their misguided conduct. Possessed of a mild and agreeable temper that scarcely any of the ordinary incidents of life could ruffle, yet even in his old age, if ever the heroism of his life and character was for a moment forgotten, by any one impertinently or rudely daring to trespass on his rights or his feelings, it was but for them to see the spirit of the lion flash in his eye, or to hear the language of warning and defiance in his calm tones of dignity and self-possession, to quail under the rebuke and forbear in an instant the offence.

He has left numerous descendants, occupying the most respectable places in society.

Captain EDWARD RICHARDSON held a commission in "Thompson's Rangers," and was engaged in most of the partisan services of that Corps. He was a man of commanding person, brave, generous, of great purity of character, fine taste, and sprightly intellect.

I have thus, my dear Sir, endeavored to give you a brief and hasty sketch of my ancestors' lives and public services. The only merit or interest that I can presume to claim for it is the truth and authenticity of such things as I have stated *as facts*. I have been careful to derive them from the best sources, and have sedulously abstained from including any thing of an apocryphal character, although often possessed of a much higher interest than any which I have narrated.

You will oblige me by giving as full an account of their services as the prescribed limits of your work will permit. It will be the first time that any thing like historical justice has ever been done to them. And even now, it can be but pur-

tial—for most of the memorials of their lives and usefulness are already lost in the forgotten incidents of an age, fast fading from the memory of man, and beginning to be substituted by false and imaginary traditions and events.

With the highest regards,  
Yrs Dr Sr Very truly  
& respectf  
JOHN RICHARDSON.

Doctor Joseph Johnson.  
Charleston.

## II.—REMINISCENCES OF "OLD BROOK- LYN."—CONCLUDED.

READ BEFORE THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY, MAY 16, 1867, BY COLONEL THOMAS  
F. DE VOE.

We turn to THOMAS EVERIT, SENIOR, who appears to have come from an old stock of Butchers, as we find early in 1698, Edward Everitt, Butcher, obtained a Freeman-ship to commence business within the City of New York. Soon after, he removed to Long Island, from which place he attended the New York Markets, irregularly.

Afterwards appeared in the same line of business, a Richard Everit, supposed to be his son, who, in 1730, built or repaired a Slaughter-house, on a small creek which put up from the East river, in the Town of *Brookland*. The location now would place it at the intersection of Columbia and Doughty-streets. In this building, about 1720, Thomas Everit, Senior, commenced his profession, as it appears, without the assistance of Negro Slaves, his help being the white servants, whose time he had purchased, and his apprentices, with whom he attended the New York Markets almost daily.

In 1763, the press says, "There was killed by Thomas Everit, a Cow raised and fattened by Col. Ben<sup>r</sup> Treadwell of Great Neck, whose weight was (meat, hide and rough fat) 813 pounds. This perhaps exceeds any killed in this Province."

In 1769, we find Everit in receipt of the property of Samuel Skidmore, a Butcher, previously noticed, who "gave notice to his creditors to show cause why an assignment of his estate should not be made to Thomas Everit, also of Brooklyn, on Nassau Island, Butcher, and he be thereupon discharged."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, "A meeting of the 'Company of Light Horse' of Brooklyn, was held on the 15 of September, 1775, at Adolph Waldron's, Inn holder, at Brooklyn Ferry, when Thomas Everit was elected 2d Lieu<sup>t</sup>: in the month of March follow-

ing (1776) he signed the Declaration and took up "his Commission."

Onderdonk informs us, that the members of this Troop were first in service under General Greene, who ordered them to seize all the fat stock of the disaffected for Commissary Brown. They next drove off stock under General Woodhull; and, after the defeat at Brooklyn, in August, 1776, as they were proceeding Eastward to join Colonel Livingston, they were ordered off the Island by Colonel Potter. Everit, however, returned; and, in the month of November, following, renewed his allegiance to King George. He was a man of considerable talent, strictly honest, and possessed a very kind heart. His sons, Thomas, William, and Richard, were also Butchers, and will be noticed in their proper order.

THOMAS EVERIT, JUNIOR, was born in Brooklyn, in 1764. When a boy, he was remarkable for his quiet and studious habits; and, for those war-like times, he became an excellent scholar. He served with his father until he mastered his profession, when he took charge of his father's stall and business in the old Fly Market, in New York, where he continued until about the year 1796, when he quit the market; became engaged in farming, near Hempstead; and joined the Society of Friends. After the lapse of a few years, he returned to Brooklyn. Here, with his old bosom-friend, John Doughty, he formed a partnership in the Tanning and Wool business, and established a successful and extensive trade; after which his partner retired from the firm.

Mr. Michael Trappel, yet living, once a Brooklyn Butcher, informed me that he worked for Everit during more than twenty years, in this Hide and Wool business; and that he always knew him to be the same honest, unpretending, good man, whose simple habits, dress, and speech were fully and faithfully carried out, in his new faith. He was always seeking to do his fellow man some service, either by advice or assistance, and this, too, in the most unassuming manner; as many will bear testimony, even at this late day. He continued business, many years, in Brooklyn, from whence he afterwards removed it, to No. 32 Ferry street, New York, where yet remains his son Valentine, continuing his predecessor's business.

Thomas Everit died in the year 1841, leaving many relatives and friends, the latter of whom yet speak glowingly of his many virtues.

His brother WILLIAM, in 1775, joined the Troop with Thomas, as a private, and continued with it until it left Long Island; and afterwards, it is stated, he was engaged in the Commissary Department of the American Army. We do not, however, find him again, until the year 1786, when he appeared in the Fly Market, and was a resident of the City of New York.

RICHARD EVERIT, another brother, also attended the same Market, and resided with his father, at Brooklyn, until his marriage, when he removed quite near the Ferry. He afterwards became one of the first Board of Trustees of the First Methodist Episcopal Meeting-house, established here, in 1794.

In 1796, we find advertised, at private sale, a large plot of ground and several houses, in Brooklyn, besides three or four rooms to let, in a house fronting on the East-river. "For particulars enquire of Richard Everit or John Doughty, in the Fly Market, No. 47." He did not, however, remain long after this in the old Market, as he was stricken with the Yellow Fever; and died in the calamitous year, 1798.

MATTHEW GLEAVES, we introduce in the year 1755, at which time he appeared to be serving, or was engaged with, one of the Horsfields. The preparation for war with the French and Indians, at this period, demanded an Express-rider from Brooklyn, to convey the necessary papers to the Magistrates at the East end of Long Island. Gleaves became thus employed by the Government officers; and for the service he received the sum of five dollars.

We soon after find him as one of the Butchers of the old Fly Market, where he became engaged in a large and profitable business.

In 1760, he married Miss Margaret Rote, and purchased a fine property in Brooklyn, just on the rise of the hill, and lying near the old Ferry road.

At the commencement of the Revolution, Gleaves, with John Carpenter, was supplying the Continental troops with beef. This incident I have already referred to, in the sketch of Carpenter, from information received through their Petition to the Continental Congress; and thus this interesting fact has been handed down to us.

After the Revolution, Gleaves was again found in the old Market, and residing in Brooklyn, with a handsome property,

In the description of the property belonging once to Alexander Colden, it is said to have joined, "The land lately sold by Timothy Horsfield to John Kingston," which was on the South side of Fulton-street, from high water mark, up, over the Hill. Another plot was said to have been "granted to John Tallman, by the said Timothy Horsfield, in a Deed bearing date the third day of October, in the year of our Lord, One thousand, seven hundred, and fifty three." One other piece of land was said to be "lying to the South-east of a dwelling house, about five or six rods distant, bounded on the North, by the land belonging to *Matthew Gleaves*; South by the land of John Carpenter; and on the West by a road leading to the highway."

In the year 1786 or 7, in an old brick house, on

Fulton-street, a Protestant Episcopal service was performed; and among the officers of the organization, we find several Butchers, of which Matthew Gleaves was one, and a member of the Board of Trustees. He then resided on or near the Bedford road, just on the boundaries of the fire limits.

Matthew Gleaves is described by those who knew him well, as a finely formed man, as well as a finished gentleman, and one of the best dressed in the profession. He regarded personal appearance with particular care and precision. One of his associates says—"he invariably looked as if he came out of a *band box*, when he arrived at the Fly-market for daily business." He usually wore silk breeches, with buckles to match, which also fastened up the pearl-white silk stockings which covered his well-formed limbs, and in addition to these, another pair of large silver buckles garnished the highly polished shoes which completed this portion of his *understanding*. Above, on his cranium, he wore a well-powdered wig, which fell in a curling roll around his shoulders; while on the top of all, gracefully rested his neat three-cornered hat.

He died about the year 1800; a true gentleman of the olden school.

Back again, about the year 1760, we find JOHN DOUGHTY, SENIOR, with several other Brooklyn and New York Butchers petitioning the Corporation of the City of New York, "to oblige Mr. Nicholas Bayard (the lessee of the Public Slaughter-house) to keep it in order, as well as to arrange the Regulations that all could be accommodated, or else to indulge the petitioners with the privilege of erecting their own buildings, in such places as they shall provide and which this Corporation shall approve of." The latter clause, at least, was not granted to them.

The object of the Brooklyn Butchers in signing this Petition, at that period, appears to have been, that Long Island did not wholly produce a supply of live stock for the markets of New York; besides, in certain seasons, the East-river became closed with ice, or heavy fogs, or storms, when it was as much as they could accomplish to get passengers across; to say nothing of Cattle or Teams, which occasionally were waiting for weeks before they could be passed over the river with safety. Again, a scarcity of Cattle would sometimes send the Butchers travelling through the other Counties of the Province, to purchase stock—this was before Drovers were in existence—which were driven down to the City, where in this objectionable public building, the Butchers were obliged to prepare their meats.

Doughty continued in the Fly Market during the Revolution, assisted by his son, John, where, for a period, we lose sight of him.

I am inclined to suppose that John Doughty Senior, was a member of the Society of Friends

and a son of Charles Doughty, Senior, who joined the Society about the year 1730. This Charles Doughty was proposed by some Friends in a document, now in my possession, which reads as follows:

"And at ye request of Robert Murrey, a liver  
"in this place we have to say, that he has Ex-  
"prest his desire to come under ye notice of  
"Friends for near twelve months in and before  
"which time he hath frequented our meetings,  
"and been of a pretty orderly conversation, as far  
"as we know, which we refer to your considera-  
"tion, also there are two men at *York Ferry*  
"who have in like manner behaved and desire  
"to come under Friends notice if Friends think  
"proper, their names are Charles Doughty and  
"Samuel Hicks."

We now turn to JOHN DOUGHTY, JUNIOR, who had received a liberal education, and began business with his father in the Fly Market, about the period of the Revolution.

The subject of a Fire Company had been considerably discussed among several of the prominent Townsmen; and it was decided to call a meeting at the house of the Widow Moser, near the Ferry-landing, on the thirtieth of April, 1785, when it appears that John Doughty, Junior, who was of an active turn of mind, with his time not wholly occupied with business, was elected one of the seven members of a Fire Company, which afterwards became known as "WASHINGTON COMPANY, No. 1." In this Company he served eight years.

In 1790, he appears to have been one of the three Assessors for the Town, and continued in this office, three years in succession. In 1796, he was placed in the responsible position of Town-clerk, which office he held, year after year, for the space of Thirty-four years, and gave general satisfaction.

In the several years about the period of 1800, when the Yellow fever visited the City of New York, provisions were generally scarce and high; in fact, in the seasons of its prevalence, country people would not approach the City with their produce, and consequently the Markets were either deserted or the few who were left, removed to some more healthy portion of the City. Many Butchers, especially those from Brooklyn, discontinued attending the New York Markets until the fever had abated.

In 1796, we find John Doughty had supplied one Nathaniel Foster with fresh meat, which appears in have been charged, the Beef and Mutton at eight pence, and the Lamb, ten pence per pound; and the next year, the price had risen two pence per pound, on each of these items, which prices were then considered very high: and the reason given was, that stock was scarce and high, and occasionally with a supply so short that

many Butchers were absent from their stands for several days or weeks together.

It was then a law that Butchers who failed to personally attend their stalls for a period of fourteen days were dispossessed, unless they could give satisfactory reasons for their absence. In the month of September of that year, Doughty was ordered to appear before the Board to answer such complaint. He attended, and gave sufficient reasons for such absence.

In the same year, we find the first humane act on record, towards the abolition of slavery in the town of Brooklyn, by the manumission and setting free of a colored slave, which was done by John Doughty, on the fourth day of March, 1797; and, afterwards, he gave to others their freedom.

In the performance of his duties as Town-clerk, perhaps he witnessed more manumissions from Slavery than any other individual in the Town or Village; in fact the duties of his office about this period required a greater portion of his time, as the "Act for the gradual abolition of Slavery," was passed in the month of March, 1799, after which time all the Births and Names of the children of Slaves were ordered to be recorded in the Books of the Town-clerk. To afford an idea of this circumstance, the record appears: "I Certify that one negro child was born on the thirteenth of July, 1799, according to the law passed to be recorded and named, William Lambert Suydam." Again: "That I, Teunis Tiebout, had a male child born, the fourth of December last pass'd, named Anthony Brist, of my slave, which I do request to be recorded. Witness my hand this twenty fourth of December, 1799."

#### "TEUNIS TIEBOUT."

The various duties imposed upon Doughty continued to increase very fast, and as the public duties could not be neglected, it occasionally became quite onerous to him, as his daily business at the Market called him before daylight and usually ended at noon; then the crossing of the Ferry, followed with a hasty meal, when official or other duties began, which sometimes kept him constantly employed even unto the midnight hour. Four hours duty, from ten to two, did not then, as now, constitute an official day's work; but the business daily presenting itself was daily attended to; and Doughty performed all the required services satisfactorily.

In 1812, the duties of "Overseer of the Highway" was placed upon Doughty; and again, in 1819, the same office is found in his possession.

Again: in the year 1812, we find Doughty a "Fire Engineer," with the additional duties of Clerk and Treasurer of the Fire Department; and when the office of Chief Engineer was established, which took place in 1816, John Doughty

was the first one chosen to represent that office, but resigned it the next year, no doubt from various duties imposed upon him. However, in 1821, he again occupied the position, and retained it until 1823; when an Act was passed, incorporating the Fire Department, and he, by unanimous consent, was chosen President.

A prominent point in the character of Doughty was the early interest he exhibited in the cause of Public Education. We find him, therefore, in 1801, a Commissioner of Public Schools for that portion of the Town known as "*The Ferry*," which office he held several years; and when, in 1816, "District School No. 1," was organized, he was selected as its Clerk.

The Town of Brooklyn, in 1816, was changed into a Village by incorporation; and among the the Trustees named in the bill we find Judge Garrison and John Doughty. In 1819, Doughty was again selected as a Trustee; and this office he held until 1829, a portion of the time as Presiding officer. One year after this, the responsible duties of "Collector of the Village" were performed by him. In fact it may be said, that through a long and well-spent life, Doughty held nearly all the various positions of a public and private character that belonged to the Town and Village; and the manner in which he performed these various duties was amply illustrated by the confidence reposed in him by his fellow townsmen, who so persistently showered upon him so many services as to bewilder the intellect of any but an extraordinary man.

In all the various public offices and professional attention to his business, for a period of over Fifty years, he never thought of *gain to his coffers*, but was ever anxious to be a public benefactor, as well as an honest, faithful, Christian man; and with this character, he yielded his spirit to his Maker, on the sixteenth of May, 1832.

The Authorities in consideration of his great public worth, attached his name to one of the streets in this place.

GEORGE POWERS, SENIOR, is another name which demands from History, at least a line of record. Although tradition says, he was a Hessian soldier, who during the Revolution, came over with the British Troops to help quell the patriots, my examination of the subject has convinced me, that he was not one of those hirelings; but, on the other hand, he was among those who suffered much for their love of country.

I find him, before the Revolution, a Butcher in the old Fly-market, from which, in 1774, he thus advertised a "run-away":

"A white boy named George Wilmot, twenty years old, of a thin visage, light colored hair, with a mole on his left cheek. Had on when he went away, a light drab jacket, blue duffel trowsers, and a hat. All persons are hereby

"warned from harboring, or giving him any credit on my account.

"GEORGE POWERS,  
"Butcher in the Fly Market."

On the breaking out of the Revolution, he took sides with "the Sons of Liberty," and joined a Company called "The Brooklyn Troop of Horse," under Captain Adolph Waldron, who was an Innholder, at Brooklyn Ferry,

The services of this Company have been previously described, but when they were ordered off Long Island, Powers and several others crossed the Sound, from Huntingdon to Norwalk, leaving their horses behind, which were lost to them; and we find those men in Dutchess County, in October, 1776, in destitute circumstances; when they received their pay from the Convention.

In 1782, before the termination of the War, although it was known to be near, Powers returned to Brooklyn, where he again commenced business, as we find, on the twelfth of October, of that year, the following:

"Ran away from George Powers, Butcher, at Brooklyn Ferry, a young negro fellow named Cato,—for which he offers two guineas reward."

Early in 1784, he also gave "Notice, that all persons indebted to George Powers, Senior, of Brooklyn Ferry, are desired to pay their respective debts to no person but himself, likewise not to trust any person on his account."

Powers' early return gave him many advantages. First: in establishing a profitable business before the British Troops left the country; then, there were offered many opportunities for investing a small amount of money in various ways, as in teams of horses and cattle, wagons, etc., which the retreating British Troops could not carry away with them. These investments, after a few years, returned large profits. His gains were laid out principally in landed property in the Town, which afterwards became very valuable.

In 1785, an Independent Meeting-house was incorporated in the Town, in an old brick house now located about No. 43 Fulton-street. In this building, the Protestant Episcopal Service was read: and from that beginning afterwards originated St. ANNE'S CHURCH. Among its first officers appear George Powers, as Secretary, and John Carpenter, as Treasurer.

Two years after, Powers became a Church-warden, which office he held until his death, which occurred in 1826, when he was aged eighty-two years. In the meantime, Powers was frequently a Lay Delegate to the Diocesan Convention. He was also one of the Vestry, as well as one of the most liberal benefactors of the Church, giving one thousand dollars on one occasion. He however was considered wealthy; being in possession



of a large and valuable property which afterwards proved so, when his estate was sold for about five hundred thousand dollars.

The Episcopal Service appears to have been only irregularly held during the early part of the Revolution, and perhaps then only among the British officers, whose Chaplains officiated on these occasions; while the Dutch Reformed Congregation, who had worshipped so many years, prior to the Revolution, in the old Brooklyn Church, was driven from its church-edifice, or, at least, deprived of its use, in consequence of its being taken for other purposes, when the British Troops had taken possession of the Town.

We find, however, that, in 1778, an arrangement was made, by which both Congregations could worship in this old Church. It was thus announced:—"On Sunday morning, the fifth inst. to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, the Church at Brooklyn was opened and divine service, according to the ritual of the Church of England, performed by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Seares [*Sayres*] "who preached an excellent sermon, and baptized a *child*, which was the *First infant* admitted to that sacrament within said Church, where there will be prayers and a sermon next Sunday and on Good Friday, also on three Sundays following. Every fourth Sunday afterwards the Church will be occupied by the Dutch Congregation."

JOHN GARRISON, better known as Judge Garrison, was another old Fly-market Butcher.

Born at Gravesend, Long Island, in 1764, and while a boy removed to Brooklyn, he served his time in that town, with Matthew Gleaves; and commenced business about the year 1785, from which time to the day of his death, he was identified with the interests of both the Town and Village of Brooklyn.

Among the public and private positions which he occupied, was a Fireman in 1787, '90, '91, '93, and '94; Overseer of the Poor, in 1803 and '4; Justice of the Peace, for many continuous years; Commissioner for Schools, in 1806 and 7; one of a Committee of the Board of Health, in 1809; Trustee of the Village, in 1816 and '26; and a Judge of the Municipal Court; the last of which offices he held until his decease, which occurred in January, 1831.

In early life, Judge Garrison became attached to the First Methodist Episcopal Society in Brooklyn, which appears to have been incorporated in 1794, at which time he was elected one of the Board of Trustees; and for a succession of thirty-six years, he was annually elected to that position.

In the year of the Society's incorporation, it proceeded to erect the First Methodist Episcopal Church, afterwards called the Sands-street Church. Before this building was finished, after his return

home from the laborious duties of his Saturday's attendance at Market, which often detained him until after eleven o'clock at night, Mr. Garrison, with his worthy help-mate, would repair to the unfinished building, for the purpose of clearing away the rubbish and cleansing the sacred edifice, for the reception of the congregation for Sabbath service. The congregation then numbered twenty-four white, and about fifteen colored, persons.

Judge Garrison, in person, was a man of remarkably large size, great strength, and active physical powers; his stature was erect to a fault: in height he measured six feet, two inches. His son, John F., often weighed his father, whose weight was three hundred pounds, at the time he was engaged in the old Fly-market. In the latter part of his life, he was inclined to corpulency; but always retained his early activity and erectness.

As a citizen, Judge Garrison was not only regarded as an honest, and upright man, but also as possessing a very liberal and generous mind. To the poor, more especially, his liberality was very great; and I find recorded, that he was, "one of the kindest hearted and purest minded men whom Brooklyn ever saw."

We turn now to one of Brooklyn's most remarkable and eccentric characters, found in the person of JACOB PATCHEN, who was long known and is yet remembered, especially for the persevering efforts, displayed in the various law suits against the authorities, in attempting to retain his ancient habitation taken from him for public purposes.

As early as the year 1784, we find him residing in one of "Two houses in the *Ferry-street*" [present Fulton] "in *Brooklyne*, one now occupied by Nicholas Adrianse, and the other by Jacob Patchen, both containing 66 feet in front and 73 feet in the rear, and 106 feet in length—"Then in the possession of Robt. G. Livingston."

Having served a regular apprenticeship, at tailoring, Patchen, about this period, was closely engaged in that business; but as the needle, lap-board, and goose, were not conducive either to his health or his peculiar ideas of what constituted the duties of a man, and being acquainted with the stalwart Garrison and Doughty, and several other Butchers, he, by an arrangement with one of them, changed his business, for one which was, perhaps, more disagreeable, but which he found was more congenial to his health and purse.

Shortly after the year 1790, he was found attending the old Fly-market, some two or three times a week, as a "Shirk" or "Shark" Butcher; although in a petition dated August, 1795 he states that he "is by trade a Butcher, and has for a number of years been employed in that

"business in the City of New York, and has long been solicitous to procure a license for a stand in the Fly-market. To obtain that, your petitioner presented a petition upwards of two years since, but has not yet been able to procure the said license." The following persons "Certify that they are acquainted with him, and know him to be an industrious and sober man." Cortland V. Beuren, Wm Tredwell, Wm C. Thompson, Benj<sup>n</sup> Gatfield, Townsend & Nostrand, and Wm Post."

This petition came before the Authorities, who upon examination, became satisfied that he had not served a regular apprenticeship, so as to thoroughly understand the business, and, therefore, was not a competent person to hold a license from the Mayor, as a Butcher; but he was permitted to sell *small meats*, by the quarter, in the Country-market; and thus he continued for two years.

After this delay, Patchen came to the conclusion to out general the Authorities by introducing a Stall in the lower Fish-market, where he was found one winter morning, with a well furnished stall, ready for business. The records state that the Mayor, in the month of December, 1798, announced—"That he had removed Jacob Patchen from the Market, because he refused to remove a stall by him set up in the Fish Market, when required by the Clerk of the Market; which was approved of by the Board": and it was only sometime after, that he was permitted to sell meat again in the Fly-market.

An old friend yet living, who became intimately acquainted with Mr. Patchen, at an early period of his life, thus speaks of him: "Jacob Patchen was a most remarkable man; and although strictly honest, industrious, and punctual, he was strongly self-willed and persisting, which, through the course of his life, often brought him in opposition to the laws; especially when they did not conform to his peculiar ideas of right, he invariably resisted their power with his whole force. In person, he was quite tall, straight, and well-formed, with a somewhat expressive face, although it usually bore a stern, rigid, and selfish expression.

"He well understood the business of a small meat Butcher, being an excellent judge of small stock, more especially calves, which, after handling, he could almost invariably guess their live weight within three pounds; and he thinks he was the first Butcher who introduced the system of buying calves, which came from Long Island, by weight; in fact he would seldom buy in any other manner.

"When casting up accounts, either in buying or selling, the greasy right-knee of his leather breeches was raised, upon which an abbreviated rule of Arithmetic was satisfactorily performed.

"His dress was seldom varied or replaced; each

"article,—a part of which he made himself—always bore the same appearance. The round-crown'd felt hat, with a broad brim roll'd up all around, sat firmly down upon his head, much lower behind than before; and this at times was ornamented with a well-smoked pipe, secured under the band. Then he presented the short kersey coat, cut in a sort of semi-quaker style, covered with metal buttons, the size of a Spanish dollar; a single-breasted waistcoat, buttoned up to the throat, containing two pockets large enough to shelter his doubled hands, clutching and guarding their sterling contents, the sinews of his business. Glancing downward, your eyes met his stout-formed nether limbs, encased with ancient buckskin, remarkable for its high polish, by an adhesive grease and other matter, which had rendered it waterproof; while below it appeared those common but comfortable articles which our Great-grand-dames were so famous in producing, by the employment of their leisure hours, while sitting by the high blazing piles of Hickory, on a winter's evening; which articles, some of our modern delicate dames, squeamishly call *Hose*, but which those old-fashioned, unintelligent producers, broadly and vulgarly called *Stockings*. These necessary articles were usually gray in color, and stout in texture; and Patchen fastened them below the knee by the compression of the ties of those famous leather breeches. A broad and thick pair of cow-skin shoes, fastened on the top with large steel buckles, completed his attire." "And this was his dress," says one of my informants, "when I first saw him, and the last, after an acquaintance of some twenty years." His dress, however, was partially modified at a later period, when corduroy's occasionally changed place with the leather breeches, and high boots took the place of shoes.

In the several public positions held by Patchen, in Brooklyn, we find, in 1787, he was "Road-master to the Ferry;" in 1798, an Assessor; in 1803, "Commissioner of Highways;" then, in 1811, he again held the same office, to which might be added several minor duties, with which he at intervals was intrusted, until the year 1831, when he was honored by being elected a Trustee of the Village.

Mr. Patchen's suits at law began in 1825, with the Trustees of the Village, for taking his old homestead, in which he had resided more than fifty years, for public purposes. This location is the present York, formerly Market-street, running from Fulton to James-street.

Patchen employed some of the best Counsel of that day, who, after several years of litigation, in which many interesting and laughable incidents occurred, succeeded in recovering the premi-

ses, arising from the fact of their having been taken from him by illegal process. In the end, however, the authorities obtained the property, several years after Brooklyn became a city.

In the meantime, Patchen continued, with persistent efforts, through his Counsel, to raise new issues on various points of law, until his death, which occurred in 1840; and thus, with his death, ended the earthly trials of Jacob Patchen.

We turn to BURDET STRYKER, another old Brooklynite. Although born and brought up in the place, he was never prominent in public office, yet he was a most willing and useful resident.

He served a regular apprenticeship with the highly esteemed Thomas Everit, Junior. Before he left his service, he joined the First Methodist Church; and, in 1794, became one of its Trustees. Two years after, he purchased Stand No. 60, in the Fly-market, for which he paid three hundred and ten pounds; and, soon after, he engaged in the business of a Tallow-chandler, in Brooklyn.

In 1799, the press notices "a gang of villains stole two horses from the stable of Burdet Stryker, of Brooklyn. One of these was a favorite horse which he kept for the saddle, and occasionally to parade with when ordered out with the Brooklyn Troop of Horse."

A grand celebration took place on the Fourth of July, 1804, when all the uniformed corps, consisting of the Brooklyn Troop of Horse, Republican Riflemen, Artillery, Washington Fusileers, and the Rising Sun Company, formed on Brooklyn Heights, where they performed various evolutions, under Colonel Jeremiah Johnson. In the afternoon, the officers dined together, and among the toasts offered on that occasion, was "Those hardy sons of Freedom, who died on board of the *Jersey Prison Ship*; their bones have severally had a grave, while their patriotism has merited a monument; may their memory be held in the highest veneration, until the end of time."

Whether it was this toast then offered, or the daily conversation on the same subject, but from that moment, Stryker became very much interested in the matter. Being somewhat patriotic and liberally disposed, with feelings strongly in favor of "old-fashioned Republicanism," which cause he was ready at all times to advance, without seeking rewards or office, he, with Benjamin Romaine, John Jackson, and others, became co-laborers in getting up a grand procession, and in removing the bones of martyrs from the Waalbogt, to a large vault in Jackson-street, which took place on the twenty-sixth of May, 1808, under the direction of the Tammany Society. Stryker then became the custodian of this vault, which to this day contains the thirteen coffins filled with those martyr relics of the Prison-ships.

When the War of 1812 commenced, Stryker

was elected Captain of the Brooklyn Republican Rifles, who offered their services, and were accepted; and after performing their term of duty at New Utrecht, Long Island, they returned home with much credit.

Stryker had previously established himself in business, first in the little Brooklyn Market, and afterward in Ferry (now Fulton) street, where he remained until his death, which occurred in the year 1825.

The Liberty-pole being near his place of business, he was induced also to take it in charge; and on all proper occasions the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze in a most ceremonious style. While the Liberty-pole existed, the town and village were satisfied, that he should remain its custodian. In the course of time, the old or first Liberty-pole became much decayed, and it was thought dangerous, when Stryker appealed to the Brooklynites to have it replaced with a new one. Many responded very liberally; yet there was a deficiency, or not enough collected to obtain such a one as would be a credit to the Village. There were many residents who belonged to the "Society of Friends," and were opposed to Liberty-poles; and they would not subscribe. However, Stryker thought that all the patriotism had not left the breast of his old "Bos," Thomas Everit, and he appealed to him. Friend Everit at once told him that he was opposed to all Liberty-poles; but, at the same time, he would give ten dollars to assist in taking down the old one. This, indeed, was a new idea, which Stryker afterwards advanced toward some others who held the same views as his old "Bos;" so that, in the end, sufficient means were furnished to save a second subscription from Stryker and the friends of the new Liberty-pole.

We have a few words also to say of DAVID SEAMAN, another prominent man in the profession, as well as a co-laborer in the affairs of Brooklyn.

As early as 1795, when making an application for a Stand in the old Fly-market, Seaman appears to have been highly recommended as an honest, worthy man, by some fifteen of the most distinguished men of that period. In a petition, he states that he "has served a regular apprenticeship with John Doughty, Junior, Butcher, who also endorses him, a practical Butcher, and an honest man."

With all these vouchers, Seaman appears to have been then unsuccessful; but the next year, he purchased at auction, Stand No. 71 Fly-market, for which he paid two hundred and ninety pounds, and became known as a "Beef Butcher," who slaughtered and sold only the largest animals.

He was a great patron of prize or extraordinary cattle, the first of which we find noticed in the month of April, 1799, as "Two very extraordinary Beaves," with which he graced his stall;

and again, in 1805, he purchased a remarkably large pair of twin cattle, fattened by Hewlet Townsend, of Oyster Bay, which were slaughtered at Brooklyn, from which place he daily brought his meats in large row boats, direct across to the Fly-market.

At an early day, Seaman became much interested in the growth of the town; and being naturally gifted with a quick and active mind, he greatly assisted in the formation of a Fire Department and the establishment of better Ferry accommodations. He was elected a Trustee of the Town for the years 1810, '11, and '12; and he became also one of the Fire Engineers, which office he held several years.

After Seaman moved to the City of New York, he joined its Fire Department; became an Alderman, when that office was held by worthy men; and, afterwards, was sent to the Legislature, where, by his acts of firmness and independence in the discharge of his duties, he was complimented by a series of resolutions passed by a citizen's meeting, held in the Park, on the nineteenth day of May, 1824.

The synopsis of names of the historical period of the City of Brooklyn, presented to you this evening, illustrates the noble traits of character, the honest zeal, the highly moral and Christian attributes of good men and faithful citizens, who, by their distinguished examples largely aided in establishing the dignity of the now prosperous City of Brooklyn.

The people of Brooklyn have reason to be proud of these recorded names; and I am free to observe, that the old Fly-market of New York furnished from the ranks of professional Butchers, more men of worth—the names of but a small portion of whom I have here portrayed, in their relation and connection with old Brooklyn—than has ever been given to any community, by any similar institution in any other part of the civilized world. Why, I may be permitted to ask, why should not the memory of such men live, not only as offering a bright example of the simple honesty of our progenitors, as well as for the purpose of an illustration of the innate zeal, the honesty of purpose, so well established, in the discharge of the public duties and service for which the confidence of their fellow Townsmen selected or elected them?

So important were the position and the duties of the professional Butcher esteemed, in the early and middle periods of our history, that it was held paramount that he should exhibit evidence of good character, sobriety, professional ability, and practical skill; and these had to be certified or endorsed by two or more good men, as a security that he could and would fulfill all the duties of his craft, faithfully, in preparing and selling wholesome, healthy meats. In addition to this,

he was compelled to submit to a previous apprenticeship, under the supervision of an honest, reliable, skillful, established master Butcher. With these well-certified credentials he could then, and not till then, receive his diploma or license, to kill and sell in the public markets, such meats as were at all times, fit food for human beings.

But how is it now, amidst the modern science of political "Rings?" How are the affairs of the public managed, by scientific, political favoritism, in connection with public plundering? Now, all the safeguards of the public welfare are absolutely destroyed; and the time-honored principles of honesty and integrity—safeguards which protected the house-keeper in her marketing, and at the same time the character, position, and, as a public benefactor, the usefulness of the professional Butcher—these have been all destroyed by the Market Laws of 1843; and in place of these high-toned, intelligent men of integrity and respectability, we find these same Market Laws have engendered and brought forth in almost every nook and corner, of every filthy street, disgracing our cities, a class of men called *Butchers*, many of whom are the exact opposites of the men whose names and incomplete history afford our humble record.

Thanking you for your kind patience and attention to my paper, I now respectfully close.

### III.—RELATION OF WHAT BEFEL THE PERSONS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE DISASTERS THAT ATTENDED THE ARMA MENT OF CAPTAIN PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, ON THE SHORES AND IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NORTH.—CONCLUDED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE XXXVTH BOOK OF THE "HISTORIA GENERAL Y NATURAL DE LAS INDIAS," BY GONZALO FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDEZ.

#### CHAPTER VI.

The following day, when Alonzo del Castillo had returned to where his companions, Cabega de Vaca and Andres Dorentes, were awaiting him, they set out to meet the people whom the negro was conducting. These presented what they brought, their bows and arrows, blankets of cow-hide, the skins of deer, many gourds, and some beans, all which the Spaniards gave to those bringing them there, who went back contented. With these despoiled, their journey was destined to their houses, five or six leagues distant, by that river, where they planted; but little was got, considering the number of inhabitants, for the extent of soil was limited and very rough. They con-

ducted the Christians up that stream to a group, of four towns. There was little to eat, only beans, pumpkins, and a small quantity of maize. Possessing nothing in which to cook, the natives made gruel in a large gourd. Having kindled a fire, they put in many large, clean pebbles, and pouring water into the calabash, threw in the burning stones, causing the water to boil, then they added the flour of beans, and threw in other stones, until the pottage was done, when they ate it.

Here the Christians were told that there would be no more such food found until the end of thirty or forty days journey northward, whence the Indians brought the maize and beans, and the inhabitants whereof, until coming there, were in a state of destitution: that they ought rather to go northward by that river, nine or ten days in that time, finding nothing to eat, when they should cross the river, and marching toward the sunset the remaining distance, until coming where maize was plenty, which would also be found on the right hand, to the North; and that farther on, though all that country would be downward, towards the coast, as afterwards appeared, and though the way was much longer, the inhabitants were all their friends, speaking one tongue. This people had already presented many blankets of cowhide, among other articles; but which the Christians would gladly have exchanged for the rolls of Utrera, for they received nothing to eat, nor was there anything, except a matter the natives call *Massarones*, which were very bad, gathered from trees, and not fit for beasts, being eaten after they are ground with stones and then are all woody. The Spaniards lived upon bits of deer fat they carried on their backs. Few people were found on the way, and these stated that the others had gone to eat cattle, three days journey from there, on some plains between the mountains, and came down towards the sea, and they too, were going in that direction.

Thus did the Spaniards march along that river, upward, for fifteen days journey, without resting, because of the great need of food, and thence they went westward for more than twenty days longer to the maize, through a people somewhat in want, but not so like the others, for they eat the powder of weeds, and killed numbers of hare, of which the Christians ever had more than enough. On this travel, they rested at times, as they had been accustomed to do; and having arrived at the first houses, there was maize, which may be more than two hundred leagues from Culiacan, (which was), where Nuno de Guzman was forming a settlement, was a town, and the Indians were peaceful, and there they received much of that grain, and parched flour, beans, and other seed, pumpkins, and the articles that were customary to give. These Indians had some small houses of earth, made with flat roofs

of tapia, the greater number were basket-work of palm.

In this manner, they marched more than eighty leagues, and in every two or three days time, they came to towns, resting a day or two at each. From these, many blankets, of cotton were given, which were good, bestowing everything, and among the rest, some turquois; all which, directly as they came to their hands, were again given. So many were the sick, that the attention to them was an affliction and a wearisome burthen; for the population was numerous, and the Christians had to rub and heal all. Those who were omitted believed that they must die, and people came from a circuit of ten and twelve leagues to bring their infirm, and followed on, a thousand or fifteen hundred persons, and at times over three thousand, until coming out in the plain nigh the coast, eight months after entering the mountains, where, until then, they had not issued.

On all the minds of those different people, the Christians imposed and impressed the idea that they should incline to heaven, and thither lift their eyes; and placing the hands together, kneeling when they were in any want, they should commend themselves to the Almighty. And thus they did, believing these men came from heaven, and were rejoiced when things was related to them of that place; but for the want of language it was not in their power to make this known as they would; had it been, from the confidence and love with which they listened and followed the Christians, the few errors and superstitions they possessed, it was the opinion that without doubt, they might have been made good Christians. So great was their sensibility that when these men took their departure, equally those wept who went on with them as those that were left. Some women with child, and others who had lately given birth, with infants in their arms, came to take their leave, giving the babes three or four grains of maize in their hands, that they might present them, believing thereby, if taken, they could never become old or have any ill.

The mountains having been passed as stated, the four Christians, who were the three men, and the negro Esteban, arrived at three small towns together, in which may have been as many as twenty houses, like the others, and close together, not here and there one, as in the peaceful country they afterwards saw. They were visited by people from the coast, twelve or fifteen leagues distant, as they were given to understand by signs, and to this town, or rather these towns, together, the Spaniards gave the name *Villa de los Corazones*, for there they were given more than six hundred hearts of deer, which had been split and dried. The men among all these people, from the houses where was the first corn, the men go naked, without covering any part of their persons; and

the women very modestly attired with mantles of deer-skin coming to the feet, with the skirt touching the ground somewhat behind, and open before, laced with skin cord. Beneath they wear, where that is open, a shawl of cotton, and over it another, with kerchiefs about the neck, entirely covering the bosom.

The Indians said that northward, along all that coast of the South, (which can, and ought to be called North) were numerous people, much food, and much cotton; that the houses were large; they possessed many turquois, which were got from them through exchange; but they had no knowledge of any gold, nor had they heard of any ore. The Spaniards concluded from what they were there told, and from what they had seen before entering into the mountains, that the hawkbell and shawls of cotton that were given them, came from above, from that other sea and coast that have been spoken of, stated to be very populous and abundant in provision; and it likewise appeared to them that those little earth houses, and the fashion of the females in going so decently dressed, they took and learned from these; since from there to this place, and onward, were those houses and that dress, the distance of full three hundred leagues between them, and to a river discovered by Nuno de Guzman, and afterward not, the houses being made of palm and of straw, the women with shawls to the waist, and some, more delicate, to the knees.

Passing this town, they went thirty leagues to that river, where they received the welcome, accompanied by the Indians. The rain fell there for fifteen days, about Christmas, so they were obliged to stop. Though many people had come from a great distance, they remained, and never after left them.

There Castillo saw, worn as a jewel about the neck of an Indian, the small buckle of a girdle or band, and a rivet, which he took; the Indian being asked by the Christians what those things meant, he said, that men like them had been there with horses, lances, and swords; then he showed how they lanced and slew the Indians. The comers were recognized at once to be Christians; the three Spaniards and negro, even before their arrival, had, by signs, been told that an Indian was there, come from where were men out of vessels, to whom he would take them; and this was said many times. The natives were alarmed, and were not then understood; but afterwards it appeared, from what the Spaniards in Culucan said, that the Indian was one of several sick and fatigued men, whom those of Guzman there left behind.

From there, because of this news, the Christians began to move on with keen interest and delight: the natives were never tired of telling them about the Spaniards ahead, as a topic that gave pleasure.

The Christians would have controlled their emotions had they been able, dreading that on coming to that frontier, they should be turned upon with ridicule. From the place where the rain fell to where the Spaniards were, was a hundred leagues or more. From the town of Corazones thither the journey lay continually along ten or twelve leagues distance from the coast. In some places food was found, but in others, so great was the scarcity, that the bark of trees was eaten, roots, and any casual vile thing. The inhabitants were become, in consequence, so thin and skinny, it was painful to see them. The famine was stated to be caused by the Christians who had thrice invaded the country, taking away the people and destroying the towns. The timid Indians were so alarmed, they would not leave the protection of the mountains, saving one here and there, covered with a mat, who took no repose, nor dared to plant. Nevertheless, for all these fears, they came out together to receive these few Christians, holding them to be sacred and divine things, men sent from heaven to conduct them. That little mat, customarily borne across the shoulders, and about under each armpit, and which is also the bed, they brought to present; so where the Spaniards looked for the greatest danger, it is remarkable they received the most consideration, and were most honored. In this manner they went to a town about forty leagues from Culucan, seated upon a steep rock, very high and craggy, for fear of the enemy, where the Christians were welcomed with great pleasure, and many persons were drawn together from all quarters to receive them. The next day, they sent messengers forward to other towns—distant three days journey—that the inhabitants might build houses and ranchos for the Christians, and the people come together to meet them; but the Indians, when they arrived, found no one, for Spaniards were going about making slaves, and then at night they were nigh and looked at them. The next day the messengers ranged about in the neighboring forests, and discovering no Indians, as these had gone far off, they came back and related what they had seen. They were so troubled and agitated they could hardly speak, and the rest were likewise so affected, and in such great fear, that many, taking their leave, went back. Those who remained there, these fortunate Christians told not to be alarmed that the Spaniards whom they dreaded they would make return to their homes, without doing injury, and be their friends. At hearing this, the inhabitants were delighted, and promised to obey: they had not dared to live in their houses, nor plant, and they were dying of hunger. Thus assured, they bore the Christians company, with the other Indians, coming from more than eighty leagues behind, who said they would never leave them.

Thus the Christians went on their way, and when they arrived at the town, no Spaniards were to be seen. They found their ranchos: two days were gone by since they had left. They resolved to go after them, and sent on word that they should wait or return to them. Cabeza de Vaca was at the pains to follow, taking with him the negro and a dozen Indians. The two Christians who remained sent out to seek the people dispersed among the forests, thickets, and bushes. The next day, more than three hundred souls, male and female, arrived, and reported that the following day more would come in, who had sped to a greater distance. Thus others were drawn out, who were scattered, more than four hundred of the absent being brought together, besides those who had come with the Christians.

The Treasurer followed all day until night on the track of the Spaniards; and the next day arrived where they were tarrying, seated on an eminence near a river. They numbered about twenty mounted men. For fifteen days they had not made a slave, nor seen a native, and knew not in what direction to turn. They were affrighted when the Christian came up to them, but far greater was the astonishment when he spoke. Having told them of the many countries through which he had passed, the many languages and people, they thanked God, our Lord, for making known to them this strange and very mysterious providence.

The *hidalgos* asked proof of the manner of their arrival, the bringing with them those natives peacefully, and the following them of their own free will. Such was given to bear faith and credence: the certificate was sent to Their Majesties. \* \* \* They remained there a day with that people.

As many days had passed since any one had been captured, and the horses having need of food, these wanderers were besought to send for some of the people who, of fear, were concealed about the woods. The messengers were directed, as had been customary along the march, and the next day six hundred persons came in, of both sexes, some of them women with children at the breast, bringing pots of maize, having the mouths closed with clay, and which they had concealed in the forests out of the way of the Spaniards. \* \* \*

We will return to the narrative of these *hidalgos*, which states that after the people who wandered about had been brought together by their command, they were asked by the Chief of the troop they had come upon, to tell them to occupy their towns, and work their fields as usual, for the Spaniards would do them no harm, nor give offence, their only wish being, when they should come by their residences, they would give them and their beasts subsistence. This they were given to understand, and permission was allowed them

to go with promise of security to their houses; but they did not wish to leave, nor be separated from the Christians, asking if they had not served well, and borne them company as they should have done. At last, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions told them to go in peace, as they were going where the master of the Christians was, whom they should ask that the Indians should not be persecuted nor annoyed. So the Indians departed in peace, and the Christians set out with three mounted men who accompanied them to the town of Culiacan, built by Nuno de Guzman, on the western coast of the South Sea, full thirty-five leagues distant. The Captain, with the squad of men, went off towards the mountains to make slaves.

These Christians having arrived in safety, within eight leagues of the city, in an inhabited valley, the chief Alcalde of the place, Melchoir Diaz, came out and received them kindly, giving thanks to God for the marvelous deeds he had worked through them. As there were many towns near, the people of which had not gone off to the mountains, the Christians sent two or three Indians lately made slaves, with a sign, with which to call together all the people who had left their dwellings, bidding them come in security, that they should receive no injury. The messengers went with that sign, a calabash, of which each Christian had been accustomed to carry one in his hand, and was gone five or six days, returning at the close with three lords, or principal Caciques, and fifteen or sixteen Indians. These brought with them beads, turquois, and very elegant feather-work, which they presented to the wandering Christians, before the chief Alcalde. Melchoir Diaz caused them to be addressed, giving them to understand that these Christians came from the sky, and had traveled through many parts, teaching the inhabitants that they should look to heaven, where was the creator of all things, who gave glory to the good, that after death, those who had not well loved him, or believed in and served him, as their only Almighty God, he would give to the punishment of eternal fire. Those few Christians had come there to tell others that they should do no harm, nor offend, nor kill Indians, who must settle in their towns, believe in God, and erect churches, in which he might be served, putting up crosses in the towns which they also should bear, so that when any Spaniards should pass through their country, they should come out to them with a cross, before which all would bow, and none would offer injury, and thus all would be held to be brothers. They understood the speech well, said they would comply, and departed. Then they began to come down from the ridges, to inhabit, building churches, and raising crosses, as they were commanded. \* \* \*

These *hidalgos*, in giving relation of what this

history had recounted, have written that throughout all the country over which they traveled, they witnessed neither idolatry nor human sacrifices, nor was there any knowledge of such things, as far as Compostella, a town built and populated by the Governor, Nuno de Guzman.

#### IV.—JOSEPH BOWKER.

READ BY HENRY HALL, ESQ. BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT WINDSOR, JULY 1ST AND 2D, 1863.

If we consult our published histories for a knowledge of the leading actors in the drama of Vermont's colonial and revolutionary struggles, we shall find none whose appearance is so weird and spectre-like, as that of the Honorable Joseph Bowker of Rutland. He glides before our vision, the incumbent of the most important official stations; he vanishes—and we seek in vain for the faintest vestige of his antecedents or subsequent destiny.

It seems as if he were like the mystic Melchisedec, without father, without mother, without genealogy; and like the divinely buried Moses, no mortal could tell the place of his burial.

Appleton's *New American Cyclopaedia* contains ample columns, descriptive of obscure Indian agents, worthless military officers, and insignificant politicians, but it does not even name him, who in a modified sense, was the John Hancock of Vermont.

As Bowker died seventy-nine years ago; as his only surviving heirs were two married daughters, whose descendants are said to be in the far West; as his official files in the County-clerk's office were probably burnt half a century since, with a mass of other papers, as useless lumber, there remains only brief documentary and oral evidence, from which to gather a few scanty facts, that, woven into far too beggarly a wreath, are brought as a votive offering on the altar of that American historic muse, who has, in our sister States, swept through fame's marble halls, with her garments all trailed in light, albeit, in our humble State, she has worn rather the lowly guise of crusading pilgrim, with palmer's staff, cockle shell, and sandal shoon.

An intelligent lady contemporary told me that Bowker was early left an orphan—brought up in the family of a Mr. Taintor, a prosperous farmer,—privately betrothed to his daughter Sarah, drafted into the army during the French war, in the garrison at Ticonderoga one or two years,—and returned with so good a reputation that he soon became the son-in-law of his quasi guardian.

The time and place of his birth are as yet unknown. According to one who came to Rutland three years after Bowker's death—the late Honor-

able James D. Butler: no mean authority on any subject of which he ever spoke—Bowker came from Sudbury, Massachusetts, or near there; a section of country that has abounded in Bowkers and Taintors for nearly two centuries.

In October, 1773, we find Bowker in Rutland, with the title of Captain (military titles *then* were not prejudicial to one's reputation for capacity or integrity;) Moderator of a Proprietors' Meeting; one of the Committee to find the center of the town; Chairman of the Committee to inspect Proprietors' titles; &c., and, with his wife, becoming a member of the Congregational Church, then and there established.

He soon appears a general office-holder, for Town, County, and State; one of the Committee of Safety; a magistrate very generally sought, for the execution of conveyances, for the adjudication of legal rights, and for the trial of Tories; Town Treasurer; Selectman; Town Representative; member of the Governor's Council; on all Committees—financial, political, ecclesiastical or legislative;—member of the Board of War; Commissioner for the sequestration of Tories' estates; Judge of the Probate and County Courts; and Chief-judge of a special Court, appointed by the first Legislature.

About 1780, Bowker, Claghorn, Henry Strong, and John Smith built a saw mill about eighty rods from the main North and South road, on Handpole, Moon's, or Tuttle's Brook. A portion of his farm abounds in clay; and an inventory of his estate shows a note of three pounds, against John Forbes, for three thousand brick. Thus he seems ubiquitous, everywhere present, in all the political, legal, religious and business operations of society, sympathizing with and participating in all the efforts of the infant Colony, for defence, organization, and improvement.

The nature of some of his miscellaneous services for the public, will appear by extracting a few items from his account, viz;

#### " STATE OF VERMONT,

#### " TO JOSEPH BOWKER. DR.

" Nov., 1777, to attending vendue	
" one day,	6s
" July, 1778, to attending vendue	
" one day,	4s
" To writing three leases,	8s
" To one day in leasing Rockwell's	
" lot,	2s
" To cash paid Gideon Cooley for	
" boarding and transporting the fami-	
" lies of Perry and Shorey to the lake,	£2 6s
" Sept., 1778, to cash paid to Daniel	
" Washburn for boarding the family of	
" Robert Perry 5 weeks,	£2 0s
" To journey of myself and horse to	
" Tinmouth and attending the trial of	
" John McNeal,	9s



"Jan., 1780, to journey to Manches- 13s 4d  
 "ter of myself and horse, 38 miles,  
 "To 8 days service in drawing a lot-  
 "tery, at 7s per day, £2 9s  
 "To two dollars paid to widow Wel-  
 "ler, for house room and fire wood, 12s  
 "To 6 bush, Indian corn for use of  
 "the State, 18s  
 "To journey to Sunderland to at-  
 "tend the Council, 42 miles, 13s  
 "To one day's services, 7s  
 "To one day of myself and horse to  
 "Castleton, 9s  
 "To 1 day weighing bread and for-  
 "ward provisions, 4s  
 "To 1 day of man and horse to trans-  
 "port provisions to Pittsford, 9s  
 "To cash paid Nathan Pratt for  
 "transporting tory women to the  
 "Lake, £22 0s 2d  
 "April, 1780, to paper to Captain  
 "Parmlee Allen, £5 3s 2d."

On the twentieth of October, 1779, he received from the State Treasurer, eight pounds and eight shillings, for "examining accounts of a committee "to build a Fort at Pittsford;" and on the twenty-second of February, 1781, six shillings "for examining a muster roll."

The following are significant:

### I.

"CLARENDON, Jan. 21 1778.

"Received of Joseph Smith, Commissioner of Sequestration, four pounds, one shilling and five pence, L. M., for my time setting with "the Committee to try tories.

"JOSEPH BOWKER."

### II.

"IN COUNCIL, 25th Nov., 1777.

"CAPT. BOWKER.

"SIR: The confusion and multiplicity of business occasioned by the unhappy war in the northern department since the appointment of this Council, has prevented their being able to get the "Constitution printed, which obliges us, this "Council, to desire you to call together the old "Convention, to meet at Windsor, on Wednesday, "the 24th of December next, which you will not "fail to do.

"I am, Sir,

"By order of Council,

"Your most ob servant,

"THOMAS CHITTENDEN, President."

### III.

"In COUNCIL BENNINGTON, {  
 "Feb. 17, 1778.

"To CAPT. JOSEPH BOWKER,

"SIR: Whereas, complaint is made to this Coun-

"cil, by Deacon John Burnap, that Moses Olmsted,  
 "and ——— Owen of Pittsford, did, in De-  
 "cember last, take from him about twelve hun-  
 "dred weight of iron, which is detained from  
 "him: he therefore desires this Council that they  
 "would direct him in what manner he may ob-  
 "tain his property again. Therefore, this Coun-  
 "cil recommend to call together the members  
 "of the several Committees in Rutland and the  
 "neighboring towns to the number of five, to  
 "judge and determine the case pending between  
 "the above parties, according to justice and  
 "equity.

"By order of Council,

"THOMAS CHITTENDEN, President,"

If the remuneration for the above named services seem paltry, we must remember the penury of the people, the exhaustive effects of the war, the scarcity of money—there being then only one bank in the nation and but little specie; State orders and individual notes being the chief circulating medium; also a custom prevalent among the public men of those days, as among the early invalid visitors to Clarendon Springs, namely, that of carrying their provisions in their portmanteaus and trunks, and therewith boarding themselves. Perhaps, also, the patriots of the Revolution hungered and thirsted after the public treasurer with less greed than the army contractors, *et id omne genus*, do now.

But the positions, in which Bowker is the best, or only known, to the general public, are that of President of those Conventions that asserted the State's independence and framed the first Constitution, and that of Speaker of the House of Representatives. Was it any honor to preside over such assemblages? What was the character of their members? We need not be told that the early settlers of Vermont were not Chevalier Bayards nor Sir Philip Sidneys in scholarly and courtier-like accomplishments. Chiefly tillers of the soil, only a very few among them possessed either wealth or professional culture. The Supreme Court had dispensed Law to the State almost a decade of years before the election of Nathaniel Chipman as Judge, the first lawyer ever on that bench. Yet, were not the people, generally, thoroughly educated as to their legal and political rights? Gage, the last British Governor of Massachusetts, wrote to the Home Government that every subject in his Province was a lawyer or a smatterer of Law. Edmund Burke, on the twenty-second of March, 1775, told the British House of Commons that the fierce spirit of liberty was stronger, and the supply of Law more general in America, than in any other country in the world; that he was informed by the bookseller that, after tracts of popular devotion, Law books were most eagerly sought for by the

Americans; and that about as many copies of Blackstone's *Commentaries* on the English Laws were sold in these Colonies, with a population of two and a half millions, as in England with seven and a half millions of people.

If the four Colonies of New England were settled by some of the best blood of Old England, was not Vermont settled by some of the keenest intellects and strongest reasoners, as well as by the bravest soldiers, the best shots, and the best farmers of the seaboard Colonies?

Summon before you in dense array from memory's archives, the soldiers, statesmen, politicians, Governors, Judges and Executive officers, generally, that adorned Vermont's earlier history, and say, was it a slight compliment to be always called upon to preside over the solemn councils of such heroes? Why did not some of his talented and ambitious compeers at least once, achieve that honor? Does not his invariable election as presiding officer, bespeak him pre-eminently familiar with parliamentary usages, self possessed, courteous, impartial and quick of apprehension?

Let us turn our attention to his pursuits and tastes. In 1774 he bought one hundred and fifty acres of land and sold fifty acres. This was his only trading in Rutland lands; and thus, during the last ten years of his life, he owned and occupied one hundred acres of land. In his deed, he modestly styles himself a yeoman, while some of his brother farmers, in their deeds, call themselves gentlemen; yet at his death only thirty acres of land were improved—his official duties perhaps occupied more of his time than his farming.

When we see that the Treasurer of the State, on the twelfth of February, 1779, paid him twenty-four pounds bounty, for killing three wolves, we might infer him to have been somewhat of a Nimrod; but this is at least partially negatived by turning to the inventory of his estate, where we find neither gun, pistol, nor sword.

He was such a general business man that we should naturally conclude he must have had library enough to post himself in all political, legal, financial and ecclesiastical affairs; yet we have no evidence that he died the possessor of a single volume.

There is oral, but no recorded, evidence that he was an officer of the Church; and he died as a Christian might wish to die—in the midst of a religious revival.

He built his house of plank when about all the other houses in town were of log, and added thereto a leanto or semi-veranda; yet his residence could scarcely have been palatial, for it was appraised at only forty pounds, just the appraisal of the saw-mill of which he owned one-quarter, while his barn was valued at twenty-eight pounds.

His style of housekeeping could not have been

very aristocratic, for all his household furniture was worth only about fifty dollars.

Admire the selection of his home in this wilderness. His farm, lying on the East side of Main-street road, extended one hundred rods South, from about Green-street, to and including a part of Handpole Brook; and a half mile East of said road, he located his dwelling, fronting towards the South, about half way down this noble slope of a pleasant hill (although now undervalued and desecrated by unfit tenements;) and there, during the last ten years of his life—ten years of highly useful and honorable exertion—with the mountain majesty of Killington on the East; Otter Creek on the West; and the deep forests everywhere, he saw a State rise out of political chaos; peace between the United States and Great Britain; courts and churches duly organized; and the foundations laid for a framed Court-house and Church, in the town which had most honored him, and had been most honored by him.

Prominent as Bowker was, why was he not, like his townsmen, Sylvanus Brown, John Smith, and Peleg Sunderland, denounced, out-lawed, and a price offered for his head by the Government of New York? As he was a modest, unassuming man, of few words, probably his tastes did not incline him to engage in those acts of forcible resistance to the belligerent and official Yorkers, then deemed such efficacious and medicinal remedies against oppression.

We know also that he was no land speculator; bought no land in Rutland, until 1774; and died seized of no real estate but his home farm, if we omit one right of land in Starksboro, and another in Medway or Mendon.

Bowker died between the tenth of April and the second of September, 1784.—There was no burial ground in Rutland then, except the one at Center Rutland; and some where in that public acre his remains were buried. The Reverend Jacob Wood, a revivalist, attended his funeral. The funeral procession had nearly completed its walk of two miles, when Mr. Wood suddenly leaped upon a stump, and turning towards the mourners and their friends, cried, "Hark! at the 'day of Judgment it will be an honor to be a 'Christain,'" then jumped down, and silently walked with the rest towards the grave yard.

We regret that the grave of Vermont's great Jurist, Nathaniel Chipman, is unhonored by any monument, obelisk, tablet or slab, yet that disgrace can be removed; but our regret is sadder, because unavailing, when we consider that the grave of the President of those Conventions that gave Vermont her political existence and form, is not only unhonored but literally unknown.

Notwithstanding the numerous and responsible offices held by Bowker, he died as almost honorably poor as Aristides—his whole estate being ap-

praised at about one thousand, seven hundred and fifty dollars, a very moderate, competence, even in those frugal days. But whatever else he left, or failed to leave, the fragrance of a good name emblems his memory; tradition breathes not the slightest mist upon his fair fame.

Mrs. Mercy Smith, a member of the first family settled in town, declared him to be "one of the finest of men, and religious."

William McConnell, a neighbor, asserted that "he was the only man around here that knew 'any thing—Justice, Judge, Representative, Deacon, etc.'"

The late Henry Strong, another neighbor, said, "Joseph Bowker was one of the Committee of 'Safety'; he was greatly looked up to for counsel, much esteemed for his great and excellent 'qualities, for many years the most considerable 'public man in town, and during the troubles of 'of the war and the negotiations with Canada, he 'was always resorted to, solely for counsel and 'advice.'"

The Reverend Doctor Heman Ball, who came to Rutland about twelve years after Bowker's death, leaves on record this casual testimony: "Judge Bowker, who was often mentioned to 'me in language of much respect."

Who does not wish that photography had been invented by Adam, and never since a lost art, that we, degenerate moderns, might gaze upon the features of the mighty dead of all ages? If we imagine Bowker standing before us, about five feet and seven inches in height, stoutly built, dressed in his favorite suit of blue,—blue coat, blue overcoat, blue vest, blue breeches, sometimes varied with cotton and linen breeches,—long stockings, silver buttons, silver stock buckle, silver bosom broach, silver knee buckles, and silver shoe buckles, we shall perhaps have the best likeness now attainable of "this fine old 'New England gentleman, all of the olden 'school."

#### V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

##### 82.—GENERAL MORGAN TO GOVERNOR HARRISON.\*

WINCHESTER 29th Feb 1784

SIR

When I was at Richmond last fall I spoke to your Excellency respecting a Saddle &c furnished me by Sam<sup>l</sup> Beal—You were kind enough to tell me it should be paid on the arrival of Capt Young, on which I request Mr Holmes a young gentleman to apply to Capt Young for the money

\* From the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

and if he could not get it from him, to apply to your Excellency—Mr Beall writes me he is not paid and pushes me for the money which I have not to pay him or I would withal my heart, as Mr Beall advanced every shilling of it, and has lay out of it a long time.

I beg sir you interest yourself so far in this matter that Mr. Beall will get his money which I shall esteem a favour done me as well as pure justice done Mr. Beall

I have the Honor to be

Your obed<sup>t</sup> Hbl Serv<sup>t</sup>

DANL MORGAN

[Addressed.]

His Excellency

BENJ<sup>m</sup> HARRISON

Governor of Virg<sup>a</sup>

##### 83.—MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE TO COLONEL AARON STOCKHOLM.\*

Col. STOCKHOLM.

WASHINGTON CITY, Jan<sup>y</sup> 1 1803,

SIR,

Before I left home I wrote to you on the subject of Highlander; the English Mares, & Colts, to which I have rec no answer. Perhaps the Letter miscarried. Since that time I have sold & sent off Harlots' two colts, & if I had known your mind on the subject, would have endeavoured to have sold Rachels' also.

I shall be very glad to learn from you whether you suppose Highlander would do well in your Quarter, & on what terms you would take him the ensuing season. I wish to know whether Fair Rachel is in foal, & what is the prospect respecting her two colts. A line from you will oblige

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

BENJ<sup>m</sup> TALLMADGE.

[Addressed.]

FREE,

B. TALLMADGE.

Col. AARON STOCKHOLM,

Hopewell, near

Fishkill,

State of N. York.

##### 84.—SAMUEL MATHER TO HIS SON.†

BOSTON, May 8th 1760

SAMUEL, MY SON, MY DEAR SON,

Yesterday I sent you a small chain of letters by your Brother Thomas. When he shall arrive, I

\* From the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of George Brinley, Esq., Hartford Conn.

think you will do well to carry it in the most tender and obliging manner towards Each other for this will be Your mutual honour and Comfort,

Thro' the great goodness of God towards us, our Family is all well. Your Aunt Welstead who had been ill for a long time when I wrote unto you last now seems to be on the mending hand. Your Cousin *Nabby Prout*, who has bro't forth a little boy called *John* after her Father is now sitting up for visitors.

May 10th, Mortality still takes its Course among the Younger as well as the Elder. Yesterday in the Forenoon died *Mrs. Betsy Jarvis* the Colonels' agreeable daughter. It is said she was to be married in the Fall to Young *Dumaresque* who is with the Colonel her Father. But she fell into a Consumption which in about three months carried her off. Your Mama and I are invited to attend the funeral of this faded flower.

May 13, There was a very large meeting to chuse Representatives; and as Messieurs *Ting* and *Prat* had voted for the going of the Province Ship to fetch the Money in England and carry the Gouverneur home, the Towne were so disgusted at them as to drop them, and by a very great majority chose Parson *Wells* and Deacon *Philips* in their Room.

May 16th. Yesterday the Gouverneur held a Council; when he informed them that he should not tarry here until the Election. And as our new Gouverneur's (Govr Bernard's) commission is not yet come, it seems probable that the North End will be favoured with the great Show at Election. \* \* \* \*

Your most loving Parent

S. MATHER.

To Mr. SAMUEL MATHER

Commissary at Fort Edward.

85.—MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB BROWN TO GOVERNOR DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.\*

BROWNVILLE Janry: 1 1815.

SIR

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencies Letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> Ultimo. enclosing the Resolutions of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York approving my conduct and that of the Officers and Soldiers of the gallant Army of Niagara—Every Officer and every man entitled to partecipate in the honor conferred will hold in great estimation the approbation of the Representatives of this enlightened and highminded State.

I do not know how to express my sense of the obligation I feel under to your Excellency for the very favourable manner in which you have been

pleased to notice my conduct. As I am proud of the approbation of those I esteem, so I shall always hold in high estimation the good opinion of your Excellency, and I will endeavour so to demean myself as to merit the continuance of your regard.

I pray you Sir, to accept the assurance of the very great respect and consideration with which I have the honor to remain your Excellencies

Most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JACOB BROWN.

His Excellency

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

86.—ROBERT MORRIS TO BARON STEUBEN.\*

PHILA Jan'y 29<sup>th</sup> 1785.

SIR,

Before Colo<sup>o</sup> Humphreys departed for Europe I took with him the arrangements for procuring The Swords & Medals which had been ordered by Congress for various deserving Officers who by their Conduct had drawn the particular attention of their Sovereign, and as I gave a Credit on the Public Banker to defray the Cost, it may be expected that the Colo<sup>o</sup> will not delay the Execution of a business which must prove agreeable to many of his Friends & acquaintance. I wish you may soon have the pleasure of receiving a Sword to your liking, & remain very Sincerely Dr Sir

Your obedient hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

ROB<sup>t</sup> MORRIS.

The Honble

Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Baron STEUBEN

at or near

New York.

87.—JAMES BUCHANAN TO F. BYRDSALL.†

WHEATLAND, NEAR LANCASTER,  
4 November 1852

MY DEAR SIR

Absence from home on political excursions has alone prevented me from sooner acknowledging your favour of 21 ultimo. And first, I desire to extend to Mr Clover & yourself a cordial invitation to pay me a visit such as you propose—You shall have a most hearty welcome—I shall be necessarily absent during the whole of the next week; but after that I expect to be at home for Several weeks. Still you had better drop me a line two or three days before you start so as to render it certain that we shall meet—

What a Waterloo defeat the Whigs have sustained! Laus Deo! And thus ends the race of

\* From the original in the collection of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York.

† From the collection of John F. McCoy, Esq., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

\* From the original belonging to the Editor.

Presidential candidates from the regular army :  
 "A consummation devoutly to be wished".  
 Whether our success will put down the Slavery  
 agitation is a question, I fear, still in doubt. The  
 Whigs may re-appear in the Northern States as  
 regular free Soilers : this would be a worse aspect  
 than they have heretofore assumed—

from your friend

very respectfully

JAMES BUCHANAN

Mr. F. BYRDSALL

## VI.—THE BATTLE OF COW-PENS.

COMMUNICATED BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL,  
 OF DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

[The following traditionary account of that battle was prepared by a gentleman who has often heard the facts given stated by those who had been eye-witnesses and actors in what they described. The account, as we have given it, is almost entirely in the words of the person above mentioned, who collected and arranged what he had heard reported among his friends and acquaintances, concerning that battle, which in its issue, gave a favorable turn to the American cause. And permit me to say that to the same gentleman, the public have been indebted for many facts of interest, before communicated. And if all those, who belong, in like manner, to the past, rather than to the present generation, would record what they knew on such matters, either personally or by tradition, they would deserve well of the present and of future generations. The writer does not profess to give a full account of the battle, but probably some things will be found in it, that the common histories do not contain. It will be remembered that General Cornwallis was at Wincboro', just before this action; General Greene at Cheraw, seventy miles North-east; and General Morgan some fifty miles North-west of Cornwallis, who marched up between the Catawba and Broad Rivers, to cut him off.]

At your request, I will now proceed to give you all the intelligence within my knowledge, relating to the battle of the Cow-pens. I am not able to inform you where Morgan was, immediately preceding the battle, but he was near enough to the British Head-quarters to draw the attention of the British officers. Colonel Tarleton requested Lord Cornwallis to place one thousand of the Infantry regulars at his command, [he had two field pieces, and in all, about one thousand, one hundred men] and he would, in three days, bring in General Morgan and army, prisoners of war. His request was granted, and the necessary preparations made. Colonel Tarleton, on taking leave, desired his lordship to put off dinner the third day till three o'clock, and General Morgan should be his guest at table : thus he left the camp. General Morgan got notice of the march of Tarleton and of the force under his command, and thought himself in danger of being attacked by a superior force. He commenced a retreat as fast as circumstances would admit, at the same time sending an express to General Greene's Head-quarters for Lee's body of horsemen, intending when joined by that to give battle.

The express reached a body of militia in some

part of Mecklenburg, himself and horse both exhausted. The officer of the day asked for a mounted volunteer to ride express to Head-quarters. Daniel Lewis, from Iredell, offered his services, was accepted, and soon on the road at half speed.

Mr. Lewis says as he passed on, every countenance was cast down ; and the people were filled with gloomy fears and doubts for the safety of Morgan. But as he returned, all was joy and gladness: the battle was fought and the victory gained the very day he arrived at the camp of Greene.

Morgan continued his retreat, but finding that he had no alternative but to burn all his heavy baggage and fly to the mountains, or give battle with the force he had, as he thought himself pursued more like a criminal or an object of sport than a generous-hearted soldier retreating before a superior force, he became somewhat ruffled with his enemy, and preferred to give battle though at such odds ; the British being to his men, as five to four, and the cavalry as three to one ; and besides, two-thirds of Morgan's men were raw militia.

On arriving at the Cow-pens, the evening before the battle, he called a Council of War. And for the purpose of learning the sentiments of his army, so far as possible, he summoned all the commissioned officers to attend. When the Council met, he opened the deliberations by stating the circumstances in which they were placed ; and then enquired if they would burn their hard-earned bacon and flour and fly across the mountains, or would stand by and defend it. Colonel Washington replied, "No burning, no flying : but face "about and give battle to the enemy, and acquit "ourselves like men in defence of their baggage, "their lives, and the interests of the Country."

This sentiment prevailed in the Council generally : but little time was spent in deliberating ; all returned to their respective duties. General Morgan gave orders to his soldiers to examine their arms, ammunition, etc., and to have every thing in the best order they could for action, while he proceeded with the field officers to view the ground they intended to occupy ; in the mean time he sent a small party of mounted infantry to spy out the situation of the enemy. After every thing was done that could be arranged that evening he retired to rest. After a short nap of refreshing sleep, he rose some hours before day and made further arrangements for action. He spared no pains to inspire his men with true courage which alone would secure them the victory.

In arranging the line of battle, he placed his experienced riflemen (in whom he had great confidence from services rendered on former occasions) in the most favorable situation for their fire to have full effect. It would appear from

what followed that Colonel Washington, as well as he, was of the opinion that their courage was all that could save them from destruction. Intending to fight in close order, sword in hand, he gave orders that no pistol was to be fired that day. While the officers were employed in forming the line, the scouts sent out the evening before returned about the dawn of day, with intelligence that the enemy was within a short distance of the camp and rapidly advancing. The American line already formed, waited with firmness the approach of the enemy, which soon appeared in sight; and a little after, the firing commenced. This was done by the North Carolina Militia; but a part of them having arrived only the evening before and never been in action till now, they were soon thrown into confusion, and retreated in disorder. The other North Carolina and the Virginia troops kept their position and continued firing.

When the battle became more general, the regulars commenced firing, and Morgan's trained riflemen followed; and, to use the words of an eye witness, "it seemed to me that every ball had effect." This unexpected reception stopped the onward course of the whole British army. The eagle eye of Colonel Washington observed this check in their motion; and he seized it as the most favorable moment to make a desperate charge by which he threw Tarleton's cavalry into confusion. In the mean time, Morgan discovered that the Militia that retreated at the first fire in disorder were now forming in the rear; and he rode up to them, and with a cheerful countenance called out, "Form my brave boys! Form! one round more and the day is yours." The party was soon formed, and immediately returned to the battle and commenced its fire again and performed considerable service. The whole army was now brought to bear on the enemy with a constant and well directed fire. The embarrassment common among soldiers at the beginning of an action, and particularly raw militia, had now passed off. Many riflemen among the militia, as well as Morgan's body of riflemen, could throw a rifle-ball within a hand's breadth of where they intended.

The army had now taken its stand, and was determined on victory or death. Its well-directed fire caused the enemy to fall at a fearful rate. When Colonel Washington formed for a second charge, Colonel Tarleton became alarmed for his personal safety; and fearing that his retreat would be cut off, he fled, followed by a few of his horsemen. Colonel Washington, thinking it a favorable time to free the country from their fears of the bloody Tarleton, and that he was a fit object for a full display of his courage, pursued him, regardless of his own life or the danger he was in. He outrode all his men and

came up with Tarleton and two dragoons at his side; and attacking him, he struck with his whole strength at his head: the blow, however, fell short and cut off his cue. Making another thrust, he wounded two of Tarleton's fingers, by his sword passing through the guard of Tarleton's.

One of the dragoons now, with his drawn sword, being about to give him the fatal blow, was shot down by one of Washington's men, who rode up at that moment and broke the order of the morning by shooting down the dragoon with his pistol. This gave Tarleton the start; and Washington seeing that the object of his pursuit was out of his reach, returned. The fortune of the day did not long hang doubtful. Tarleton and some of the Cavalry having fled, the remainder dispersed in confusion. Washington had cut off a retreat; and the infantry falling at a most fearful rate, the British gave up all hopes of victory. Some sought safety in flight, and were shot down in the attempt to escape. Some concealed themselves among the bushes and were made prisoners after the battle was over. But the principal part of them laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. The firing ceased, and was followed by the shout of victory. The whole American army, at the highest pitch of their voices shouted; "Huzza! Huzza! Huzza for brave America!

Thus was fought and ended the battle of the Cowpens. The whole British army, with the exception of a few horsemen who fled with Tarleton, was killed or taken prisoners. The number of killed was never officially known. The tradition, ever since the time, has been that there were over six hundred killed: and we once heard it affirmed by a man of undisputed character, John Andrew, who was present in the action, that there were about as many prisoners.

Colonel Tarleton not only failed to have his guest at dinner but failed to be present himself at the appointed time. This caused Cornwallis much uneasiness; having a view of the road for a long distance, he kept a close watch for him. At length, he saw him coming in sight with a small party of six or eight horsemen; and after a little, another, and then a third party, riding very fast and disorderly. He then became enraged and turned from the sight, exclaiming "I'll venture my life Tarleton has let that old wagoner defeat him." Much mortified he prepared to pursue, and revenge on Morgan so signal a disgrace to the British arms and recover the prisoners, but he did not succeed.

This defeat caused Colonel Tarleton more unpleasant feelings than anything else during the whole of the Revolution.

The following anecdote is often told of him: Being one evening at a tea-party with some South Carolina ladies, who were better Whigs than their

husbands, the conversation being about Colonel Washington, they spoke very highly of him. At this Tarleton was offended, and expressed his surprise that the American people thought so much of Colonel Washington who was an ignorant man, and could scarcely write his own name. A lady replied: "That may be the case, but no man can better testify that he knows how to make his mark, than yourself": alluding to the loss of his fingers. Either at this or at another time, he expressed a desire to see Colonel Washington, when one of the ladies coolly replied that if he had looked behind him after the battle of the Cow-pens he could have had that pleasure.

General Morgan was a youth of the laboring class, and followed driving a wagon till he entered the army in Braddock's campaign as a private soldier: during his service here, for some misdemeanor, he was sentenced by a Court-martial to receive five hundred lashes.

At the end of that war, he returned to his former business of driving a wagon, till called into the army of the Revolution, as an officer; and was in most of the important battles that preceded the taking of General Burgoyne. His great worth as a soldier was the cause of his rising to the rank of General; and in the Northern campaign, he was connected with a regiment of Riflemen, regulars, who were always distinguished for their coolness in danger and close shooting. On this regiment he very much depended for success at the battle of the Cow-pens.

During his retreat after that battle, he would often joke with his captive officers; and among other things would allude to the sentence passed on him in Braddock's war, telling them the King owed him one stripe, as the drummer who counted made a mistake, and he only got four hundred and ninety-nine lashes instead of five hundred. In speaking among his friends, afterwards, of his military life, he remarked that some said General Morgan was never afraid; but that he had been often filled with fear. Some said that General Morgan never prayed, but that he often did, and referred to the morning of this Battle when he prayed most earnestly.

The following is a portion of a song that was often sung in the country here, after the battle:

"Our brave General Morgan rose before it was day;  
"And placed all his men in battle array,  
"His scouts they returned before it was light,  
"With tidings that Tarleton was almost in sight.

"Our riflemen shot down the British so fast,  
"They put them to confusion and caused them at last,  
"To throw down their muskets and set off to run,  
"And curse the contrivance of the twisted gun.

"Six hundred and thirty, the number there slain,  
"Besides what were taken captive on the plain;  
"You'd laugh to see red coats trying to hide  
"Behind bushes and tree, no matter which side."

We may add a few things here on this subject.

It is known that though we cannot boast of battle fields, yet the armies of Greene, of Morgan, and of Cornwallis hasted through Iredell. The masterly address of Morgan, *flying from his victory* at the Cow-pens, with his body of five hundred Highland prisoners, is justly celebrated.

At that time, there was living in the vicinity of the battle ground, in Rutherford County, a man by the name of David Miller, a relative of the Morrison family in Iredell. Before removing to this country, he had been acquainted with Tarleton, who hearing of him, came to his home just before the battle, and urged him to join the Royal Standard. This he decidedly refused to do. But Tarleton took him along with him to the camp; and though he took no part in the engagement, he was with the rest taken prisoner. This may be considered as providentially favorable to Morgan; for Miller was an intelligent man, and well acquainted with the country through which he must pass to cross the Catawba, with his prisoners. Accordingly, Miller accompanied the victorious army through Rutherford and Lincoln, where the people were mostly inimical to the cause of Liberty, until they came into a more friendly region, in Iredell, at Morrison's Mill, about five miles above Statesville. There has been some dispute about the ford at which they crossed the Catawba. But it is obvious that Morgan would cross as high up as possible to avoid Cornwallis who was marching up on that side to intercept him. He would want to get into a more friendly region as soon as possible, for forage and provisions.

Some histories imply that he crossed at the same place where the British afterwards crossed; some asserted that he crossed at Sherrill's Ford. And it is certain that they were encamped there some two or three days on the East side; and General Morgan had his quarters at the house of widow Olyphant. The night they encamped there, twelve wounded men were taken to a house in the vicinity (Palls') where one died and was buried that night. And when the encampment broke up, they passed there on their way to Salisbury, the same morning that the British forced a passage below.

General Greene, who came across the country from Cheraw, with a small detachment of his army, met Morgan at this Camp, and threw himself between the prisoner and the army of Cornwallis. But either the whole army, or a detachment with the prisoners, crossed at the Island Ford. This is the general tradition in this part of the country. Some say they arrived at the Ford late in the evening, and crossed the West branch of the River that night, which they spent on the Island. They passed the house of a widow McKay, near Sterling church, in Iredell, who had come from Scotland in 1772, and who recognized

among the prisoners some of her old neighbors. These prisoners endeavored to retard the march of Morgan, and were very refractory, in order to give the British time to come and overtake, and retake them. But Morgan made short work with them and forced them forward with the point of the bayonet. There was an old man recently living who has not lost yet all his feeling on the subject, that remarked about a year ago that "they drove the prisoners like brute beasts."

They arrived at Morrison's Mill, so often mentioned, not exceeding eight or ten miles from the Ford, to dinner. Some of Colonel Washington's Light-horse were from that vicinity—Judge Edward Harris was one; many of the Militia, too were from this region. From there, it is supposed, they crossed Third creek at the "Hickory Bridge," and so on to the place of encampment, where General Greene came to Morgan's aid.

It is not, perhaps, generally known that when General Davidson fell at Cowans Ford,\* Dr. James Hall was present and endeavored to rally the militia again and stand their ground, but in vain. Major Thomas Morrison, of Iredell, then a Captain, said that at the time General Davidson fell, he was marching up the River with his men; and fearing that the British would cross, and flank, and enclose him between them and the River, contrary to orders, he took the responsibility of diverging from the River. General Davidson met him, and approved of his conduct, and galloped off, towards the River, saying that he would return in a few moments, but before he was out of sight, fell dead from his horse.

So Major Morrison was the last person General Davidson spoke to before he fell.

The history of those two field pieces taken by Morgan at the Cow-pens is a little singular. They were taken from Burgoyne, at Saratoga; retaken by the British, at Gates' defeat at Camden, now, they came into the possession of the Americans and were used by them in the Battle at Guilford Court-house, where the British took them; then the Americans retook them; but in a little time, lost them again; and they remained with the British at its close.

The following anecdote may be worth preserving to show the enthusiasm that prevailed at that time in the cause of Independence, even among children. As the British passed on through Salisbury, after Greene, the officers were entertained at the house of Doctor Anthony Newnan. Here, in the presence of Tarleton and the company, two of Doctor N's. little sons were playing on the floor,

the game of the Battle of Cow-pens, with grains of corn, having kernels of different color or size for the officers on the respective sides, and especially Washington and Tarleton. When one pursued and drove the other as in the real battle, the little fellows shouted "Hurra for Washington! "Tarleton runs, Hurra for Washington." The British Colonel looked on for a while; but at length becoming irritated, he exclaimed, "See "those cursed little rebels!"

## VII.—FIRST SIGNALS USED BY THE AMERICAN FLEET.

ST. GEORGE'S ENSIGN; RATTLESNAKE STANDARD; ETC.

BY CAPTAIN GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U.S.N.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed signals of the American Fleet, in 1776, from being the first regular signals used by it of which there is any record, are curious and interesting,

You will observe that one of these signals is a "striped St. George's Ensign," which I suppose to be the same as the "Grand Union Striped flag"—the stripes alone distinguishing it from an English red ensign of that period,—which was raised in Washington's Camp at Cambridge, six months earlier. A drawing of it, made in the summer of the same year, and the only cotemporary drawing known, found by Mr. Lossing among General Schuyler's papers, represents it flying from the main-mast-head of the Schooner *Royal Savage*. The Stars, in place of the Union of St. George's and St. Andrew's Crosses, were not substituted until nearly a year after the Declaration of Independence.

The "Standard" mentioned as another signal, I suppose to have been the yellow Rattle-snake Standard which Colonel Gadsden, one of the Marine Committee, presented to Congress on the eight of February, 1776, to be used by the Commander-in-chief of the American Navy.

These suppositions of mine are supported by a writer in the *London Ladies' Magazine*, under date, "May 13, 1776;" who says "The Colors of the American Fleet were striped under the Union, with thirteen stripes; and their Standard a rattle-snake—Motto 'DON'T TREAD ON ME.'"

What the *Striped Jack* was is not so clear; but I have a photograph from an engraving of "Commodore Hopkins, Commander-in-chief of the American Fleet. Published as the Law directs, August, 1790, by Thos. Hart;" on the background of which, at his right hand, on a Jack Staff, is a plain, striped flag, without Union; but undulating diagonally across the stripes, is a rattle-snake; and underneath it, the motto "DON'T TREAD ON ME." At his left hand is a white

\* The GENERAL DAVIDSON who fell at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba, in 1781, is the one after whom Davidson College is named. The Sword worn by him on that occasion was presented to the Board of Trustees, last July, (1866) and they directed a suitable inscription to be engraved upon it.



Pine-tree ensign, with the Legend, *over* the device, "LIBERTY TREE," and *underneath* it, the Motto, "APPEAL TO HEAVEN." This old Massachusetts ensign may have been the white flag so often used in the signals, as probably at that early day all the Continental vessels had it.

G. H. P.

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

ORDERS GIVEN THE SEVERAL CAPTAINS IN THE FLEET, AT SAILING FROM THE CAPEs, AT DELAWARE, FEBRUARY 17, 1776.\*

SIR: You are hereby ordered to keep company with me, if possible, and truly observe the signals given by the ship I am in, but in case you should be separated in a gale of wind or otherwise, you then are to use all possible means to join the fleet as soon as possible; but if you cannot, in four days after you leave the fleet, you are to make the best of your way to the southern part of *Abacco*, (one of the *Bahama* Islands,) and there wait for the fleet fourteen days. But if the fleet does not join you in that time, you are to cruise in such places as you think will most annoy the enemy. And you are to send into port, for trial, all British vessels, or property, or other vessels, with any supplies for the Ministerial forces, who you may make yourself master of, to such places as you may think best, within the United Colonies. In case you are in any very great danger of being taken, you are to destroy these orders and your signals.†

EZECK HOPKINS, *Commandant-in-chief.*

\* This paper was used by General Force in his invaluable *American Archives*. (IV., iv., 1179.)

† SIGNALS FOR THE AMERICAN FLEET BY DAY.

*For sailing*: Loose the foretopsail, and sheet it home.

*For weighing and coming to sail*: Loose all the topsails, and sheet them home.

*For the fleet to anchor*: Clew up the maintopsail, and hoist a weft in the ensign.

*For seeing a strange vessel*: Hoist the ensign, and lower and hoist it as many times as you see vessels, allowing two minutes between each time.

*For chasing*: For the whole fleet to chase, a red pendant at the foretopmast head.

*To give over the chase*: A white pendant at the foretopmast head.

*For the COLUMBUS to chase*: Strike the broad pendant half-mast, to be answered by a weft in the ensign and making sail. *To chase to windward*—hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; *if to leeward*, not. *To give over the chase*: a white pendant at the foretopmast head; and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time. This may serve for any of the vessels to give over the chase and return into the fleet.

*For the ANDREW DORIA to chase*: A Dutch flag at the foretopmast head. *To chase to windward*: hoist the ensign, lowering the pendant at the same time; *if to leeward*, not. *To give over the chase*: a white pendant at the foretopmast head; and if at a great distance, fire a gun at the same time.

*For the CABOT to chase*: A white flag at the foretopmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For the PROVIDENCE to chase*: A St. GEORGE'S ENSIGN with STRIPES at the mizen-peak. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

## VIII.—SELECTIONS FROM THE MCHENRY PAPERS.

[The following autograph letters were contributed by J. Howard McHenry, Esq., to a Fair held, several years ago, in aid of the Maryland Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, to be placed on exhibition during the continuance of the Fair, and afterwards sold for the benefit of that Institution. The letters were all in the hand-writing of their respective authors, and unquestionably genuine.]

1.—THOMAS PAINE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

YORK TOWN, June 5th, 1778.

SIR,—

As a general opinion prevails that the Enemy will quit Philadelphia, I take the Liberty of transmitting you my reasons why it is probable they will not. In your difficult and distinguished situation every hint may be useful.

I put the immediate cause of their evacuation to be a declaration of war in Europe, made by them or against them: in which case their Army would be wanted for other service, and likewise because their present situation would be too unsafe, being subject to be blocked up by France, and attacked by you and her jointly. Britain will avoid a war with France if she can, which, according to my arrangement of Politics, she may easily do. She must see the necessity of acknowledging, some time or other, the Independence of America; if she is wise enough to make that acknowledgement *now*, she of consequence admits the Right of France to the quiet enjoyment of

*For the FLY to chase*: A Dutch flag at the maintopmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For the HORNET to chase*: A red pendant at the mizen-topmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For the WABER to chase*: A Dutch flag at the mizen peak. *To chase to windward*, etc., as above.

*For a general attack, or the whole fleet to engage*: THE STANDARD at the maintopmast head, with the STRIPED JACK and ensign at their proper places.

*To disengage and form into a squadron*: A white flag at the ensign staff, and the same into a weft for every vessel to make the best of their way off from the enemy for their own preservation.

*For all the Captains to come on board the Commodore*: A red pendant at the ensign staff.

*To speak with the COLUMBUS*: A white pendant at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the ANDREW DORIA*: A Dutch flag at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the CABOT*: A weft in a Jack, at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the PROVIDENCE*: A white flag, at the mizen-topmast head.

*To speak with the FLY*: A Dutch flag at the Ensign staff.

*For any vessel in the fleet that wants to speak with the Commodore*: A weft in the ensign; and if in distress, accompanied with two guns.

*To fall into a line abreast*: A red pendant at the mizen peak.

*To fall into a line ahead*: A white pendant at the mizen peak.

*For meeting, after a separation*: A weft in an ensign, at the maintopmast head, to be answered with the same, and cluing up the maintopgallant sail, if they have any set.

*For the ship PROVIDENCE to chase*: A red pendant at the mizen-topmast head. *To chase to windward*, etc., as before.

*To speak with the ship PROVIDENCE*: A weft in the ensign at the ensign staff.

her Treaty, and therefore no war can take place upon the Ground of having concluded a Treaty with revolted British subjects.

This being admitted, their apprehensions of being doubly attacked, or of being wanted elsewhere, cease of consequence; and they will then endeavor to hold all they can, that they may have something to restore in lieu of something else which they will demand; as I know of no Instance where conquered Places were surrendered up prior to, but only in consequence of a Treaty of Peace.

You will observe, Sir, that my reasoning is founded on the supposition of their being reasonable Beings, which if they are not, then they are not within the compass of my system.

I am, Sir,  
with every wish for your happiness,  
Your affectionate and ob't humble Servant.  
THOMAS PAINE.

His Excellency GEN'L WASHINGTON.

[Addressed.]  
His Excellency  
GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
VALLEY FORGE.

2.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec'r 10th, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—

After seeing the backs of the British Forces turned upon us, and the Executive of the State of New York put into the peaceable possession of their Capital, I set out for this place. On Monday next I expect to leave the City, and by slow traveling arrive at Baltimore on Wednesday, where I will spend one day and then proceed to Annapolis and get translated into a private Citizen.

I am y'r  
Affect'e  
Go WASHINGTON.

3.—DOCTOR RUSH TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 3d, 1780.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—

Captain Darby is now in this city upon parole. He has heard with great pleasure of a general exchange of prisoners about to take place. But as his business in New York is of the most pressing nature, he humbly solicits (thro' your connection with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) that he may be indulged with liberty of going into New York upon parole before he is exchanged. The affairs of the regiment to which he is paymaster are in the greatest confusion.

Most of his books and papers were lost at Stoney Point. Every day's delay increases the distress and difficulties to which that misfortune has exposed him. In New York he expects to meet with some people who can extricate him from some of his difficulties, provided he can get access to them soon. He begs his most respectful comp'ts may be presented to his Excellency, and as wishes not to be troublesome to the General (whose time he knows is precious) he begs to receive his answer to this request thro' you before he returns from this city to Lancaster, which will be in about ten days.

Excuse this additional trouble I have given you, and believe me to be, with the tenderest sentiments of friendship,

Yours—yours—yours,  
BENJ'N RUSH.

[Addressed.]

DR. JAMES McHENRY, (public service.)  
Secretary to his  
Excellency,  
GEN'L WASHINGTON,  
Head Quarters.

4.—THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DOCTOR McHENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—

Mr. Morris, our Minister at Paris, has recommended to me a Madame de la Mariniere, whom the troubles of St. Domingo have driven to Baltimore. He did it at the request of the Duke de Penthièvre. Want of acquaintance myself in Baltimore leaves me no means of complying with their request to procure her introduction into the best company, but to solicit your attentions to the lady. The characters who interest themselves for her are a security to us that our services will be worthily bestowed, and will I hope excuse the liberty I take in commending her to you. I am with esteem,

Dear Sir,  
Your most obedient  
and most humble serv't,  
THOMAS JEFFERSON

DOCT. McHENRY.

[Addressed.] TH. JEFFERSON.  
DOCT'R JAMES McHENRY,  
BALTIMORE.

5.—SAMUEL CHASE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BALTIMORE, 24 Sep'r, 1796.

DEAR SIR,—

Our Electors have given us [*illegible*] Senators [*illegible*] Mr. Chesley, of Calvert, outvoted R. Smith. I am grieved for the president's de-

clining to serve, but after Reading his Reasons it is impossible to not to approve his conduct. I am greatly pleased with his advice, but fear it will not be followed. I expect a great Contest about his Successor. Mr. Carroll has offered to be an Elector, but if opposed here he will not be elected. I shall certainly vote for him, which he will not expect.

I beg your Care of the enclosed, and I wish you Health and Happiness, I am, dear Sir,  
Your most affectionate  
and ob't Servant

[Addressed.]  
The Honorable  
JAMES MCHENRY,  
Secretary at War,  
PHILADELPHIA.  
SAMUEL CHASE.

6.—GENERAL WAYNE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 Feb'y, 1796.

SIR,—

In obedience to your request I have made out and now enclose an estimate of the number of troops necessary to take possession of and garrison the Forts to be evacuated agreeably to the late treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain; as also the number of cannon now mounted at the respective posts, viz., Michillimackinac, Detroit, Miami and Niagara—the three first are from actual documents, the latter I am not perfectly acquainted with, but know that it was garrisoned by the 5th British Regiment.

The number of troops fit for duty at Greenville on the 1st of December, 1795, was 1,158—of these, not more than 1,000 can be calculated upon to advance for the purpose of possessing the several posts before mentioned, which will be rather too few to give a proper impression, and to transport and give security to the provisions, artillery and stores, which will be indispensibly necessary to accompany them. The following are the artillery of different calibres that can possibly be spared from the advanced posts, i. e., from Fort Washington to Defiance, inclusive, viz.:

One eight inch Howitz,	} Total, 26.
Four, five and one-half do,	
Six [ ? ] pounders,	
Seven three pounders,	
Eight 2 and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch Howitz.	

Hence, you will see the indispensable necessity of giving orders for the ordnance and stores mentioned in the enclosed estimate.

I will have the honor of calling at the War Office at two o'clock to-morrow, when I shall be

ready to afford any further information you may think proper to require.

Interim, I have the honor to be,

Sir,  
your most obed't  
and very  
humble servant,  
ANT'Y WAYNE.

The Honorable  
J. MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secret'y of War,

7.—TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

DEAR SIR,—

I will thank you to examine the inclosed, and let me have them to-morrow morning, as I wish, if approved, to send the letter to Mr. Howell by to-morrow's post. Mr. Wolcott has seen and approved.  
Yours respectfully,  
T. PICKERING.

Aug't 3, '96  
SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Addressed.]  
SECRETARY OF WAR.

8.—CHARLES CARROLL TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

1796, Dec'r 2d, ANNAPOLIS.

DEAR SIR,—

As you may not have seen the answer of our Assembly to the Governor's Address, I inclose the one printed in Green's paper.

Notwithstanding the Pen'a ticket is gone in favor of Jefferson, those who pretend to have good information say that Adams will be elected by a majority of six votes. I rather think the probability is that no election of President will be made by the electors, as probably several of the electors may not be able to attend at the seats of Gov't, many of them being at a great distance from those seats, sickness and badness of the roads may prevent their attendance.

We are anxious here to know what notice, if any, our Gov't will take of Adet's last note, assigning reasons for your suspension of his functions. I am with great respect,

Dear Sir, y'r most hum. Ser't,  
CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

[Addressed.]  
H'ble JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary at War,  
p. post. PHILADELPHIA.

## 9.—GENERAL HAMILTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

MY DEAR SIR,—

This will probably be handed you by Mrs. De Neuville, widow of Mr. De Neuville, of Holland, a Gentlemen who embarked very zealously and very early in the cause of this country—was instrumental in promoting it, and as I understand, an object of persecution in consequence of it, which was a link in the chain of his pecuniary ruin. I think his widow has a strong claim upon the kindness of our country as far as general considerations will admit relief, and she has a particular claim upon every body's good will, that of being a distressed and amiable woman. I ask for her your patronage and good offices. Adieu, my Dear Friend,

Y'r's truly,

A. HAMILTON.

Jan. 19, 1797.

J. MCHENRY, ESQ., &amp;c.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQUIRE  
&c.War Office,  
PHILADELPHIA.

## 10.—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT WASHINGTON, May 12, 1797.

SIR,—

In conformity to the "Rules and Regulations" relative to Maritime and Frontier Posts or Fortified Places, issued from the War Office on the twenty-eighth of March last past, I have the honor to report—that a certain person of the name of Hamilton, who is said to have a major's commission in the service of Spain, arrived in the town of Cincinnati some time in the month of January last, and has remained, (excepting a short absence of a few weeks,) ever since. His avowed object is to prevail on the citizens of this territory to become settlers in the Spanish country west of the Mississippi, offering to adventurers donations of land and other inducements. Hamilton was born in New Jersey, and was some time a merchant in New York, from whence, after being tried for a forgery, he emigrated to Dumfries, in Virginia, where he resided until about a year ago; for a few months previous to his arrival here he was in Kentucky, where, I believe, he obtained authority to offer lands on the Mississippi to such persons as were inclinable to transfer their allegiance from the United States to His Catholic Majesty. Many families have emigrated, and many more are preparing to go the ensuing fall from this country, in consequence of the liberal offers made them by the Spanish agents.

Hamilton has avowed himself a Spanish subject to several persons in this town, but I do not believe that he has any commission in their service; but is, I imagine, authorized by the Spanish consul or some other agent in Kentucky to grant lands to persons who wish to emigrate to Louisiana. I shall use every exertion to get information of the views of this man and every other suspicious character who may come within my reach.

I have Honor to be  
with very great Respect,  
Sir, your Humble Serv't,  
WM. H. HARRISON,  
Lieut. 1st Regiment,  
Commanding.

The Honorable  
JAMES MCHENRY,  
Secretary of War.

[Addressed.]

To the Hon'ble

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.,

Secretary of War,

Free.

P. Post.]

PHILADELPHIA.

## 11.—RUFUS KING TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

LOND., Aug. 4, 1797.

DEAR SIR,—

Be so obliging as to forward the inclosed Letter to Mr. Hemsley. I think his name is William, and that he lives in the neighborhood of Baltimore. He would have come with me as my secretary, but my brother accompanied me in that character, having returned here, I shall be pleased to receive Mr. Hemsley in his place, The enclosed Letter proposes to him to come to me.

I don't know when I shall be able to send you the medals. Mr. Trumbull promises to prepare the Devices soon. Bollen is ready to receive and execute them.

Very truly your ob't servant,

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.

RUFUS KING.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.,

Secretary of War,

PHILADELPHIA.

## 12.—CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

ROTTERDAM, Sept. 19, 1797.

DEAR SIR,—

By this opportunity (the Adelaide, Capt. Mann, via Baltimore) I send you the militia regulations during the time of the French Republic; they were to have been sent above three months ago, but by some mistake were postponed.

Briguet's Military Code is out of print; I am informed a new Edition is preparing, which, when

published, I will procure and send to you, with any thing I may meet with new, and of reputation in that style.

General Marshall and myself are now upon our progress to Paris; you will hear by my letters and inclosed papers to the Secretary of State and Mr. Murray's communications to you of the extraordinary transactions at Paris: these transactions and some intimations that we have received, that our presence, at this juncture, at Paris might be important, and the delay of our journey imputed to very false and improper motives, have induced General Marshall and myself to set out for Paris; more particularly, as Mr. Prince, the Agent of the Union, the vessel in which Mr. Gerry is to sail from Boston, writes word to the Consul at Rotterdam that she is to call at Havre. I have therefore written to that port to request Mr. Gerry to proceed from thence to Paris, without coming round by Holland. We shall not commence any direct negotiations before we are joined by Mr. Gerry, without circumstances should indicate great probable advantages. These I do not expect, for so much reliance is placed in France in the internal divisions in America, and so large a party is thought to be more attached to French measures than to the interests of our country, that tho' I am convinced this opinion is erroneous, yet as it is entertained by men in power, I am apprehensive our negotiations will be very difficult, and my hopes of success are not at all sanguine.

I remain, my dear Sir, with regard and esteem,  
your most ob't  
humble Servant,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

[Postmarked.] BALT., NOV. 10, FREE;

[Addressed.]

COLONEL MCHENRY  
Secretary at War,  
PHILADELPHIA.

13.—GENERAL THOMAS PINCKNEY TO THE  
SECRETARY OF WAR.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S. }  
Monday, Dec. 11, 1797. }

SIR,—

I am desired by the Committee of the House of Representatives to whom was referred the Remonstrance and Petition of the State of Tennessee, to request the favor of you to give them such information as you can, with propriety, concerning the subject matter of that Petition, which information the Committee think may assist them in forming their opinion whether any and what relief can be given with propriety by the Legislature.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir,  
your most ob't Servant,  
THOMAS PINCKNEY.

14.—THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO THE  
SECRETARY OF WAR.

GEO. TOWN, May 28, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

Unqualified, as I really think myself, I have after a thousand struggles, accepted my honorable, and at this crisis, important appointment. Who that has the feelings of an American, could refuse to try at least to serve his country at such a time? I put in thus early my claim on your Friendship for all the assistance I shall need, and it will be a great deal. I mean to set out for Philadelphia as early as possible. I hope a week's elay will not be thought long, and I hope I shall not find it necessary to bestow more than a week on my private affairs. I go at first without my family, who are to follow, or to wait till the Fall, as I shall determine after getting to Philadelphia. You did not write me a word about your wishes as to my acceptance or refusal—make up for the deficiency by writing me on the receipt of this, and, if possible, flatter me into a belief that I may be able to avoid merited reproach. One letter may reach me before I leave this.

I am, Dear Sir,  
with great esteem,  
y'r Serv.,  
BEN STODDERT.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, ESQ.  
War Office,  
PHILADELPHIA,

15.—GENERAL HAMILTON TO THE SECRETARY  
OF WAR.

NEW YORK, Sept. 9, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I think I heretofore mentioned to you that to avoid the chance of difficulty with the President, I had written or would write to him urging the appointment of Mr. Philip Church to a Captaincy. I have just received a very obliging letter from him, and in which he assures me of his willingness to appoint him to that grade, and that he would write to you accordingly. Thus is all difficulty on this point removed. In proportion as I look to the event of my laying down my military character, is my solicitude that this young gentleman shall be eligibly placed.

Yours affectionately,  
A. HAMILTON.

J. MCHENRY, ESQ.

[Addressed.]  
JAMES MCHENRY,  
&c., &c.,  
Trenton.

## 16.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

MOUNT VERNON, July 30, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

The writer of the enclosed letter, in name and character, is an entire stranger to me,—nor do I know whether, by the Law establishing the Cavalry, any provision is made under which such a person could be employed, tho' certain is, if Mr. Macharg understands what he professes to be master of, he might be employed very advantageously in training that part of our force.

I have wrote him to this effect:—adding, that as he is a stranger, his application to the War Office must be accompanied by ample testimonies, not only of his skill in the business he professes, but to his character in all other respects, with which, and my letter to him, he would come properly before you, and without which I conceived it would be useless to apply. I am, Dear Sir, your ob't.,

Go WASHINGTON.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

*[Outside address, in Washington's hand,]*THE SECRETARY OF WAR  
PHILADELPHIA.

## 17.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Private.] MOUNT VERNON, 2d Aug't, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

Finding that I was not altogether correct, in giving the uniform of the Company of *Grey-heads* in the Town of Alexandria, I amend, as soon as possible, the mistake, by transmitting the letter of the Capt'n thereof—Col. Simms—to Mrs. Washington.

Have you received my letter of the 22d of July? The enquiry then made respecting the Quarter-Master-General is of serious and interesting moment to me. If the business, which my own appointment has involved me in, increases—or even continues—I shall soon be under the necessity of calling upon that officer, or you, for a supply of stationary:—on you particularly for copying Paper; who, better than he, will know, or can direct the proper sort. I thought I came home well provided with these articles, but shall soon run short.

Yours affectionately,  
Go WASHINGTON.

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.

*[The foregoing bears the Alexandria post-mark, and is addressed in Washington's hand:]*JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary of War,  
Philadelphia.

## 18.—JOHN ADAMS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

QUINCY, September 21st, 1798.

DEAR SIR,—

I rec'd last night your favour of the 1st with its Inclosures, and perceive nothing to alter.

Inclosed is a letter from Samuel Treat, who has been a Lieutenant at the Castle a long time. His claims to a continuance in service I hope will be considered; but I know nothing of him but his appearance on a late visit to me and the inclosed letter.

JAMES ADAMS.

JAMES MCHENRY,  
Secretary of War.

## 19.—JOHN ADAMS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

QUINCY, July 27, 1799.

SIR,—

I have rec'd your favour of the 20th and have no objection to the plan you propose of raising a Company of Cavalry.—“Our means”! I never think of our means without shuddering! All the Declamations, as well as Demonstrations, of Trenchard & Gordon, Bolingbroke, Bernard & Walpole, Hume, Burgh & Burke, rush upon my Memory and frighten me out of my wits? The System of Debts and Taxes is leveling all Governments in Europe. We have a career to run, to be sure, and some time to pass before we arrive at the European crisis. But we must ultimately go the same way. There is no practicable or imaginable expedient to escape it that I can conceive.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

J. ADAMS.

## 20.—ROBERT G. HARPER TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BALTIMORE, August 16th, 1799.

A young man of So. Carolina, My Dear Sir, a Mr. Memereau Walker, of Laurens County, in that State, has requested me to apply for a commission for him in the permanent army of the U. S., which I now do. I know him to be a clever fellow, active, of a good education for that part of the country, the son of a very respectable man, and in general very well qualified for a commission in the infantry service. You will oblige me by recollecting his application should there be any vacancy in the standing regiments. He would like the artillery well, for which he has capacity enough to qualify himself very soon; though I do not know that he has attended, as yet, to that study.

As we are on the subject of Military Appointments, I will mention, that should Col. Watts' place be yet unsupplied, and I might be permitted to take the appointment on the terms allowed to

Dayton, I should prefer that to any other regimental commission.

Yours sincerely,  
ROB. G. HARPER.

The Hon'ble  
The Secretary at War.

[Addressed]

The Hon'ble  
THE SECRETARY AT WAR,  
Philadelphia.

21.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY  
OF WAR.

[Private.] MOUNT VERNON, 25th June, 1799. ]  
DEAR SIR,—

By transmitting General Hamilton's letter to me of the 15th instant, respecting the expediency of promoting General Wilkinson to the Rank of Major-General in the armies of the United States, and my reply thereto of the present date, I find it the easiest mode of communicating the ideas of both of us on this subject; and the necessity of enlarging thereon is superceded thereby.

I have only to pray that both may be returned to—  
Dear Sir,

Your affect'e H'ble Servant,  
GO WASHINGTON.

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary of War.

22.—TIMOTHY PICKERING TO THE SECRETARY OF  
WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 28, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your enquiry relative to the salary of my chief clerk, I inform you, that his stated allowance is fifteen hundred dollars a year. But he is also (as was his predecessor) translator of the French and Spanish languages, for which he receives a compensation of three hundred and fifty dollars a year—doing this business out of office hours. His capacity, diligence and fidelity well entitle him to these rewards.

I am very respectfully,

Dr. Sir,  
Your ob't Serv't,  
T. PICKERING.

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary at War.

23.—CHARLES LEE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, 25th November, 1799.

SIR—

I have considered the question proposed in your letter of the 23d, and am respectfully of opinion

that the act passed the 5th June, 1794, entitled "An Act in addition to the Act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," is now in force and will continue in force till the end of the next session of Congress. The expressions "from thence to the end of the next session of Congress," mean the next *whole* session and not any part of a session. A similar question was propounded some time ago from another quarter, when I gave the like answer that I now do.

The rule that penal laws are to be strictly construed, does not operate on the present question, which does not arise upon the meaning to be put on the *penal words* of a statute, but on the meaning to be put on the words of one statute *continuing* another in operation.

I have the honor to be, sir,  
very respectfully,  
Your most obedient servant,  
CHARLES LEE.

To the Secretary at War.

[Addressed]

To JAMES MCHENRY, ESQUIRE,  
Secretary at War.

24.—GENERAL LA FAYETTE TO THE SECRETARY  
OF WAR.

LA GRANGE DEPARTEMENT DE SEINE  
ET MARNE, 7th March, 1800.

MY DEAR MCHENRY—

While you Receive, as a Secretary at War, an application from Mde. de Fleury, widow to the Gallant officer whose services in America Have Been so justly celebrated, permit a private friend to express those personal good wishes which a sense of duty to a deceased Brother Soldier, affectionate American Remembrances, and sincere concern for the lady's welfare prompt me to form in her behalf. Your countryman, C'nel Smith, Has on an important occasion witnessed Fleury's spirit and talents—the part He acted under G'ral Wayne Has been consecrated by a medal—there is indeed no General officer or soldier but who might Have a glorious account to give of him in every action where he has fought. His widow has imparted me her intention to address the government of the United States previous to which she is about consulting the Commissioners now in Paris; and as she thinks a letter from me to my intimate friend, the Secretary at War, may be with him a proper introduction, I write the more readily as Besides my own Regard for the memory of General Fleury I know he is himself a partaker in these sentiments.

Very affectionately I am, dear MCHENRY  
Yours,  
LAFAYETTE.

Had not the world been deprived of His Great-  
est Ornament, Mde. de Fleury would Have found  
in our beloved General the patronage which from  
him was equally Honorable and efficacious.

[On fourth page in hand-writing of *Lafayette* :]  
Private.

The H<sup>ble</sup> JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Secretary at War,  
Philadelphia.

25.—OLIVER WOLCOTT TO JAMES MCHENRY.

WASHINGTON, Dec'r 12, 1800.

DR. SIR,—

I will attend to your requests as soon as possible  
& there will be no longer any difficulty. Gen'l  
Pinckney informs that the Electors appointed in  
So. Carolina will all vote both for Jefferson &  
Burr—eight votes were given for each of them in  
North Carolina & both are unquestionably elected.  
So much for the consequences of diplomatic skill.

I am Dr. Sir yrs.

OLIV. WOLCOTT.

JAS. MCHENRY, Esq.

[Addressed,]

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

Free JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.

OLIV. WOLCOTT. Baltimore.

26.—WILLIAM PINKNEY TO THE SECRETARY OF  
WAR.

LONDON, 20th March, 1800.

MY DR. SIR—

I have had the pleasure to receive a Line from  
you by Mr. Sitgreaves, and thank you for giving  
me a sort of claim by it to his friendship. It  
shall be my care to cultivate it. I am much ob-  
liged by your enclosing me your excellent Report  
to the President on the subject of our Military  
system. Of any thing contained in it, except its  
general principles, I am a very poor judge ; but,  
so far as an attentive reading of it can authorize  
me to have any opinion, I should think the ar-  
rangements you propose will, if adopted, be ben-  
eficial to a very important Extent. The Manner  
in which your Details are given must have the  
Merit of perspicuity, for even I, who am as little  
of a military Man as it is well possible to be,  
believe that I perfectly understand them. Your  
introductory Remarks, and those of a similar  
Nature to be found in different parts of the Re-  
port, are capable of being properly estimated by  
every Man of understanding—and of their Force  
& Solidity there can be no doubt. I wish most  
cordially that they may produce their just Effect,  
and that the country may be indebted to your  
labors for the security you aim at giving to it.

I w'd ask you to drop me a Line now & then,  
when you shall have Leisure. It has been stated  
to me that you devote yourself to the Duties of  
your office beyond a due Regard to your Health—  
and I will not desire to put upon you the addi-  
tional Burthen of writing to me. And yet, if at  
any Time a vacant moment sh'd occur in which it  
might be Relaxation rather than Fatigue to tell a  
sincere Friend that you continue to think of him,  
I cannot avoid saying that you will gratify me  
much by so employing it.

I am, My Dr. Sir,

Very faithfully yrs.

WM. PINKNEY.

P.S. My Brother Comm'r Gore will have }  
told you every thing I can have to com- }  
municate before this can reach you.

[Addressed.]

JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,

Secretary at War  
of the United States,  
Philadelphia.

27.—GENERAL LA FAYETTE TO JAMES MCHENRY.

19th THERMIDOR, 6th August, 1805.

MY DEAR MCHENRY,—

I am sure you will Heartily welcome Mr. David  
Parish, to whose father and to whom I have been,  
during my captivity and ever since, under the  
Highest obligations. Mr. John Parish was the  
American Consul at Hamburgh when my wife and  
daughters arrived from France to endeavor to  
partake in my Olmutz prison and treatment—they  
and myself Have found in the whole family the  
most affectionate concern in our behalf, the most  
generous and constant assistance. My friend  
David is going to visit America. I am Happy to  
make Him acquainted with you and am with all  
my Heart and for ever

Your affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

[Addressed.]

MR. JAMES MCHENRY, Esq.,  
Baltimore.

28.—MAJOR TALLMADGE TO MR. MCHENRY.

WASHINGTON, March 10th 1812.

DEAR SIR,—

I have rec'd your Letter of the 10th instant,  
and now inclose the *Sheets* which were intended  
for you before.

I intend also to forward the late Message of the  
President and Documents accompanying the same.  
I have no time to make any comments upon this  
most extraordinary Communication. If the elec-  
tion of Gov'r Gerry and P't Madison must cost  
the U. S. \$50,000, they ought to serve the public



with great fidelity. I presume, by this time, you will understand the object for despatching the *Wasp*. In haste, I am

Yours, very sincerely,  
BEN'N TALLMADGE.

[Addressed.]

The Hon'ble JAMES McHENRY, } Free.  
November 22, 1867. } B. TALLMAGE.  
Baltimore.

## IX.—CHARACTER AND PUBLIC CAREER OF PATRICK HENRY.

### COMMENTS UPON MR. JEFFERSON'S LETTER.\*

CHARLOTTE COURTHOUSE, VA.,  
November 22, 1867.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE RICHMOND DISPATCH.

DEAR SIR,—Some days after its appearance, my attention was called to an article in your paper of the twenty-fifth of July last, copied from the *Philadelphia Age*, which purported to be a manuscript of Thomas Jefferson containing reminiscences of Patrick Henry. The article contained statements derogatory to the reputation of Mr. Henry, in whose vindication I feel it my duty to publish this reply.

Although the manuscript contains many mis-statements of fact, it is doubtless from the pen of Mr. Jefferson, and is evidently the communication furnished Mr. Wirt while he was preparing the life of Henry—as I notice that author, when referring to Mr. Jefferson as authority, quotes in many instances the very words of the article you published, and in other portions of his work seems to be combatting the charges therein made by Mr. Jefferson. Taking the manuscript, then, to be genuine, I can only account for its existence by remembering that it was penned at a period of Mr. Jefferson's life when the heat engendered by party strife had fixed in his mind distorted views of his political opponents.

The statement that Mr. Henry first came into public notice as a Burgess about the year 1762 is incorrect. He was elected for the first time in May, 1765, and during that month made the attack spoken of upon the proposition for a public loan office. (WIRT'S *Sketches of Henry*, 61, et seq.) During the same month, the famous Resolutions against the Stamp Act were offered by Mr. Henry and passed by the House. Mr. Jefferson states that these Resolutions were drawn by George Johnston, a lawyer from the Northern Neck, who seconded them. In reply to this, I need only refer to the statement of Mr. Wirt, (*Page 74*), that Mr. Henry left amongst his private papers, in his own

handwriting, a copy of these Resolutions, with an endorsement stating the circumstances under which they were offered, in which endorsement he says: "That alone, unadvised and unassisted, "on a blank leaf of an old law book, I wrote the "within." This paper was found sealed up and directed to his Executors, and comes to us as his dying declaration. It is still in existence at Red Hill.

Mr. Jefferson was at the time a student at William and Mary, and heard the debate; but his statement as to who wrote the Resolutions cannot be weighed a moment against the solemn declaration of Mr. Henry. Nor can I credit Mr. Jefferson when he says that Mr. Henry was a very inefficient member of deliberative bodies in ordinary business, and had not accuracy enough of idea in his head to draw a bill on the most simple subject which would bear legal criticism. He was very frequently placed upon important Committees. One of these was the standing Committee of Correspondence between the Colonies, appointed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, on the twelfth of March, 1773, which was selected from the best material in the Colony, and which led eventually to a Colonial Congress. We have also the testimony of a very able contemporary as to this matter. George Mason, in a letter to Mr. Cockburn, dated Williamsburg, the twenty-sixth of May, 1774, (*Virginia Historical Register*, January, 1850, *Page 28*), writes: "What ever resolves and measures are intended for the "preservation of our Rights and Liberties, will be "reserved for the conclusion of the Session. "Matters of this sort here are conducted and "prepared with a great deal of privacy, and by "very few members, of whom Patrick Henry is "the principal. \* \* \* He is by far the most "powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word he "says not only engages, but commands, the attention; and your passions are no longer your own "when he addresses them. But his eloquence is "the smallest part of his merit. He is, in my "opinion, the first man upon this Continent, as "well in abilities as public virtues; and had he "lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic "War, when the Roman people had arrived at "their meridian glory, and their virtue not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him "at the head of that glorious Commonwealth."

Mr. Jefferson informs us that after his service as Governor, succeeding Mr. Henry, he had no further personal knowledge of him. And yet his most serious charges as to personal conduct refer to subsequent periods. It will be remembered also that Mr. Jefferson never met with him until Mr. Henry was twenty-four years of age.

That Mr. Henry commenced life in very straitened circumstances, is without doubt; but that he ever acted as a bar-keeper, is denied by Mr.

\* This letter may be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August.

Wirt, (*Page 37*.) who obtained his information from the companions of Mr. Henry's youth.

I am entirely satisfied, also, that Mr. Jefferson has misrepresented Mr. Henry's attainments and conduct as a lawyer. He represents him as too lazy to acquire or practice law, never undertaking to draw pleadings if he could avoid it, engaging very unwillingly, but as an assistant, to speak in the cause, making the fee an indispensable preliminary, keeping no accounts, requiring large fees for his services, insatiable in money, and doing so little business in the General Court, other than criminal, that it would not pay the expenses of his attendance. I have in my possession Mr. Henry's Fee-books, commencing in the latter part of 1760, when he first came to the bar, and coming down to 1771, more than one year after he came to the General Court. Sixteen pages of these books have been cut out and lost; but estimating that the fees charged upon them average in numbers with those upon the remaining pages, and I find that Mr. Henry charged fees in one thousand, one hundred, and eighty-five suits, from September, 1760, the commencement of his practice, to the thirty-first of December, 1763, besides many fees for preparing papers out of Court. In November, 1763, he was employed in, and in December following he argued, the celebrated Parsons' cause, which gave him so great a reputation. Afterwards, his business increased rapidly, of which, however, only a small portion was criminal, the great bulk being the ordinary suits of the country, plain actions of debt, etc. In these, it is preposterous to suppose he appeared only as an assistant, to speak. So far from his being insatiable, his books show the usual moderate charges of the day, such as have been long since discarded by the profession; and many of his fees appear never to have been collected. Randall, in his *Life of Jefferson*, (i. 47,) gives the number of causes in which he (Jefferson) was employed in the earlier years of his practice, as evidence of his great success; but judging Mr. Henry by the same rule, his success was much greater before he had made what is usually represented as his first speech. How he acquired or retained a practice so large, and continually increasing, so perfectly unfit for it as Mr. Jefferson represents him, I am at a loss to understand.

Nor can I reconcile with Mr. Jefferson's statement another fact, mentioned by Mr. Wirt and by Mr. Randall: I mean the public advertisement of Robert C. Nicholas, after he was made Treasurer, committing his unfinished business to Mr. Henry. Mr. Nicholas was one of the examiners who signed Mr. Henry's license, and enjoyed the first practice of the bar, according to Mr. Wirt; and Mr. Randall thinks (*Life of Jefferson*, i. 49), that he committed his practice to Mr. Henry upon the advice of Mr. Jefferson.

The insinuation that Mr. Henry paid for the Leatherwood lands purchased of Mr. Lomax in a discreditable manner—discreditable, as is alleged, because of the depreciated money used in payment—is entirely unjust. The interest of Mr. Lomax was a subject of litigation; and the sworn answer of Mr. Henry in the case is before me, together with the answer of his widow in a suit brought to divide Mr. Henry's estate, after his death. By these papers it appears that the purchase was made in 1778, for paper money; and that Mr. Henry sold other lands of equal value in order to pay the purchase money. At the time of the purchase, paper money had depreciated so as to be worth only one-fifth of specie, and that it would further depreciate must have been apparent to all. I find two receipts given by Mr. Lomax, one for five half johannes at forty-six shillings each, dated the thirtieth of May, 1778; and the other for five hundred pounds, cash, dated October, 1778, showing that a large portion of the purchase money was paid during the year of the purchase, and at times when the depreciation of the currency had increased but little. What were the dates of the deferred payments I have not ascertained; but whatever they may have been, no stigma can attach to Mr. Henry for paying for land in the very currency he had contracted to pay and which he was receiving for lands sold by him to meet the purchase.

Mr. Jefferson has endeavored to connect the name of Mr. Henry with the infamous Yazoo speculation. He asserts that about the close of the war, Mr. Henry engaged in this speculation, and bought up a great deal of depreciated paper at two shillings and two shillings and six pence in the pound to pay for it; that the Georgia Legislature having declared that transaction fraudulent and void, the depreciated paper which he had bought up was likely to remain on his hands worth nothing, but that Hamilton's funding system came most opportunely to his relief, and raised his paper from two shillings and six pence to twenty-seven shillings and six pence the pound. The facts are simply as follows:

On the seventh of February, 1795, the Georgia Legislature passed an Act selling to four Companies, viz.: the Georgia, the Georgia and Mississippi, the Upper Mississippi, and the Tennessee—about forty million acres of land for the sum of five hundred thousand dollars. These companies paid the money and obtained deeds to the land. It soon became known, however, that the Legislature had been bribed; and the succeeding Legislature, on the thirtieth of January, 1796, declared the grant fraudulent and void. (*GARLAND'S Randolph*, i. 66; and *TUCKER'S History of the United States*, ii., 187.) This transaction became infamous, and was known as the Yazoo speculation:

and it is with this that Mr. Jefferson evidently intended to connect Mr. Henry.

I find from Mr. Henry's private papers that late in the year 1789, he, with Judge Paul Carrington, Joel Watkins, Francis Watkins, and some half dozen other gentlemen—all of high character—entered into a co-partnership, which they called the Virginia Yazoo Company, having for their object the purchase of Georgia lands. In 1789, the Georgia Legislature passed an Act to sell to the South Carolina, the Virginia Yazoo, and the Tennessee Companies, a portion of her territory. But refusing to take Georgia certificates in payment, and requiring specie instead, the Companies could not pay for the land, and their rights were afterwards declared forfeited. (TUCKER'S *History of the United States*, ii., 187.) No improper conduct can be charged on the Virginia Yazoo Company in this transaction. They paid no money and got no land.

I find from a letter from Francis Watkins, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Company, addressed to Mr. Henry, on the seventh of March, 1795, that Mr. Scott, the Agent of the Company in attendance on the Georgia Legislature, had failed to obtain a new grant, while other Companies had obtained the lands. Mr. Watkins advised a dissolution of the Company forthwith. I have never seen the slightest evidence that Mr. Henry was connected with any other Company, nor am I aware that this was ever charged. In further exculpation of the Virginia Company, I would add, that John Randolph, in the United States Congress, in 1805, assailed with great bitterness the Yazoo speculation and the persons connected with it; yet, in 1820, upon the death of Colonel Joel Watkins, one of the Virginia Company, Mr. Randolph, long his intimate friend, in writing his obituary, says: "Under the guidance of old-fashioned honesty and practical good sense he accumulated an ample fortune, in which it is firmly believed by all who knew him there was not a dirty shilling."

The only paper which the Act of Georgia declaring fraudulent and void the Yazoo speculation could have affected, was the certificates of debt of the State of Georgia held by the Companies interested for the purpose of meeting their purchase. And when Mr. Jefferson wrote, he had evidently in his mind that portion of the system urged by Hamilton, whereby the United States assumed the debts of the several States, Georgia among the rest.

The funding and assumption Act was approved on the fourth of August, 1790, (*Laws of the United States*, i., 162,) and gave a considerable value immediately to the paper affected by it. (RANDALL'S *Life of Jefferson*, i., 606.) Now, it could not have been possible, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, that the Act of Georgia, which passed in

1796, depreciated the paper held by Mr. Henry to two shillings and six pence, when the system of Hamilton had been in operation for six years, and had given a greater value to that paper from its commencement; nor could the Act of Congress of 1790 have come most opportunely to Mr. Henry's relief, in 1796, and raised his paper depreciated by the Act of Georgia of that year. The desire to impute a discreditable motive to Mr. Henry has evidently resulted in confounding dates; and the Act of Georgia in 1796 is put prior to Hamilton's funding system of 1790.

Mr. Jefferson proceeds to state that Mr. Henry continued hostile to the Federal Constitution after its adoption, and expressed more than any other man his thorough contempt and hatred of General Washington; and that from being the most violent of all anti-Federalists, he was brought over to the new Constitution by the effect of Hamilton's funding system on the depreciated paper he owned; that Hamilton became now his idol; and, abandoning the Republican advocates of the Constitution, the Federal Government on Federal principles became his creed.

I have a number of letters written by Mr. Henry after the adoption of the Constitution, among them letters to Richard Henry Lee while a member of the first United States Senate from Virginia, with whom he was on the most intimate terms, and whose election he had secured over Mr. Madison as the opposing candidate. I find no contempt, hatred, nor even unkind feeling, expressed anywhere towards General Washington. Mr. Henry's conduct towards General Washington during his whole life is at variance with the statement; and I cannot believe it, resting upon the evidence of but a single witness, who informs us he had no personal knowledge of Mr. Henry at the time. On the contrary, I find that Chief-justice Marshall, who had opportunities of seeing Mr. Henry during this period, states (*Life of Washington*, v., Note xiii,) that Mr. Henry was truly the personal friend of General Washington. To the same effect is the testimony of Mr. A. Blair, Secretary of the Council of Virginia. (SPARKS'S *Writings of Washington*, xi, Appendix xviii.) He writes to General Washington on the nineteenth of June, 1799: "I had the honor to qualify for my present office when Mr. Henry commenced the administration of our Revolutionary Government. From that period to the day of his death I have been on the most intimate, and I believe friendly, terms with him. \* \* \* With regard to you, Sir, I may say, as he said of Marshall, that he loved you, and for the same reason, because you felt and acted as a Republican—as an American."

Mr. Henry's independence of character was too great to permit him ever to make an idol of Hamilton or of any other man. If he could have

been induced to idolize Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Jefferson's reminiscences doubtless would have assumed a different hue. So far from permitting the financial system of Hamilton to change his politics, one of the last acts of Mr. Henry's public life was a protest against the very feature of that system which, if Mr. Jefferson is to be believed, put money into Mr. Henry's pocket and made him a political apostate.

In the Virginia Assembly of 1790, the last in which Mr. Henry sat, on the third of November, the following Resolution was adopted by the House of Delegates :

"RESOLVED, That so much of the Act of Congress entitled, An Act making provision for the 'debt of the United States' as assumes the payment of this State debts, is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, as it goes to the exercise of a power not expressly granted to the General Government."

On the vote adopting this Resolution, Mr. Henry's name is with the Ayes. (*Vide Journal of the House of Delegates for 1790, 35, 36.*)

That Mr. Henry opposed the adoption of the Constitution in its unamended form is true ; but that he continued hostile to it afterwards is not true, if he himself is to be believed. Amongst his papers there is a copy, in his own hand, of his reply to General Washington, when offered the position of Secretary of State. It is dated the seventeenth of October, 1795 ; and after giving his reasons for declining the appointment, which are of a private nature, it continues :

"Believe me, Sir, I have bid adieu to the distinction of Federal and anti-Federal ever since the commencement of the present Government, and in the circle of my friends have often expressed my fears of disunion amongst the States from collision of interest, but especially from the baneful effects of faction.

"The most I can say is, that if my country is destined in my day to encounter the horrors of anarchy, every power of mind and body which I possess will be exerted in support of the Government under which I live, and which has been fairly sanctioned by my countrymen.

"I should be unworthy the character of a Republican or an honest man if I withheld from the Government my best and most zealous efforts because on its adoption I opposed it in its unamended form. And I do most cordially execrate the conduct of those men who lose sight of the public interest from personal motives. It is with painful regret that I perceive any occurrence of late have given you uneasiness. Indeed, Sir, I did hope and pray that it might be your lot to feel as small a portion of that as the most favored condition of humanity can experience. And if it eventually comes to pass that evil, instead of good, comes out of

"the public measures you may adopt, I confide that our country will not so far depart from her character as to judge from the events, but give full credit to the motives and decide from these alone. Forgive, Sir, these effusions, and permit me to add to them one more, which is an ardent wish that the best rewards which are due to a well-spent life may be yours.

"With sentiments of the most sincere esteem and high regard, I am, dear sir, your much obliged and very humble servant,

"P. HENRY."

(See also letter of Patrick Henry to General Henry Lee. SPARKS'S *Writings of Washington*, x, Appendix xxiii.)

These letters show that Mr. Henry had in good faith carried out the purpose expressed in the last speech he made against the Constitution, in the Convention of 1788. He then declared that he would live under it a peaceable citizen ; and that he would endeavor to remove its defects in a constitutional way, alluding to the Amendments afterwards proposed. (ROBERTSON'S *Virginia Debates*, 465.) Though opposed to Jay's Treaty and the Alien and Sedition Laws, he yet refused to go with that party which he believed had a tendency to break up the Government. (See his letter to A. Blair, in SPARKS'S *Writings of Washington*, xi., Appendix xviii.) The famous Resolutions of the Virginia Legislature of '98 and '99 aroused in his mind the strongest fears lest the country should encounter the horrors of anarchy ; and many of the best and wisest of the land shared his apprehensions. It was at the earnest solicitation of General Washington that he determined to offer for a seat in the ensuing Legislature, and redeem the promise contained in the extract above. Different accounts have been given of his speech in the canvass—the last speech he ever made. But a publication made by Mr. Charles Campbell, in the Petersburg *Index* of August last, settles the question. He publishes the certificates of George Woodson Payne, Mr. Henry's brother-in-law, and of the Rev. Clement Read, Colonel Clement Carrington, and Robert Morton, his countymen and gentlemen of high character and intelligence. Three of these gentlemen heard Mr. Henry's last speech, and testify that his effort was to quiet the minds of the people, to persuade them to use constitutional means to remedy their grievances, and thus to prevent a dissolution of the Union ; and three of them testify that Mr. Henry disapproved of the Alien and Sedition Law.

The terms "Federalist" and "anti-Federalist," first used to designate the parties proposing and opposing the Constitution, after its adoption changed their meaning. Before the post-constitutional parties had become defined, which so powerfully convulsed the country, Mr. Henry had

retired from public life. He declined a re-election to the Legislature, in the spring of 1791. Death prevented his sitting in the Session of 1799; and his last speech was the only political speech he made after those parties arose. His letter to Mrs. Aylett, in 1796, (WIRT's *Henry*, 400,) declares that at that time he had not changed his political opinions; and where have we the evidence of his political apostacy at any time? If Mr. Jefferson relies on Mr. Henry's opposition to the Resolutions of '98 and '99 to establish his apostacy, the answer is at hand. If the fact that Mr. Henry, after opposing the adoption of the Constitution, opposed the Resolutions of '98 and '99, proves his apostacy, the fact that Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, after supporting the adoption of the Constitution, supported the Resolutions of '98 and '99, proves their apostacy. If Mr. Jefferson intended to fix the apostacy in the year 1790, the date of Hamilton's funding system, then I answer that the Legislature of Virginia did not look upon Mr. Henry as an apostate. In 1794, Mr. Henry was elected United States Senator; and, in 1796, he was elected Governor for the fifth time.

The charge, then, against Mr. Henry, of political apostacy from corrupt motives is, I submit, utterly untrue; and his character is untarnished by such ungenerous aspersions, from whatever quarter they may come or with whatever design they may be uttered.

The statement that "General Washington offered Mr. Henry the position of Secretary of State to flatter him, knowing he would not accept, and was entirely unqualified for it," if true, is more discreditable to General Washington than to Mr. Henry. But it is contradicted by the statement of General Washington, contained in the letter offering the position. In that letter he said to Mr. Henry: "It would be uncandid not to inform you that this office has been offered to others; but it is as true that it was from a conviction in my own mind that you would not accept it (until Tuesday last, in a conversation with General Lee, he dropped sentiments which made it less doubtful) that it was not offered first to you. I need scarcely add that if this appointment could be made to comport with your inclination, it would be as pleasing to me as I believe it would be acceptable to the public. With this assurance and with this belief, I make you this offer of it. My first wish is that you would accept it." (SPARKS's *Writings of Washington*, xi., 81.)

If General Washington's design was to flatter Mr. Henry, or to get from him his political status, surely the answer he received must have been satisfactory.

What, then, must we conclude from the following extract from a letter from General Henry Lee to Mr. Henry, dated the twenty-sixth December of

the same year, which is before me, remembering that General Lee (according to Mr. Jefferson) was acting as the common friend of General Washington and Mr. Henry? Says General Lee:

"The Senate has disagreed to the President's nomination of Mr. Rutledge, and a vacancy in that important office has taken place. For your country's sake, for your friends' sake, for your family's sake, tell me you will obey a call to it. You know my friendship for you; you know my circumspection; and I trust you know, too, that I should not address you on such a subject without good grounds. Surely, no situation better suits an individual than that will you. You continue at home only on duty. Change of air and exercise will add to your days. The salary excellent and the honor very great. Be explicit in your reply."

How strange that General Washington, so admirable a judge of men, should offer the position of Secretary of State to one who had "no accuracy of idea in his head," and, if General Lee is to be believed, should be willing to appoint the same man Chief-justice of the United States, though he had been always "too lazy to acquire or practice law"! I can only find a parallel to this conduct in that of the State of Virginia towards the same person, which, though abounding in great men at the time, imposed upon Mr. Henry her highest offices during a period of more than twenty years, and continued to proffer them even after they had been steadfastly refused.

That the violence of party spirit, scrupling at no misrepresentation to injure an opponent, did, in some small measure, succeed in alienating from Mr. Henry the affections of his countrymen after his voice was hushed in death, may be true; but it could never have been said with truth "that sunk to nothing in the estimation of his country." The effect of detraction, however, was ephemeral. Mr. Wirt could write in 1817: "The storm of 1799, thank Heaven, has passed away, and we again enjoy the calm and sunshine of domestic peace. We are able to see with other eyes and to feel with far different hearts. \* \* \* The sentiments now so universally expressed in relation to Mr. Henry, evince that the age of party resentment has passed away, and that that of the noblest gratitude has taken its place."

In conclusion, I cannot but express regret that, of the private and confidential communications received by Mr. Wirt, and by him studiously withheld from the public eye, this one, containing rumors and opinions to the disadvantage of Mr. Henry—rumors refuted by other evidence, and opinions overthrown by a large majority of voices, as we are assured by Mr. Wirt himself—should have appeared in print at this late day. (See letter to F. W. Gilmer, in KENNEDY's *Life of Wirt*,

ii., 79, which evidently refers to this manuscript.) It cannot but create unpleasant feelings even in the minds of the warmest friends of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Wirt refused to give publicity to this manuscript, doubtless in accordance with the desire of Mr. Jefferson himself, to whose criticism he submitted his *Life of Patrick Henry* in manuscript, and by whose advice he published it. (See letters of Jefferson and Wirt, in KENNEDY's *Life of Wirt*, i., 407-412.)

WM. WIRT HENRY.

## X.—THE FIRST SLAVES BROUGHT INTO MASSACHUSETTS.

By REV. B. F. DE COSTA.

So much has been said on the subject of Slavery in Massachusetts, that the following item will doubtless prove interesting.

In the Icelandic Sagas relating to the visits of the Northmen to America, we find a brief account of two persons in the Expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne who were evidently slaves. They are mentioned twice in both of the principal accounts of the voyage of Thorfinn, who came into what forms a part of the present territories of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in the year, A.D. 1007, and remained for a period of three years. These two Sagas will appear in a volume relating to the Icelandic voyages to America, now being prepared for immediate publication by the writer; yet, nevertheless, we give an extract here.

In regard to the persons mentioned, it is necessary to observe that Olaf Tryggvesson was King of Norway; that Lief was the person who came into New England in the year, A.D. 1000; and this Eric was the father of Lief, and the founder of the colony in Greenland, A.D. 985. The extract is taken from the Saga, as given in Professor RAFFN's *Antiquitates Americanae*, on pages 168-87. The account says:

"When Lief was with King Olaf Tryggvesson, and he sent him to establish the Christian Religion in Greenland, then the King gave him two Scots-folk, a man named Heke, and a woman named Hækia. The King told Lief to carry them with his men, if he would have his commands executed quickly, as they were swifter than beasts. These folk Lief and Eric gave to Karlsefne for the voyage. When they came to Wonder-strand they put these Scot-folk ashore, and told them to run Southward and explore the country and return again before the end of three days. They were thus clothed, having a garment that some call a *Blafal*: it was made so that a hat was on top, open at the sides, without arms, [sic] buttoned between the legs and fastened with button and strap; and the rest was bare."

"Wonder-strand" was without doubt that long reach of sandy shore which the sailor notes as a very prominent feature of the outer, or ocean side, Cape Cod. It was called "*Wonder-strand*" by those ancient navigators, because it seemed such a long time while they were passing by. These Scot-folk were doubtless taken prisoners by the Viking in some one of their descents upon the Irish coast, the inhabitants of Ireland at that period being known chiefly as Scots.\*

That Slavery had a real existence among the Northmen there is most abundant proof; and these two Scot-folk were doubtless the first Slaves ever introduced into Massachusetts.

B. F. D.

## XI.—FORT EDWARD, IN 1779 AND 1780.

ORDERLY-BOOK OF THE CAPTAIN-COMMANDING.

GARRISON ORDERS, FORT EDWARD,  
May 23, 1779.

Sargent Prindle is to do duty as Sargent Magor and be obeyed as such—

A Gard to mount at this post Consisting of one Corporal and Six privates to be regular Releived every morning at Eight of the clock. to be one Sentra by day and two by night—

Know Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier are to strowl more than one hundred Rods from this Garrison without leave from his officer—

Know gun to be fiered in or aboutht this garrison on any pretence what ever Except at the Ennemy. the gard are to take up and Confine all persons so offending and they may Expect the Surverest Punishment

Pr order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt. Comdt

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD  
June 5 1779

Whereas a noise in or aboutht the Garrison is a great Detrement to the Sentra in discharging of their duty, these are to order all persons in or aboutht this Garrison to Repair to their Quarters at Tatto breating and Behave there peasible and quietly without any nois or Dusturbance—

The officers of Gards to see that these orders are Complied with in the Strickest Sence as they shall be answerable for the Neglect—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD  
June 24 1779—

Whereas I have bin informed that the Soldiers Belonging to this Garrison make a practise of Cuting bords for fiers in Consequence of which thes are to forbid any Non Commissioned officer

\* The Latin Poet, Claudian, says:

"When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,  
And the wide ocean foamed with hostile oars."

Break of day When every man is to turn out for exercise and Rool Call—

The orderloys of Each compony is to attend and see that the men are all on the parade and call the rool. Any Non Commissioned Officer or Soldier through Neglect disobeys these orders may expect Punishment in the most survere Manner—

the Corporal of the gard is to awake the Drummer every morning—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

June 23 1580—

William Weed and Bengaman Fish are to do the duty of Sargeants and be obeyed as such—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS June 28 1780

AT FORT EDWARD—

Court marshal to Set this day at ten of the Clock to try such Prisners as Shall be brought before them Where of Capt Baits is President the Court to Set where the president Shall appoint—

Capt Harrison *Members.* Lt Buel

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court met agreeable to aforegoing Orders being sworn Proseed to the Trial of Henry Allen belonging to Capt Harrison Compony of new Levies. Confined for disobedience of Orders—

being brought before the Court Pleads guilty— he being a young Soldier the Court is of the opinion that he brought to the post striped and tied to the Post for ten minits and return to his duty—

Cornelius Chatfeild of the Same Compony of Levies Confined for sleeping on his post being brought before them pleads guilty—

The Court Sentence him to Receive one hundred Lashes on the naked back well laid on and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Execution this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS June the 28 1780

AT FORT EDWARD—

The Commanding officer directs that the orders of June 3 1779 and July 3 1779 be read to the men at this garrison this evening al Rool Call, and they are to Conform themselves to those orders in the Stricte Sence of the words—Phinahas Founlain is to be Camp Culliman the Sargnt Magor to see that the Chambers and halls are swept before gard mountang—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

July 14 1780—

Court Marshal to Set thisday at ten of the Clock

to try such Prisners as shall be brought before them Whereof

Capt Baits is President

*Members.*

Lieut Buel

Lieut Vwormer

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court being met Preseed to the Trial of Corporal Trull belonging Capt Harrison's Compony of New Levies Confined for Disobedence of orders Repeatedly obsenting himself from Garrison after Tatto Beating Confined by Phinahas Heath Sargnt M

The Prisner being brought before the Court pleads guilty and Begs the mercy of the Court— Afture mature Deliberation on the matter the Court are of the oppinan that he be redused to the ranks and Receive a Repremand from the Commanding officer and return to his duty—David Goff of Capt Chapmans Compony Coll Warners Regiment Confined for Disobedience of orders Confined by Sargnt heath. he being Brought before the Court Pleads guilty—the Court is of opinion that he suffer twenty four hours imprisment Receive a Repremand from the Commanding officer and return to his Duty—

Aron Lyn of Capt Harrison Compony of Levies Confined for over staying his furlow confined by Capt Chipman—

he being Brought pleads guilty but Says Sickness was the Cause of it. by the Best accounts the Court Can obtain it appears that he was Sick, and order him to his Duty—

DAVID BAITS Capt President

The aforegoing Judgment approved of and ordered to be complied with this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt—

#### ORDERS FOR CAPT SHERWOOD

FORT EDWARD July 25 1780—

Sir you will take your Compony, with one Lieut two Sargeants and twenty five Privates of Capt Harrison Compony and Proseed To Fort ann and their take Post, on your arrival their you will Emmedately send Scouts to the head of South bey and Skenesborough which Scouts you Constantly keep out Releiving them as often as you think proper. You will Employ the rest of your men in fortifying yourself in Such a maner as you Judge Necessary for your defence—you will Communicate all Extrodanary Entelligence you may Receive, to me that I may be able to inform the Comanding officer of the Nothern Department—

Wishing you Success and a happy Command

I am Sr your obedient humble Sarvnt

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

August 4 1780—

Court Marshal to set this day at ten of the

Clock to Try Such Prisners as shall be brought Before them Whereof

Capt<sup>t</sup> Baits is President—  
*Members.*

Capt<sup>t</sup> Harrison                      Lieut Bawlden  
The Court to set when the president appoints  
Pr Order of JOHN CHIPMAN Capt Comdt

The Court met agreeable to the above order Being Sworn Proseed to the Trial of Philip Reyley of the New Levies belonging Capt Chipmans Compony Stand Charged with Disertion. Being brought before the Court Pleads guilty—the Court Sentence him to Receive one hundred lashes on the Naked back well Laid on Pay the expences of sending after him and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in execution this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt<sup>t</sup> Commant—

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

August 7 1780—

know Non Commissioned officer or Soldier are to go more than one hundred rods from this garrison without their arms Nor without Leave from Their officer—The gate the North side of the garrison is to be made fast and not opened on any pretence—The Corporal of the gard is to order all persons Passing or repassing to be chalinged and enquire into their bisness if he is surpicous of them he is to bring them to the Commanding officer—know stranger nor any person that is suspected of being a tory is to be allowed to Com within the garrison except they have Peticuler Business and then the Corporal of the gard is To Conduct them to the person their Business is with and waight and take them out Clear of the garrison—know Non Commissioned officer or Soldier is to visit those people Called tories at their houses Nor hold any Correspondence with them on any pretence whatever any person that disobeys this ordors may expect to Be Punished accordingly—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt<sup>t</sup> Comdt

#### GARRISON ORDERS August 8 1780 FORT EDWARD—

Court Marshal To Set Immediately To Try Such Prisners as shall be brought Before them. Whereof

Capt<sup>t</sup> David Baits is President

*Members.*

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Bradshaw                      Lieut<sup>t</sup> Bawlden—  
Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Mag<sup>r</sup> N Levies

The Court met agreeable to the above order being sworn Proseed to the Trial of Nathan Start belonging to the N Levies Confined for Disobedience of orders and Disertion—he being Brought before the Court Pledes guilty of both crimes—The Court is of the oppinian that he Receive forty Lashes for disobediance of orders well Laid on and one hundred Lashes on the naked back well Laid

on for disertion and pay the expences of sending after him and return to his duty—

DAVID BAITS President—

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Execution this Evening at Roll Call—  
Pr JOHN CHIPMAN Mag<sup>r</sup> Comdt N Levies—

#### ORDERS FOR LIEUT<sup>t</sup> ROBARDS

FORT EDWARD August 12 1780—

Sir you will take Twenty five men of Capt<sup>t</sup> Harrisons Compony and Preseed to Palmar Town and their take post in the most Convenient place—you are to Fortify yourself in the best Manor you can Devise—

you are to keep Constant Scouts to the N West branch of the N. river Jesons Patton and as far west towards Jamestown as you Judge will be Necessary to intercept the enemys penetrating the Country in that quarter—be Peticuler curfull to inspect all the fording places on the Sagondaga Branch—

you are to keep your men together except Those on Emmediate Command—be Carfull to avoid a Surprise from the enemies Scouts—you will be carfull to give the earlist intelligence of the approach of an enemy—you will indeavour to borrow Sum Cattle for your Preasant Support from the inhabitants if they refuse to Lend them you must take them, keeping an exact account of the Weight of meat hide and Tallow and the persons names you have them from in order that they may have as good ones Replaced again—That is a Stretch of power But at present Cannot be helpt—

Wishing you Success and a happy Command

I am with Respect your ob<sup>t</sup> Sarvnt—

JOHN CHIPMAN Mag<sup>r</sup> Comdt

To LIEUT<sup>t</sup> ROBARDS—

#### GARRISON ORDERS FORT EDWARD

Sept 9 1780—

A Court Marshal to Set this day for the trial of Such Prisners as shall be brought before them Whereof Lieut<sup>t</sup> Bradshaw is President

*Members.*

Lieut<sup>t</sup> Sherwood                      Lieut<sup>t</sup> Giles  
Lieut<sup>t</sup> Bawlding                      Eygn Ma Lowrey  
SETH WARNER Col. Comdt

The Court met agreeable to the above order being sworn Proseed to the trial of David Loff of Mag<sup>r</sup> Chipmans Compony of Levies Confined for Disobedience of Orders and Disertion he being brought pleads guilty—the oppinian of the Court is that he shall Receive Seventy-five lashes on the naked back and return to his duty—

THOMAS BRADSHAW prsd

The afore going Judgment approved of and ordered to be put in Excution this Evening at Rool Call—

Pr order SETH WARNER Col Comdt



GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE,  
Sept<sup>r</sup> 26 1780—

Every Non Commissioned officer and Soldier that has drew Bayonet Scabords and Belts from the public are to Return them in to Public Store—

The Commanding officers of Companies to see the above articles Collected and the Regimental Quarter master to Recpt<sup>d</sup> for the Same—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt<sup>t</sup> Comdt<sup>t</sup>

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE  
Octobr 2 1780—

Where as Complaint is maid by the Adgnt<sup>t</sup> and Sargnt<sup>t</sup> Magor of the great Difficulty they meet with in giting the men out the Parade in consequence of which these are to direct that the Revile is Beat every morning at break of day when Every officer Non Commissioned officer and soldier are to attend the parade, except one officers Sarynt<sup>t</sup> to each room—The men are also ordered to keep their arms and accoutrements in good order and in such a position that they can lay their hand upon them in the dark and if ocation Calls be ready for action in a moment—They are also to observe to be on the parade on every call of the drum without the least delay—the Sargeant of the gard is to awake the drummer every morning—

The Commanding officer Expects these orders will be Complied with in the stricest sence of the word and who ever disobeyes may expect the surverest punishment—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt<sup>t</sup> Comdt<sup>t</sup>

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE  
Oct<sup>r</sup> 8th 1780—

Court Martial to Set immediately to such prisoners as shall be brought before them

THOMAS SILL is President

Ens<sup>n</sup> Grant } Members  
do Lighthall }

The Court to Set where the President shall appoint—

Pr order JOHN CHIPMAN Capt<sup>t</sup> Comdt<sup>t</sup>

The Court Convened and being duly sworn proceeded to the tryal of Corp<sup>ll</sup> John Fretcher of Capt<sup>t</sup> Wolcotts Company confined Neglect of duty—Pleads not guilty The Court after hearing the evidence finds him guilty; and sentince him to be reduced to a private Sentinol and do duty as such.

THOS SILL Prisd<sup>t</sup>

The above Judgment approved of and ordered to be Complied with this evening at Rool Call—

JOHN CHIPMAN Capt<sup>t</sup> Comdt<sup>t</sup>

GARRISON ORDERS FORT GEORGE  
Octbr 11 1780—

Sir as it is reported to me that their is a small party of savages near Bloddy pond, you will immediately take Forty Eight men, officers included and Proseed on the main road untill you make

discoveries of them, keeping a and Flank gards in Such a m being surrounded. if you find will Emmmediately Retreat to t should be savages only in w attack and immediately charg

XII.—FLOTSIA

[These scraps have been picked up brought to this place, "as they are," their correctness and with no other of them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning ea of them are incorrect or doubtful, we Hist. Mag.]

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARAT  
ENCE.

90 EATON SQUARE, LONDON

MY DEAR SIR:—I hold it of your letter of the twelfth of J the *Herman* just in time to morning.

You may be sure that I have discover in the British State P of the resolves of the Committ and with entire success.

A glance at the map will these days, the traffic of that olina took a southerly directi Charleston, and sometimes knew what was going on in before Governor Martin. TH "the extraordinary resolves" "Charlotte Town, Mecklenbur over to England by Sir James ernor of Georgia, in a letter of June, 1775. The newspaper still preserved, and is the *South Carolina Gazette and Tuesday, the eighteenth of J the resolves, you may be sure, immediately obtained a copy myself the sole discoverer. the copy, as it is identically paper which you enclosed to to you the transcript of the James Wright. The newspa reached him after he had fini for the paragraph relating to own handwriting, the former being written by a Secretary o*

I have read a great many pa Regulators, and am having cop number. Your own State oug and the expense would be fo icant, if it does not send a A few hundred dollars would from the State Paper Office, o topics. The Regulators are,

important. Their complaints were well founded, and were so acknowledged; though their oppressors were only nominally punished. They form the connecting link between resistance to the Stamp-act and the movement of 1775; and they also played a glorious part in taking possession of the Mississippi valley, towards which they were carried irresistibly by their love of Independence. It is a mistake if any have supposed that the Regulators were cowed down by their defeat at the Allernance. Like the mammoth, they shook the bolt from their brow and crossed the mountains.

I shall always be glad to hear from you, and to be of use to you or your State.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

D. S. SWAIN, Esq.,

Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

THE CITY OF MYSTERIES.—A contemporary aptly, we think, nicknames Rochester, New York, the "City of Mysteries." It was there, he says, that many years ago the plans were matured for the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, whose fate to this day has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Out of the Morgan affair, a political excitement was involved that swept, like a hurricane, all Western New York, and prostrated the Democratic party of the State. Here also was printed the *Book of Mormon*, by the Prophet Joe Smith, who pretended to have dug the golden plates from a sand-hill near Palmyra. The result of this wonderful imposture is now seen in the strange developments in Utah. It was in Rochester that the Fox girls brought out the mysterious sounds known as the "Rochester Knockings." From this germ sprung the modern spiritual system, numbering Judge Edmonds, Senator Tallmadge, and other eminent men among its votaries. The most recent Rochester mystery was the strange disappearance of Miss Emma Moore, in November last, and whose body has just been found in a mill-race, under circumstances which deepen the mystery.

#### A VENERABLE CHURCH.

LANCASTER COUNTY, Va., June 24, 1865.

Christ Church, in this County, is a curiosity well worth seeing. The records of the Parish extend back two hundred and eleven years, according to Bishop Meade; but the present building was erected in 1832. It has not been much used for some years, on account of its isolated situation and the bad condition of the roads in Winter. But, notwithstanding this fact and the injury done to it by both parties during the war, it is still sound in the main. It is cruciform. The roof is very steep and the exterior somewhat ornamented

around the doors and windows. Around the venerable building lie the still more venerable dead of two centuries. Let us hope that while their remains quietly lie beneath the sod their tombstones do not lie above, for the epitaphs, in some instances, are very flattering.

Entering the church, the first thing that meets the eye is the singularity of the pews, which are high and enclosed on all sides—each one being, in fact, a box with seats on three sides.

This arrangement makes it impossible to see anything of one's neighbor, even when standing up, except the top of the head. Very provoking this would be in these days of rapid changes in the fashions. What would the gentlemen do if they couldn't see the pretty faces of the ladies; and the ladies (not if they couldn't see the gentlemen—oh, no!) if they couldn't see one another's rats, and cats, and cataracts, and other charming things they wear between the back of the head and the front, denominated Bonnets, by courtesy. However, if the congregation couldn't see one another, they could see the clergyman. Indeed, if they were a mind to do so, they could survey him all around by an occasional change of seat, for the pulpit is very high and stationed at one of the angles of the cross projecting toward the center of the church.

The usual sounding board is suspended over the pulpit. The chancel is in one of the arms of the cross, on the right of the pulpit. The font, the bowl of which is now broken from the stem and lies upon the communion table, is large and beautiful. The top of the table is split either by the weight of the bowl or by violence. The original plastering is still on the roof and walls, uninjured save where discolored by a few leaks in the roof, which has been only twice repaired, and is now in good order. The floor is of stone; and in the center of the church is a tombstone inserted in the floor, bearing the solemn inscription:

"*Todis mihi, cras tibi.*"—"To-day for me; to-morrow for thee."

In one corner, near the chancel, is one still more curious, the epitaph of which is as follows. The spelling is copied *verbatim*; but in the original every letter is a capital:

"Here Lyeth Buried Ye Body of John Carter, Esq., Who Died Ye 10th Day of Jan., Anno Domini, 1669; and Also Jane, Ye Daughter Mr. Morgan Glyn, and George, Her Son, and Elinor Carter.

"And Ann, Ye Daughter of Mr. Cleave Carter and Sarah, Ye Daughter of Mr. Gabriel Ladlowe; and Sarah, Her Daughter, Which Ware All His Wives Successively, And Died Before Him.

"Blessed Are The Dead Which Die in the Lord, etc."

How many wives had he, and which were they?

Lately the building has been thoughtlessly used by picnic parties. Strange that so little reverence for things dedicated to sacred uses should exist in the minds of people living in Christian lands.

**LA FAYETTE.**—On the invitation by Congress to General Lafayette to visit the United States, a national ship, the *Delaware*, 74, then just finished, was to be the vessel, which Lafayette declined, on the ground that such a public demonstration was inconsistent with republican simplicity. The vessel which brought him was the packet-ship *Cadmus*, the wales and bottom planks of which have been subsequently employed at San Francisco, in repairing "Battery-street, in front "of Wheeler's gymnasium."

"**MASON'S AND DIXON'S LINE**" was run in December of 1763, to terminate a dispute between the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Its subsequent claim as the political line dividing the free from the slaveholding States is purely accidental. Mr. Latrobe, in an essay read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, three or four years since, says that Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon landed at Philadelphia from London, in November, 1763, and entered at once upon their work, which confirmed a previous rough survey made in 1761 and 1762. He says: "The lines whose history has thus been given "were directed to be marked in a particular manner, both by the agreements of the parties and "the decree of Lord Hardwicke; and the surveyors accordingly planted, at the end of every "fifth mile, a stone graven with the arms of the "Penns on one side and of the Baltimore family "on the other, marking the intermediate miles "with smaller stones having a P on one side and "an M. on the other. The stones with the arms "were all sent from England. This was done on "the parallel of latitude as far as Sideling Hill; "but here all wheel transportation ceasing in 1776, "the further marking of the line was the vista of "eight yards wide, with piles of stones on the "crests of all the mountain ranges, built some "eight feet high, as far as the summit of the Alleghany, beyond which the line was marked by "posts, around which stones and earth were "thrown the better to preserve them!" Dixon died in England, in 1776; and Mason in Philadelphia, in 1787. It is said that Dixon was born in a coal mine.

**ORIGIN OF A POLITICAL SAYING.**—In one of his letters from the West, Bayard Taylor attempts to account for the phrase: "Will row up Salt River."

Salt River, where it debouches into the Ohio River, is not more than fifty or sixty yards in breadth, but very deep. It is never fordable, even in the driest season; and, being navigable for fourteen miles above its mouth, has not been bridged at this point. We descended its steep and difficult banks, embarked our carriage upon a flat ferry-boat, and were conveyed across. The view looking up the river was very beautiful. Tall elms and sycamores clothed the banks, dropping their boughs almost to the water, and forming a vista of foliage through which the stream curved out of sight between wooded hills. I longed to row up it. While on the spot I took occasion to inquire the derivation of the slang political phrase, "Rowed up Salt River," and succeeded in discovering it. Formerly there were extensive salt-works on the river, a short distance from its mouth. The laborers employed in them were a set of athletic, belligerent fellows, who soon became noted far and wide for their achievements in the pugilistic line. Hence it became a common thing among the boatmen on the Ohio, when one of their number was refractory, to say to him, "We'll "row you up Salt River"—where of course the bully salt-men would have a handling of him. By a natural figure of speech, the expression was applied to political candidates, first, I believe, in the Presidential campaign of 1840.

**STRANGE MIXTURE OF RACES.**—There is said to be in Rochester a man aged one hundred and six years, whose ancestry, together with his own progeny, will exhibit one of the strangest mixtures of races ever heard of. His name is John Shendoah O'Brien; and he was born in Boston, in 1762. His father was an Irishman, and his mother an Indian of the Oneida tribe. When twelve years old he was sent to France, and there educated as a physician. He returned to America, and served in the Revolutionary war. Afterwards, he went back to France, and there married the daughter of the Emperor of Morocco, by whom he had eight children. With her he lived in the United States for some time, and she died. He then married an American woman descended from the Teutonic line; and, after her death, married a negress, who was fifty years younger than himself, and by whom he had four children. In his children are united the blood of the Celt, the Teuton, the African, and the North American Indian.

**CROCKETT'S LOG CABIN.**—On the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, not far from Jackson, in Tennessee, it is said, still stands the humble log cabin, eighteen by twenty feet in size, built and occupied while he lived in the District, by the far-famed David Crockett. Its logs are fast decaying, and

desolation surrounds it; but no traveler passes it without an eager desire to look upon that humble roof that sheltered one of the truest representatives of the American pioneer character—a hero and an honest man. Near it is a railroad station, called Crockett's Station; around it, perhaps, will rise a town to bear and perpetuate a name as familiar to his countrymen as that of Jackson.

**LARGE TREES.**—Until within a few years there stood near the junction of the Scantic River with the Connecticut, in the town of East Windsor, a large sycamore or buttonwood. After the tree had partly decayed, and a shell of wood, perhaps two inches thick on the outside remained, Mr. John Pelton found that a pole twelve feet long could be placed horizontally inside of the shell, making the tree more than thirty-six feet in circumference. Another tree measured twenty-four feet. These trees stood near where the first English settlers in Connecticut located.

**VALUE OF AMERICAN SILVER COINS.**—At an auction sale in New York, this week (November, 1867,) of the silver coins of the United States, of the quarter dollars, the one which brought the heaviest price was the quarter dollar of 1823, very rare, there having been not more than a score probably ever put into circulation. It sold for \$47.50. Of the dimes, the choice impressions were sold as follows: A dime of 1842, very fine, \$25; 1843, very fine, \$25; 1851, and from that time down for the next ten years, the dimes brought only 15 to 50 cents each. Of the half-dimes, that of 1794 brought \$10, and others from that date to 1801 brought from \$3.25 to \$5.60 each. The half-dime of 1802, which is said to be more rare than any other coin in the American silver series, there being but three specimens known, was bought for \$45. Others sold for prices ranging from \$3.75 to \$1.22. Large prices were paid for other coins, of which the largest was for the silver dollar of 1804, which was purchased for \$750.

**QUAINT DIRECTIONS.**—The following list is taken from the *Boston Directory* of 1789—the first one ever published:

Mrs. Baker, innholder, sign of the Punch Bowl, Dock-square.

Mary Butler, boarding-house for gentlemen and all sorts of garden seeds, No. 56 Newbury-street [now Washington-street, near Essex].

Joshua Brackett, innholder, Cromwell's Head, South Latin School-street.

Bellerive de Berry, gentlemen, near Phillips's rope-walk.

Moses Bradley, sign of White-horse, near Charles River Bridge [to Charlestown].

Daniel Crosby, wig-maker and clerk to Trinity Church, Newbury-street.

Wm. Cordwell, brazier, sign of the Dog and Pot.

Wm. Doak, Windsor-chair maker. Back-street [now Salem-street].

Frothingham, Wheeler, & Jacobs, coach-makers, at the Laboratory, near the Hay-market, in West-street.

Samuel Gore, Painters-arms, Court-street.

Israel Hatch, innholder, sign of the Grand Turk, Newbury-street.

Samuel Jenks, sign of the Bellows.

Mrs. Loring, innholder, sign of the Golden-ball, Merchants' Row.

Joseph Morton, sign of the White-horse, Newbury-street.

Abigail Moore, sign of the Lamb, Newbury-street.

John Pope, schoolmaster and surgeon, particularly a curer of cancers and malignant ulcers, &c., Vincents' lane, [now the upper part of Franklin street].

James Vila, Bunch of Grapes Tavern.

Claude de la Poterie, Roman Catholic priest, Vice-prefect and Missionary Apostolic, Rector of the church in South Latin School-street, dedicated to God under the title of the Holy Cross, Oliver's-lane.

John Warren, Physician, South Latin School-street, next Cromwell's Head.

Abigail Woodman, stay-maker and man-tailor, Creek-lane.

**A RELIC.**—The Pedestal on which stood the Equestrian Statue of George III., in Bowling Green, has been in use, for the last half century as a stepping stone to dwellings occupied by the Vorst family, in Jersey City.

The *Jersey City Telegraph* mentions some facts connected with its history. This stone was the pedestal of the statue of George III., which stood in Bowling Green until the year 1776, when the statue was run into revolutionary bullets. In 1783, Major John Smith of the British army died, and was buried on a hill, near the present site of St. Mathew's Church, in Sussex-street. The hill was leveled in 1804, by Andrew Dey, or the Jersey Associates. It is not known what then became of the remains of Major Smith.

John Van Vorst, grandfather of Alderman Van Vorst, took the stone and made a step of it to his old mansion, which stood a few rods south of the present J. Van Vorst's residence. That building was demolished in 1818; and the pedestal was transferred to the residence of the late Cornelius Van Vorst, on the northerly side of Wayne-street,

near Jersey-street. It there became a stone step at a kitchen door, and remained until when workmen were removing it to be used again for the same purpose; and, upon turning it over, they discovered an inscription as follows:

In memory of  
Major JOHN SMITH,  
Of the XLIIId  $\Pi$  or Royal Highland Regiment,  
Who died 25th July, 1783,  
In the 48th year of his age.  
This stone is erected  
By the  $\Pi$  brave officers of that Regiment.  
His Bravery, Generosity and Humanity, during an  
Honorable service of 29 years,  
Endeared him to the soldiers, to his acquaintance and friends.

The stone is of Portland marble five and one-half feet long and four inches thick; and was brought to this country from England, to be used as a pedestal to the statue. In 1828, an English gentleman called upon Mr. Van Vorst and offered him five hundred dollars for this stone; but the offer was declined. It yet bears the marks of two of the feet of the horse, which are designated above by  $\Pi$ . *New York Tribune.*

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON.—P. Hutchinson, whose grandfather was a son of Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, states, in a communication to a British journal, that the family have MSS. of his ancestor that have not been printed. Among them is a Diary, kept from 1774 until his death in 1780, and a *verbatim* account of his interview with George III. on his first arrival in England. Both the King and the Minister, Lord Dartmouth, were so anxious to see him that he was not allowed time to procure a court dress, but was introduced to them just as he was, in travelling costume. The interview was a long one, and the Governor committed the whole to the paper *verbatim*.

The same ship which carried over Governor Hutchinson's son, in 1776, also carried over the family of Copley, the artist, among whom was Lord Lyndhurst, who then was four years old. Mr. Hutchinson states that the Governor's salary of two thousand pounds a year was continued until his death; that he lived on terms of friendship with all the first persons, and visited, with his family, the King. To this it may be added that there are at the State House MSS. of the Governor, consisting of his private letter book, very curious—portions of which only have been printed.—*Boston Post.*

PENNSYLVANIA.—In strolling through the church-yard of old St. Peter's, Great Valley,

Chester-county, some time since, I was struck with the numerous instances of old age attained by the greater part of those who slept beneath its tombstones; the first eight of which I looked at marked ages between seventy and ninety years. Soon my attention was called to another part of the enclosure by seeing ten large marble slabs, supported by marble columns, all of them alike in appearance, and ranged side by side. On going to the spot I found that they covered the remains of a father, mother, and eight children. The family name was Lloyd. Their deaths occurred between the years 1820 and 1856. The father—William Lloyd—died at the age of eighty-eight, December the first, 1820; the mother—Rachel eighty-five, December the third, 1820—only two days apart. The three sons and five daughters, none of whom were ever married, died at the respective ages of fifty-two, sixty-six, sixty-seven, sixty-eight, seventy-three, eighty-two, eighty-five, and ninety! So remarkable a case of family longevity is rarely witnessed. I do wonder which of the two was most conducive to it, to wit; the healthy atmosphere of Chester-county, or the happy celibacy in which they lived? *Philadelphia Sunday Despatch.*

THE LOSSES OF GEORGIA.—The losses of Georgia, during the war were enormous, far more than is generally realized at the North. The statistics furnished in a recent Report of the Comptroller-general of that State enable us to form a tolerably correct conception of the damages sustained by Georgia. By the tax returns of 1866, the taxable property is estimated at two hundred and twenty-two millions, one hundred and eighty-three thousands, seven hundred and eighty-seven dollars; while in 1860, it was returned at six hundred and seventy-two millions, two hundred and ninety-two thousands, four hundred and forty-seven dollars; which, reduced to currency, would be two hundred and eight millions, four hundred and thirty-eight thousands, six hundred and sixty-three dollars, making over seven hundred millions, as the loss occasioned by the war in one State alone.

This estimate does not include the amount swallowed up in Confederate bonds and scrip, which the Comptroller believes would swell the total loss of property in the Empire State of the South to above a thousand million dollars. This seems incredible. The returns of population, as far as they have reached the office, indicate a decided loss in population. Eighty-six thousand, nine hundred and nine white population is reported, against ninety-nine thousand, seven hundred and forty-eight, in 1860; showing a loss of twelve thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine, or nearly one-eighth. No such extraordinary ex-

ample of voluntarily encountered impoverishment and destruction of life can be furnished by history.

A GAELIC SETTLEMENT IN CAROLINA.—In a letter which the *Inverness Courier* has received from a Reverend friend in North Carolina, U. S., are the following interesting particulars:—

"It may be interesting to some of your readers to learn that the Scotch Highlanders were among the first settlers of the State of North Carolina. The great majority of them were from the Hebrides, from Islay, Jura, Mull, Coll and Skye; and not a few from the mainland of Argyll. The precise date of the landing of the first Scottish emigrants in the Carolinas cannot be well ascertained. It appears that Scotch families were settled on the Cape Fear River previous to the division of the Province into North and South Carolina, in 1729. Some time between 1744 and 1746, a Highlander, named Neil Macneil, from Argyllshire, visited North Carolina. He returned to Scotland in 1748, and, in the following year, landed in Wilmington, North Carolina, with his family and about three hundred emigrants (some say six hundred) from the District of Kintyre, Argyllshire. It is said that upon the arrival of so unusual an importation at Wilmington, the authorities, struck with the dress and language of the new comers, required Macneil to enter into a bond for their peaceful and good behavior. Perhaps the warlike spirit of the Celtic race struck the Wilmingtonians with such terror as led to the demand of the bond. Our intrepid countryman managed to evade the demand, and, ascended the Cape Fear with this band of his countrymen. From this period the emigration was yearly on the increase. Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh and his lady, the far famed Flora Macdonald, famous for her adherence to the unfortunate Pretender, Prince Charles, in his forlorn condition after his defeat at Culloden, emigrated with a number of others from the Isle of Skye; so that every year added to the number of the Scotch Highland emigrants, until they soon formed the majority of the population and controlled the civil and ecclesiastical interests of no less than seven Counties, viz: Cumberland, Bladen, Robeson, Richmond, Montgomery, Moore and Harnett.

"The Gaelic language is spoken in its purity by many in these Counties; and in both my churches I preach in it every Sabbath. On last Sabbath, I assisted at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper in a congregation forty miles distant from my home, and preached and served a table at which upwards of one hundred and fifty had taken their seats, who have not heard a sermon

"in the language of their childhood for the last ten years. Many a tear was shed during the service, many a warm shake of the hand, such as a Highlander can give, was given, and many a blessing was bestowed upon your correspondent at parting with the warm-hearted people. The Reverend Colin Maciver, a native of Stornoway, Lewis, was the last preacher who could preach in Gaelic till I came to the State, two years ago. He died in this town, in 1850, much respected and regretted by his countrymen in North Carolina. I will state an instance of the preponderance of the Scotch Highlanders in this State. The *North Carolina Presbyterian*, a religious paper and the organ of our Synod, published in the town of Fayetteville, has upwards of eight hundred Mags on its list of subscribers, besides those who claim the honor of pertaining as much to the Celtic race as those who bear that ancient patronymic.

"The Presbytery of Fayetteville, of which I and one of my sons are members, has thirteen Mags among its clerical members, and seven others who will not yield the palm to their brethren of the Mac families in tracing their Celtic origin; and hence our Presbytery has the cognomen of 'the Scotch Presbytery' given to us by our brethren of the Synod of North Carolina,"

OLD CHURCHES IN NEW JERSEY.—The Dutch Reformed Church on Bergen Hill, about two miles back of Jersey City, claims to be the first church of any denomination established in New Jersey. The First Presbyterian church at Elizabeth was organized in 1666. It was the first church in New Jersey where services were held in the English language. The old First Presbyterian church on Broad-street, in this city, was built in 1673, the congregation having been organized in 1667. The Baptist church in Piscataway, Middlesex-county, was established in 1680. The Raritan Dutch Reformed church, in Somerset-county, near the junction of the North and South branches of the Raritan river, was organized in 1790. A Presbyterian church was established not far from Freehold, in 1692. The Episcopal church at Perth Amboy was established in 1698. The Presbyterians first had worship in Perth Amboy, in 1781.

GENERAL KNOX.—No journalist ever goes to Thomaston without examining the Knox mansion. In 1795, General Henry Knox, after serving his country in the most honorable manner during the Revolutionary war, and then as Secretary of War, under Washington, resigned his



office, and removed to Thomaston. He had been a bosom companion of Washington during the war, which had ripened into a friendship that continued until Washington's death. General Knox came into possession of the Waldo Patent; and, in 1793, sent an architect, with workmen, to build him a spacious mansion. This building had a basement of brick, on which were two lofty stories of wood and a cupola-like story in the roof. It had a swelled front, and made a very imposing appearance. This, with the out-buildings, cost fifty thousand dollars, and was said to be unequalled by anything of the kind in the Commonwealth. It was situated on the banks of the George's River, near the site of the old fort. In the rear, it was sheltered by the forests; and in front, the expanse of water, with its cool breezes and the distant landscape, rendered it charming to the eye. The mansion was named Montpelier. The family came in a sloop, from Philadelphia, in 1795. General Knox here lived like a Baron. It is said that a hundred beds were made, and an ox and twenty sheep slaughtered in a week, and twenty saddle-horses and carriages kept to accommodate guests and sojourners. He once invited the Penobscot tribe to visit him, and fed them till he was obliged to invite them to go home.

The General paid attention to the introduction of settlers, and the manufacture of lime. He attempted to improve the breeds of cattle and sheep, having imported a coarse-wooled breed from England, which he crossed with our native breeds, and increased the weight, if not the quality, both of the carcase and the fleece. Ship-building also engaged his attention. He also improved the navigation of the George's River, for the passage of rafts and gondolas as far up as Union.

In consequence of these various operations, he soon became a busy business man. His wife was a lady of fashion; but he chose for his companions, men of wisdom and talent. His library contained one thousand, five hundred and thirty-five volumes at the time of his death. He seemed to be somewhat Utopian in his schemes; but engaged in his private affairs with zeal. It was on the twenty-fifth of October, 1806, that General Knox died quite suddenly, from swallowing the sharp bones of a chicken at dinner. His funeral was celebrated with military honors, and his remains now lie in the village cemetery, beneath a monument of Thomaston marble. The inscription is as follows:

"The Tomb  
"of  
"MAJOR GENERAL KNOX,  
"who  
"died Oct. 25, 1806.  
"Aged 56 years.

"Ths Fate's decree; farewell! thy just renown,  
"The hero, honor, and the good man's crown."

The mansion is still standing, but in a dilapidated condition. Relic hunters have stripped much of the inside. The piazzas, balconies and gates are all gone. The furniture is all gone. We ate our dinner to-day at the General's dining-table, in the house of one of the citizens. Thus fades away a man's glory. His works and his bones alike decay.

AN OLD ROMAN COIN FOUND AMONG THE MACKINAC INDIANS.—The *Detroit Free Press* was shown, recently, by G. M. Wendell, of Mackinac, a relic, in the shape of an old Roman coin or medal, in an excellent state of preservation, with the inscriptions and figures quite distinct and in good relief. This coin, Mr. Wendell states, was given to him by an Indian at Fort Makinac, who said he found it, or dug it up in the earth. This being the fact, the opening for speculation is wide as to how it came there. The first thought is that it was brought to the New World by the Jesuit Missionaries, who, in their self-sacrificing devotion to their chosen duty, penetrated the heart of the continent generations ago, and made their dwelling-place among the aborigines, while they endeavored to teach them the truths of the cross. Or this mute relic of the ages might have been brought by the Nordmen, who, venturing away from the Icelandic or Scandinavian harbors, coasted at length along the shores of North America, and from thence carried inland till it found the resting-place from which it has now been exhumed. Or still another hypothesis: The ancient working of the Lake Superior mines, so evidently the labor of a more enlightened race than the Indian, may have been the means of bringing the coin hither. But, if this were so, why have not more of them, or similar relics, been discovered? The first of the above premises is, no doubt, the correct one, and this coin has served as a pocket-piece to Father Marquette, or some one of his coadjutors. As in this connection it might have a striking significance to some persons, as it belonged to the time and reign when the new religion of Christ was beginning to be preached, having been struck off in the beginning of the second century, it would thus be a significant accompaniment to the introduction of Christianity into the New World.

The coin, which is of the size of a nickle cent, and as thick as an American ten cent piece, bears upon the face a medallion portrait of the Roman emperor, Trajan, surrounded by the following inscription:

IMPERATORI TRAJANO AUGUSTO GER.—DAC—  
P. M.—T.—R.—Coss.—V. P. R. "The Sen-  
"ate and People of Rome to the conqueror of the  
"Germans and Dacians, Chief Ruler."

Upon the reverse, is the figure of a Roman warrior clad in armor, with a spear and shield, with these words :

"S. P. Q. R.—OPTIMO PRINCIPI."—"The Senate ate and the People of Rome to the best" (or most cherished) "prince."

This little relic, insignificant in itself, has come down through the centuries from the time of the ruler under whose command the Roman arms were carried further than ever before or after.

**A RHODE ISLAND EMPEROR.**—A correspondent of the *Fall River News* says that, in 1792, a colored man by the name of Newport, who belonged to Henry Bowers, then a wealthy merchant of Somerset, R.I., was a sailor in one of his master's vessels. Being in St. Domingo at the time of the insurrection, he left his vessel and joined the insurgents. He was intelligent, bold, and reckless. Hailing as he did from the United States, the blacks saw in him the man who would secure their freedom and achieve their independence. On the capture of Touissant L'Overture, he was appointed Commander-in-chief; and on the first of January, 1804, under the name of Jean Jacques Dessalines, he was proclaimed Emperor for life. He was assassinated, on the fourteenth of October, 1806.

**THE OLDEST PERSON KNOWN.**—A colored woman, Mrs. Flora Stuart of Londonderry, N. H., the *Manchester American* says, is the oldest person known in the United States. She was born in Boston in 1750, and consequently is twenty-six years older than the Declaration of American Independence. As she tells the story, her father and mother, when she was three months old, came into possession of the Simpson family of Windham, N. H., as slaves, and remained with them until after the abolition of slavery in that State.

### XIII.—NOTES.

**STAMP TAX.**—This sort of tax is not novel in this country. In 1756, the Legislature of New York passed a law establishing a Stamp Office for stamping all Vellum, Parchment, and Paper charged with certain duties. Next followed the famous Stamp-act passed by Great Britain, in 1765. And we have now before us a Promissory note drawn by Jer. V. Rensselaer, in favor of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Albany, for Twenty-three Dollars, dated "19 Decr., 1798," which is on a Ten cent stamp. This consists of a shield in the centre, surmounted by a spread eagle. On

the upper part of the circle are the words "TEN CENTS": at the bottom "NEW YORK."

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

**VALUE OF AMERICAN AUTOGRAPHS.**—A Parisian firm advertises the signature of Jefferson Davis for sale at fifteen francs, and of William H. Seward for ten francs.

J. W.

BELFAST, MAINE.

**ORIGIN OF GETTYSBURG.**—"Died.—In Gettysburgh, (Pa.) Mrs. Isabella Gettys, in the 84th "year of her age; and on the evening following, her son, General James Gettys, proprietor "of that borough, in the 56th year of his age."

—*N. York Columbian*, March 28, 1815.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. F. D. V.

**OLD BELL.**—It is said that in Marietta, Ohio, the bell in use on the Court-house is the one presented by that unfortunate Queen, Maria Antoinette of France, after whom the town was named. This bell is held in great esteem by the citizens.

BELFAST, ME.

J. W.

**SMALL POX.**—I find a case of this in New Amsterdam, "17 Feb. 1663," in a woman in labor. Her name was Maritjie Jansen, widow of Cornelis Langevelde, who died about a week before; but I know not of what sickness. The woman recovered.

ALBANY, N. Y.

O'C.

**ENGLAND AND AMERICA IN 1813.**—The following is from the London *Times* of March 18th, 1813:—

"The public will learn, with sentiments which we shall not presume to anticipate, that a third British frigate has struck to an American. This is an occurrence that calls for serious reflection"—this and the facts stated in our paper of yesterday that Lloyd's list contains notices of upwards of five hundred British vessels captured in seven months by the Americans. Five hundred merchantmen and three frigates!

"Can the statement be true; and can the English people hear them unmoved? Any one who had predicted such a result of an American war this time last year would have been treated as a madman or a traitor. He would have been told, if his opponents had condescended to argue with him, that long ere seven months had elapsed the American flag would be swept from the seas, the contemptible navy of the United



"States annihilated, and their maritime arsenals rendered a heap of ruins.

"Yet down to this moment not a single American frigate has struck her flag. They insult us and laugh at our want of enterprise and vigor. They leave their ports when they please and return to them when it suits their convenience: they traverse the Atlantic, they beset the West India Islands, they advance to the very Chops of the Channel, they parade along the coasts of South America—nothing; chases, nothing intercepts, nothing engages them, but to yield them triumph."

NEW YORK.

[J. M.

#### XIV.—QUERIES.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE LONG ISLAND TURF.

MY DEAR SIR:—While perusing a file of *The Royal American Gazette*, published in this city by Alexander Robertson, I noticed, in the number for Thursday, April 26, 1781, the following advertisements, which I have copied *verbatim et literatim*, for the amusement of your readers:

ASCOT HEATH *Second MEETING*.—On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 5th, 6th, and 7th of June next, being in WHITSUNTIDE WEEK, will be run for on each of those days,

A Purse of One Hundred Pounds Value.

Also on each of the said days, will be run for a purse of

TWENTY POUNDS value,

Calculated for horses that are not properly trained.

Particulars of the whole will be notified, in proper time, by advertisements and hand-bills.

Brooklyn Hall, April 26, 1781. CHARLES LOOSELEY.

STOLE from the Plains of Flatlands, on Saturday night last, between the hours of nine and ten in the evening, about seventy yards of new WHITE INCH ROPE, that had been fixed there for the utility of the races. The rope is the property of CHARLES LOOSELEY, at Brooklyn-Hall; and he hopes that every exertion will be made to bring to justice the perpetrators of this inroad upon property, and inasmuch as commendable amusements—for which purpose TWENTY GUINEAS will be paid on conviction of one or more of the offenders, by

Brooklyn Hall, 2p-11 23, 1781.

As Wood and Thompson, the historians of Long Island, are silent respecting "Ascot Heath," I cannot even guess with any degree of certainty, where it was, much less give any particulars respecting its spirited manager.

If any of your readers can do so, probably some of your younger readers might feel interested, as would

Your old foggy friend,

THE WRITER.

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE, who died on the twenty-seventh of May, 1819, at Marietta, Ohio, a native of Rhode Island, "was the man" who fired the *first shot on the water* in defiance of the British Flag, which he ventured to do on "the twenty-fifth of June, 1775, at a time when no other man in the Colony would undertake the

"hazardous business, lest he should be destined to the threatened cord."

I find the above in the *New York Columbian*, July 2, 1819. Can any one furnish an account of the circumstances attending this "first shot?"

T. F. DE V.

#### XV.—REPLY.

KNICKERBOCKERS, (H., M., II. ii. 312)—A recent member of *Punch* has a cartoon purporting to be a "Study of an animated discussion between two gentlemen of diametrically opposite views. Subject of discussion: Gentlemen's Evening Dress: Shall it remain as it is, or shall black velvet *Knickerbockers* and Silk Stockings supersede the present discreet cloth unmentionables."

This seems to indicate that the article referred to by "K," was akin to a pair of breeches.

NEW YORK CITY.

TYPO.

#### XVI.—BOOKS.

##### I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCHUBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1. *Voyages of the Slavers*, St. John, and Arms of Amsterdam, 1659, 1653; together with Additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch. Translated from the original manuscripts, with an Introduction and Index. By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1867. Small quarto, pp. xxlii, 255.

The third of the series of "New York Colonial Tracts" which Mr. Munsell is laying before the world, is now before us; and if the two which preceded it are of little general interest, the third supplies the deficiency and stamps the series with an importance which every student will appreciate.

It is true that the Dutch introduced Negro Slavery into America, in 1619; yet not even the commercial spirit which controlled that enterprising people could induce them, for many years, to continue a trade in slaves, not even in slaves which they captured from their enemies. As lately as 1631, two cargoes of Negroes which were captured off Hispaniola from the Spaniards, were set at liberty with the ships which carried them, because the Dutchmen were not from Massachusetts and knew no use, as Merchandise, to which they could put the captives.

The capture of Pernambuco, Curacao, and other Southern territories, soon after, led to a change in this temper, however; and, in 1636, the Dutch also were busily engaged in selling men at public

auction. Five years after, they captured Loando St. Paulo; and from that time, for many years, the African Slave-trade was completely controlled by them.

There does not seem to have been any Negro Slavery in New Netherland, however, until 1625 or 1626, when eleven, thought to have been captured at sea, were brought to Manhattan. Two years after, three others were introduced into the infant settlement; and there is said to be no record of any other than these until the feudal scheme of Patroonships was set in motion, in 1629, when the Company encouraged it by promising to those who proposed to establish Colonies, that it would "use its endeavors to supply the Colonists with as many Blacks as it could, conveniently"—certainly not very enticing to the settlers and very conclusive, as evidence of the extent and profit of the Dutch Slave-trade in New Netherland, even when spurred to it by the prospect of an increased settlement in America.

It was not until the summer of 1646, it is said, that the first Slave-ship, the *Amandure*, arrived at the Manhattans. The Negroes were purchased by the Colonists in exchange for Pork and Peas; and great were the expectations which had been raised concerning them—but "they just dropped 'through the Fingers' of the homely Dutchmen, and like the children who have had their fingers burned with a hot poker, they wisely let the Negroes alone, and were not easily tempted to touch them, again, even six years after, when a direct trade to Africa was thrown open to them by the Mother Country.

In 1655, slaves began to be regularly imported into New Netherland; but there seems to be no evidence that the trade was carried on by the residents of the Colony; and it is equally evident that it was not carried on with Africa, direct, until several years later—"to the Credit of New Netherland, it is to be recorded that," as lately as '664, "no Ships nor Merchant belonging to that Colony had ever been engaged in the African Slave Trade. An effort had, it is true, been made to embark in it, but the Project, fortunately for the Honor of the Country fell 'through.'"

The slave traffic of New Netherland, like that of Massachusetts, seems to have been with the West Indies and Curacao, rather than with Africa: unlike that of Massachusetts, it was carried on with Pork and Beans, and other home productions, without stealing Indians from the out-country, to serve as currency with which to pay for the Africans whom the Colonists might purchase there.

In the volume before us we have two papers which possess something of the character of protests of officers of two slave ships which were lost between Africa and the Indies—one by shipwreck, and the other by capture;—and these

trifles have served as a nucleus for what must prove to be a very important addition to the historical literature of New York. Indeed, our good friend, the Editor, informs his readers that he has gathered and translated the Papers in the Secretary of State's Office, illustrative of Slavery and Slave-trade under the Dutch; and those who know him will rest assured that nothing has been concealed, as is the habit elsewhere, when anything is discovered which tells against the Apocryphal claims of Apocryphal ancestors.

Of this work, only one hundred copies were printed; and its beauty, as a specimen of fine work, will ensure it a welcome even among those who feel no interest in the historical character of its contents.

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2. *Historical Sketch of the Chatham Artillery during the Confederate Struggle for Independence.* By Charles C. Jones, Jr. Late Lieutenant-colonel of Artillery, C. S. A. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1867. Octavo, pp. 240.

In this truly beautiful volume, we have another of those personal narratives, by actors in the recent Civil War, which in times to come will possess so much importance in the hands of the historian, as guides for his pen and as tests of his merit.

The Chatham Artillery of Savannah, Georgia, was one of the oldest and most honorable of the military associations of the South; and when it was called into the service of the State, by the legally constituted authorities, it responded with alacrity and good faith. It was among those who occupied Fort Pulaski, on the third of January, 1861; who garrisoned that post, during several months; who fought at Secessionville, James Island, Fort Wagner, Olustee Station, etc.; and whose influence was widely felt throughout the Confederate armies. The record of its services, therefore, must be useful to the student and the historian, and the documents with which the narrative is illustrated and enforced will not be easily found elsewhere.

Although we do not agree with the Author in the political portions of the work, we can readily understand why he insists on their maintenance before the world, and as readily we can excuse them in one who honestly believes them. Those portions of the volume which are *historical* in their character, without regard to any other, entitle it to the careful attention of every student of the history of the recent war; and for these alone we commend it to the attention of our readers.

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3.—*The Queens of American Society.* By Mrs. Ellet. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. (2) 464.

In this volume, Mrs. Ellet has produced sketches of the lives of a large number of the most distinguished women of our country; and in some

cases, these sketches are illustrated with portraits, and in others they are crammed with puffs and the most marked attempts at display.

It is not to our taste, notwithstanding the apology in the Preface, that any of our countrywomen should assume to be "Queens" among their sisters; and, notwithstanding more than one of our personal acquaintances are brought before the world in this volume, we cannot bring ourselves to the belief that either of them was really aware of the use that was to be made of the material which was evidently furnished to Mrs. Ellet for this work.

Notwithstanding this drawback, we regard the volume as a useful addition to the Biography of America, since the family histories of many of the leading houses is opened to the student, and will often be found useful.

If the paper had been of better quality the volume would have been a handsome one; as it is, it only so-so.

4.—*The Campaigns of Lieut.-Gen. N. B. Forrest, and of Forrest's Cavalry*, with Portraits, Maps, and Illustrations. By General Thomas Gordon and J. P. Pryor. New Orleans, Memphis, and New York: Bieblock & Company. 1863. October, pp. 704.

In the volume before us, we have another of those authoritative volumes, concerning the War of Secession, which are beginning to take their places in the permanent literature of the country, much to the relief of the working student and certainly to the benefit of Historical truth.

It is the work of two gentlemen who have had the free use of all the material, whether documentary or epistolary, concerning the military life of General Forrest; and as that officer has given to it his personal approval, like Badeau's *Grant*, this work may be considered as Autobiographical in its character and importance. It cannot be overlooked, therefore, by any one who aspires to honorable authorship concerning the recent War; and it must continue to occupy its leading position as long as the subject of which it treats shall possess any interest to the world.

It is a pattern of typographical neatness in a volume which is open to "the Trade;" and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it.

5.—*A Retrospect to Mr. Bancroft's Historical essay on President Reed*. By William B. Reed. Philadelphia: The Author. 1867. Octavo, pp. 114.

Our readers will remember how earnestly and how effectually Mr. Reed a year ago, defended the memory of his grandfather from Mr. Bancroft; and how ably and manfully he combatted the personal enmity which had led Doctor Rush and General Cadwalader to mislead those who had followed them, concerning the character and con-

duct of Joseph Reed, whether considered as a soldier or civilian, as an office bearer or as a man: this handsome pamphlet annihilates Mr. Bancroft's subsequent apology for his former slanders; and leaves no excuse for his eagerness to detract, even at the cost of the Truth.

We have read every line of Mr. Reed's argument and of the testimony of the original authorities with which he has so amply sustained it; and we see nothing, in the questions which have been raised, which seems to require any further explanation or any further argument. Indeed, the open frankness with which, from the beginning, Mr. Reed has conducted this important discussion, the number and character of his authorities, his successful exposure of Mr. Bancroft's unpardonable falsehoods—falsehoods which have evidently originated in an unenviable prejudice against President Reed or an equally unpardonable unfriendliness to the President's grand-son—and what is known to have been the ignominious retreat to a foreign Court, of the slanderer of Schuyler and Reed, of Greene, and Sullivan, and Wayne, from the face of that indulgent community whose confidence he had thus so much outraged under the cloak of History, are among the most notable events of the past few months, in the Historical world; and there are not a few who will regard the return of Mr. Bancroft from his professional exile as a public misfortune which his tenth volume cannot possibly recompense.

As the greater number of our readers will probably procure the tract to which we have referred, we forbear any further comments concerning it. It may be had, we believe, at Appletons, in New York City.

6.—*A Memoir of the last year of the War of Independence, in the Confederate States of America*, containing an account of the operations of his commands in the years 1864 and 1865. By Lieutenant-general Jubal A. Early. Lynchburg: C. W. Button. 1867. Octavo, pp. 136. Price \$1.00.

This volume, originally privately-printed by the Author, is thus re-produced with his permission for the benefit of the Virginia Memorial Association, which has undertaken the task of collecting and burying the Confederate dead.

It is the testimony of one of the principal actors during the recent Civil War, concerning the movements of his immediate commands; and it must continue to be important to every student of the history of that eventful period, as long as that history shall be studied.

We have not yet found time to examine the work for ourself, as we shall very soon endeavor to do; but those who have read it, bear witness to the candor of the author and to his manliness in assuming the responsibility for acts which those who are less upright would have most likely left with other persons.

The work is neatly printed, and is an important addition to the literature of the War.

7.—*The Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1868.* The Tribune Association, New York, pp. 104. Price 20c.

A very useful repository of information on the various political topics of the times, including the Acts of Congress, the votes at recent elections, etc.—all from the Radical Republican standpoint.

8.—*The Democratic Almanac and Political Compendium for 1868.* New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 82. Price 20c.

An attempt to make an Almanac to match that issued by The Tribune Association, but from the Democratic standpoint. It is, however, a sorry failure, and entirely unreliable.

9.—*The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library.* 1867. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 94.

In this neatly printed official pamphlet, we find the Fifteenth Report of the Trustees of the excellent Public Library of Boston; and we have seldom seen so completely exhaustive a Report.

The character of the Library building, the number and character of the Books, the quantities and relative proportions of the different classes, the catalogues, the administration of the institution, the circulation of the books, etc., are carefully discussed in its pages; and its lessons may be usefully studied by others beside librarians.

Thus, we learn of serious defects in the construction of the fine building which is occupied by this Library; that its library of reference numbers 110,881 volumes, and its circulating library 25,199, exclusive of 6,243, which have been worn out, stolen, or lost during the past ten years; that in the former, 11 per cent. of its contents are American History and *Literature*, and in the latter, American History is allowed 4.3-10ths of the collections, against 37.4-10 to Fiction; that during the year, 208,963 volumes were in use, of which, in the Library of reference 9 per cent. were American History and *Literature*; in the Library of Circulation 2.9-10 per cent. were History and *Politics*, while, in the former, Fiction is not noted, and in the latter it formed 68.1-5 per cent. of the entire circulation.

It is quite evident that the intelligence of our countrymen serves them very poorly; and that the Republic which rests on the virtue and intelligence of such as these, rests only on a very sorry foundation.

Verily! ours is truly a superficial age.

10.—*Davega's Hand-book of Central Park.* Sine loco, sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 43.

One of the catchpenny advertising concerns of the day, in which a running description of the Central Park has been interwoven.

The title-page says it is "DAVEGA's"; the Preface says it was written by "JULIAN K. LARKE"; the running title, at the head of every page, calls it "BALDWIN's Hand-book"—as the Jew said to the passer-by the Publisher evidently says to the purchaser of this affair:—"You pays your money and takes your shoise."

11.—*Final Proceedings and General Report of the Southern Famine Relief Commission.* New York, November, 1867. New York: 1867. Octavo, pp. 21.

Our excellent friend, John Bowne, Esq., the General Agent of the Commission, has sent this tract to us; and we learn from it that one hundred and sixty-nine thousand, three hundred and sixteen bushels of Corn were shipped by that body from the City of New York alone, for the relief of the Southern sufferers.

It is an interesting *expose* of the liberality which is found in New York; and we are pleased to see the record so distinctly set forth.

## XVII.—CURRENT EVENTS.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION AT PORTSMOUTH, OHIO.—On the morning of Thanksgiving Day last, a large congregation assembled in the First Presbyterian church of this place to listen to an historical discourse, and engage in the other exercises connected with the interesting occasion of the jubilee year of this church. The exercises were opened by the Reverend Joseph Chester of the Poplar-street Presbyterian church of Cincinnati. The historical discourse was preached by the Pastor, Doctor Pratt, from the text *Isa. lxxiii.*

7. A brief review of the organization of the church, under Reverend Stephen Lindley, in 1817, with the names of its original fourteen members, was given; and also its subsequent history down to the present time, so far as it could be gathered from the records, and the recollection of the older members. Not one of the original members of the church is now living, and but one member of the congregation, Doctor G. S. B. Hempstead. The church now numbers three hundred and seventy-eight. It has had ten ministers, only four of whom survive, viz.: Reverend H. Nevin of Baltimore; Reverend Aaron Williams, D.D., of Economy, Pa.; Reverend Hiram Bingham of Windham, Ohio, and the present Pastor. Six have gone to their rest and reward, viz.: Reverend Stephen Lindley, Reverend J. Wood, Reverend Eleazer Brainerd, Reverend, Alexander B. Brown,

Reverend David Cushing, and Reverend Marcus Hicks.

At the close of the services, the congregation partook of an abundant and elegant dinner laid in the lecture room by the ladies of the congregation. Thereafter they assembled in the large upper room, and spent the whole afternoon in singing and listening to addresses and reminiscences of the early days. Doctor Hempstead, Reverend Doctor Burr of the Episcopal Church, Honorable E. Glover, and Captain L. N. Robinson, took prominent parts; and the Pastor read a poem by Mrs. M. R. McAboy, of Paris, Kentucky. In the evening, Doctor Williams read a memorial discourse on the life and character of Doctor Alexander B. Brown, and Reverend Mr. Chester also offered some remarks of a solemn and affecting character; and both speakers were heard again, after the serving of refreshments. The day will be marked with a white stone—the occasion will long be remembered. A full account of the proceedings, including the sermon, will shortly be published.

**NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—At the regular monthly meeting of this Society, on Wednesday, on the fourth of December, Doctor Winslow Lewis in the chair, the Librarian reported the donation of twelve bound volumes, thirty-three pamphlets, etc., during the last month.

Mr. William H. Whitmore read a brief paper on the *Future Work of the Society*. Among the purposes of the organization, at an early day, was that of issuing a new edition of *Farmer's Register of the First Settlers in New England*; but as Mr. Savage soon engaged himself on the *Reg's'er*, the Society left it in his hands. The work as issued by Mr. Savage leaves the opportunity still to enlarge and re-arrange a new and more full edition. Several other undertakings were suggested.

Reverend Elias Nason read a paper on *The Old Bay State at the Front*—an abstract of which, taken from *The Boston Transcript*, we copy below, as a fair specimen of Massachusetts pretension, and of what, in *Boston*, is not considered "SECTIONALISM."

Massachusetts rhymes were nothing but crotchets, and if you deprive an elephant of its legs and tail, taking its proboscis for Cape Cod, you have some notion of its indescribable form; with a bleak and brumal aspect; a rocky soil; a coast of perilous shoals and headlands; scenery neither picturesque nor commanding; without the grand mountain features, broad lakes, thundering cataracts, pictured rocks, or vast and fertile prairies of some of the sister States, as if

"God's 'prentice hand he tried on her  
"And then he made the rest of them."

. Her history: She has done many very silly, saucy, naughty things. She has, now and then, pretended to be hard of hearing, but no one could hear the clinkings of a dollar quicker; sometimes too prim and puckerish, often penny wise and ten pound foolish; she has often started off on some wild goose chase for moonshine, and caught, as Sir Hudibras, a ducking in the darkness.

In the very outset of her career, she hung inoffensive Quakers—innocent persons for witches; stole black men out of Africa and sold them on Long Wharf, Boston; muddled the brains of the red men with rum and then defrauded them of lands and peltry. She rebelled, with one Daniel Shays as head centre; was against the organ and big fiddle in the churches; went into the morus multicaulis or silk worm fever; fancied this world was near its end; embraced table-tipping and attempted to summon "spirits from the vasty deep"; has had "know-nothing" and mutual admiration societies; in short, she has had more antics and cut up more antics than any, I had almost said than every, other State in the whole sisterhood.

Notwithstanding all this, Massachusetts is a grand, a glorious, a magnificent old State still. The blood of lofty patriots courses through her bounding heart: the torch of Science has been here kindled. By the pulpit, the forum, the Senate chamber and the Executive, whenever gyves needed to be given she has done the work. Her sons with fearless front have met the hurricanes of every sea, and cloven their way into every wilderness; have faced the savage in his wild ferocity, the monarch in the plenitude of his power; have made her name a grand talisman of home and freedom to the wandering exile.

Hard-working, pains taking, right minded, honest-hearted, old Bay State! She has aspired to realize, to sustain and to carry into execution, the great principles of civil and religious freedom, and those which underlie and make glad our common daily life; which give the poorest boy within our borders a chance to become a compeer with the proudest of the land, and which allow all to worship their Creator according to the dictates of their own conscience; which protects the humblest citizen, irrespective of the color of his coat or countenance. She honors labor, encourages art, cherishes fraternity, preserves equality.

Massachusetts has ever stood in the van of human progress; she has always ranged her forces right abreast of the danger, and struck her blows directly at the front. In the political compact on board the *May Flower*, to which may be traced the principles of the Declaration of our National Independence; in establishing free public schools; in founding the first successful college and setting up the first printing press; she was in position at

the front in the New World. At Louisburg, by her valiant Pepperell; in the march of science, by her Franklin with his kite, she held her place in front. When the Revolution came by James Otis, John Adams, and Samuel Adams, in the decision of great principles, she kept her pioneer position. Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill tell where the first guns were fired and the first battle fought.

By Eli Whitney, through his invention of the cotton gin, and through the whizzing mills at Lowell and Lawrence, our State holds an advanced position in the cotton business. In constructing the first important merchant-vessel, the first man-of-war, in the China trade, oil trade, ice trade, and California trade, in the woollen, shoe and nail manufacture, Massachusetts stands foremost.

The first sewing machine, the first church-organ and pianoforte were built here. Massachusetts established, through Franklin, the postal system, and opened the first public library and Sunday School, and the first Normal school on this Continent. By Bancroft and Prescott, Motley, Palfrey and others, she has written the most valuable histories.

She was first in opening the magnificent system of railroads; and wherever the iron steed is prancing, her hardy sons are found building cities, erecting manufactories, founding schools and colleges, introducing civilization, directing the energies of the people, and, as by native right, leading the way. In the Atlantic Cable, by her Morse and Field, she stands at the head. When the far-off howling of the last wild tempest begun to break upon the ear of our own beloved State, and the thunder clouds came rolling on, and the solid framework of this republic government was shaking, the cry was, Who shall save us? John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts! By his quick combinations the immortal Sixth Regiment was organized, and moved with unexampled speed directly to the danger, and in Baltimore, on the nineteenth of April, wrote out again that mighty Saxon watch-word, Freedom, with her blood, and then went on to stem the storm.

More than one hundred thousand men from Massachusetts served at Fredericksburg and all along the Union line. The monuments at Washington, Antietam and Gettysburg, and those torn and tattered flags at the State House, will tell you she was grandly and magnificently in her position. Finally, the bonds are riven, the Gordian knot is cut, and Freedom's exclamations ring from shore to shore. Immediately, before the community are aware, the iron hand which is forever to bind these shores is pushed to the backbone of the Continent, with Massachusetts men in the lead, and but two rounds of the seasons will have passed when in seven days we can span the country from side to side—on a highway that will open up un-

told mines of wealth and be the foundation of prosperity for all coming generations.

Where will the old Bay State then stand? Let her keep on with her mountain moving labor as she has ever done,

"And in the march of empire still,  
"When comes the battle's fiery brunt,  
"The cry will ring from line to line,  
"Old Massachusetts at the front!"

**AUCTION SALE OF RARE BOOKS.**—Messrs. Leonard & Co., No. 50 Bromfield-street, Boston, have just completed their auction sale of the library of the late Reverend William Jenks, D.D., comprised of Biblical, Theological, Philological and Historical Books, ancient and modern, and also a large number of antiquarian and other works, the whole containing five thousand volumes and six thousand pamphlets. The library was the collection of the late Reverend Doctor Jenks during his long life-time, and was selected with great care; and the sale contained many works not often found at an auction. The collection was especially rich in linguistic works and had either in whole or in part the Bible in fifty different languages, and among them a copy of the now very rare Eliot's Indian Bible.

The sale lasted three days and was very well attended. The bidding was at times very spirited, and there was quite a contest for the possession of the rarer works. Very fair prices were obtained for all, although the majority of the collection sold at about the average auction rates. Below are the amounts obtained upon the rarer works:

Mather, Cotton. *Translation of the Book of Psalms*; whereto are added some other Portions of the Sacred Scripture to enrich the Cantional, 12mo., Boston, N. E., 1718, for \$20; *Military Duties, recommended to an Artillery Company*; at their election of officers in Charls Town, 1686, 12mo., Boston, N. E., 1687, for \$30.

Ecclesiastical Tracts. *Advice of the Assembly of Divines concerning a Confession of Faith*, 1646; *Declaration of the Faith and Order in the Congregational Churches*, 1659; *Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France*, 1659; *Platform of Church Discipline in New England*, 1653; *Disputation concerning Church Members and their Children*, by an Assembly of Divines at Boston, N. E., 1659; *Propositions concerning Baptism, at the General Court held at Boston, N. E., 1662*; *An Anatomy of Independency*, 1664; *An Antidote against Independency*, 1644; and other rare tracts. London, 1648-63, for \$100.

Sermons and Orations. *Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica*, by Samuel Sewall, Boston, 1727; *The Mountain Opened*, by Samuel Willard, Boston, n. d.; *Proposals touching the Accomplishment of*

